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VOLUME FIVE

pages 2661-3292

From the Middle Ages to
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LONDON

THE EDUCATIONAL BOOK CO LTD
Tallis House Whitefriars

*Printed in Great Britain by
The Amalgamated Press Ltd., London.*

VOLUME FIVE

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SERFDOM AND FEUDALISM

The Structure of Medieval Society under
the Regime that typified the Feudal Age

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THE Feudal Age is not sharply separated from earlier and later phases of history by any such clear division as the accession of a dynasty, a great battle, invasion or conquest. It is a stage in the growth of society, and as such is slowly ushered in and very slowly departs. It has its dimly perceived formative period, which for western Europe may be taken as the ninth and tenth centuries; its age of maturity, in which the social and political relations characteristic of it are all-pervading; its long decline, when its purpose has been served and the forces which are to replace it are increasingly evident and active.

No aspect of history has required a greater body of literature for its explanation, and on no subject have such divergent opinions been expressed. All formulas under test for given time and place are apt to break down, and the general statement nearest to truth must be a wide one. It may be suggested as broadly true that the feudal relation is the expression of an attempt forced upon society, more particularly, though not exclusively, European society, to find a substitute for central government; to obtain some measure of what all the world has sought since the beginning of history, and has gained at painful cost—security. The need and the attempt do not arise simultaneously in all places, so that the feudalism of Spain, England, Sicily, Japan, with broad general resemblance, shows much diversity in detail.

Again, humanity invents with difficulty, and is prone to adapt and modify what lies to hand. The feudal world did this, and adapted existing forms and institutions to new circumstances. Hence, much of the complexity and confusion presented

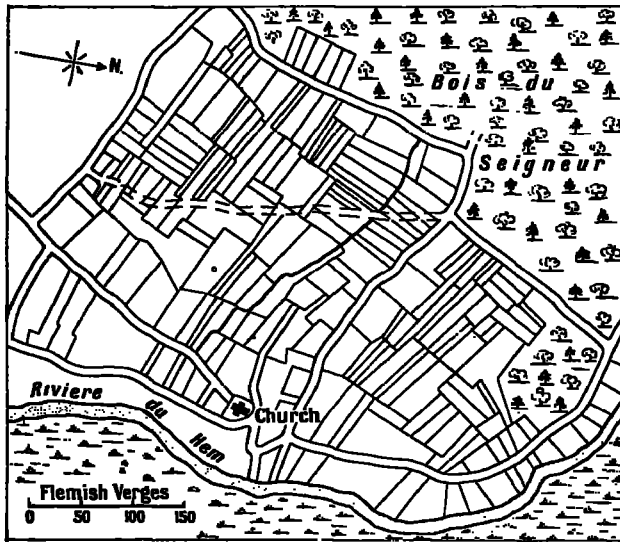
to the student of feudalism arises from the research of scholars who have tried to determine what in feudalism was Celtic, Roman, Germanic; legitimate enough but not essential to an adequate conception of the feudal society. Finally, the feudal world enfolds economic and social groupings which are older than itself. If we separate out for examination two of these we shall have entered at once upon a description of feudalism as a working institution, for they are the bottom and middle layers of the three which go to make up the feudal world; and the first is the village community.

It is of cardinal importance to realize that in spite of the splendour and interest of towns and craft guilds, pilgrimages and crusades, cathedrals and

First Feudal element:
the Village community
society drew its life

blood from the soil and the bulk of its population was a peasantry. The medieval peasant is not easily brought under a high light, but medieval society depended on him with a directness not easily comprehended in a world of international commerce, stocks and shares, mines and factories. It was from him that 'the Pope, Kings, and all the Lords in the world receive, under God, what they eat, what they drink, and what they wear.'

Now, a basic element of the setting in which this peasant worked was contributed by the enduring traces of an early and widespread phase in the development of society to which the term 'village community' is usually applied. Neglecting here the matter of its origins and confining ourselves to those of its features which lasted into the Middle Ages, we may say that it was a rural group which



LAND DIVISION IN THE FEUDAL AGE

In the feudal age the land of the village was still divided up into numerous narrow strips that survived long after the age that produced them; as shown by this eighteenth-century plan of part of Ruminghem in Artois. Note how the 'bois du seigneur' (lord's wood) surrounds the ploughland.

Archives du Département du Pas de Calais

applied itself to the cultivation of the soil by a method which involved common consent and co-operation. Its ploughland lay in large unhedged stretches of hundreds of acres, and in place of the modern rotation of crops and extensive use of manures there was employed the method of alternate fallow and cultivation; for this purpose the great stretch of arable was usually divided into three sections or 'fields,' one of which was at a given moment left resting or fallow.

Further, though there was common ploughing, there was not, in historic times, common ownership of the soil and of its produce. Each villager's land lay not in an undivided farm, but in strips of an acre or half-acre or thereabouts scattered in the open fields, perhaps as the result of some early distribution designed to give rough equality in productivity of soil.

The village community, as such, disappeared early, and common cultivation disappeared at dates varying from place to place in feudal times; but so firmly were the traces of its methods imprinted on the soil that the medieval peasant

ploughed and reaped in the shell of the old system. The scattered strips survived to trouble Arthur Young in the eighteenth century in England, to exist to-day in the fields of northern France and Belgium, to be in process of removal at the present time in Russia. Hence the following formula might with advantage be printed at the head of every work on medieval rural economy:

A holds $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land bounded on the north by 1 acre belonging to B, on the south by $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre belonging to C, on the west by the high road, and on the east by 1 acre belonging to the Abbey of X;

for it is repeated hundreds of thousands of times in medieval documents, in tax registers, in lists of possessions of ci-devant nobles. Other legacies of the village com-

munity will come to our notice when we consider the feudal village in being.

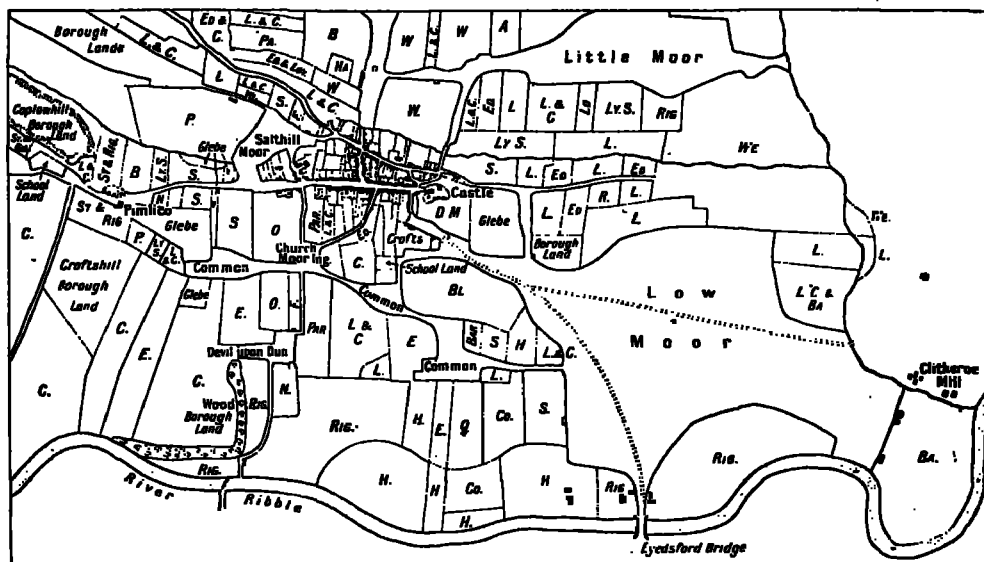
The second element is the domain. In the year A.D. 615 Bertrannus, bishop of le Mans, made his will and enumerated his possessions which included no fewer than **Second element : eighty 'villas' or villages the Domain** lying in widely separated parts of Gaul. The document gives us our second great formula in that it is exactly typical of the very numerous documents which survive for the period A.D. 450-750 in indicating the ownership by one individual of a dozen, a score, a hundred, of what we now term villages. The deduction we wish to impress is that the period of Frankish rule in Europe is emphatically one of the predominance of the great proprietor and of great properties. The phenomenon was not a new one, and nine-tenths of French villages to-day bear names derived from those of ancient Roman proprietors. Nor need we search deep for its causes; but for the purpose of our inquiry it is sufficient to mark that, whatever difficult problems the village of Frankish times

presents (and this is deep water for the student of economic history), one point is amply clear, namely, that it was as a rule in the possession of a proprietor, a 'dominus' or 'lord,' and a domainal system had been superimposed on the debris of older systems.

This domain, as we see it described in Charlemagne's directions for the administration of the villas from which he drew much of his revenue (see Chap. 92), or in the great 'polyptiques' in which the abbeyes registered the details of their estates, presents characteristic features which are to be handed on to the feudal age: First, the cultivated land is divided into two main sections: one of these is reserved for the direct profit of the lord; the other is the land granted out in return for services of ploughing and reaping on the lord's reserve. This division is not necessarily a physical one, and the lord's arable may lie interspersed with the strips of his dependants in the open fields. The typical formula runs: 'A has ten measures; he ploughs three,' that is, A has had granted him the use of ten measures of land and in payment for its use ploughs

three measures of the lord's land at the appropriate time. There are other payments exacted, but this labour rent is fundamental in the system.

Next, as to the inhabitants of the domain; avoiding a tangle of unsolved problems we may lay down that they are in varying degrees of dependence on the lord: some are 'serfs'; others approach the state of free farmers; but, generally, they may be described as closely bound and subject to the dominus. Again, we have an important anticipation of feudal days in the fact that this dominus in many ways stands between the inhabitants of his domain and such government as exists at the centre, whether loose, as under the Merovingians, or strong and systematic, as under Charlemagne. He is using powers of taxation, of jurisdiction. Add to these facts the continuance of the movement already strong under the late Roman Empire towards a local economy, towards the establishment of small groups, self-sufficing for all needs of food and equipment, and we are well on the way to the feudal age before there has been any word of the feudal relation.



HOW A VILLAGER'S POSSESSIONS WERE SCATTERED OVER THE VILLAGE LAND

Whatever may have been the system in the primitive village community, land by the feudal age was not owned, though often ploughed, in common. Each villager, however, did not own a contiguous series of the strips; they were scattered, originally perhaps to secure equality of productivity. The initials (standing for owners' names) in this plan of the land round Clitheroe, in Lancashire, show that in the early 19th century the system survived, though the strips had given way to fields.

Redrawn from an early 19th century plan

Feudalism occupied at least two centuries, the ninth and tenth, as its formative period. The process took place in a time of immense confusion, social and political, and we can see its details but faintly. These centuries were, indeed, for western

Europe the really dark ages—darker than those of the great invasions which helped to destroy the Roman Empire; and they are made darker still to us from lack of contemporary observers to give us record of what they saw happening round them. A very complicated problem becomes simpler if we divide it into three parts: the antecedent conditions, the formative period, and the finished product. Of these the second, and for our purpose the least important, presents the chief difficulties. We shall consider then the first and third, and of the second indicate only such aspects as throw most light backwards and forwards on the first and third.

Four main causes produced the feudal world. Most important is that general tendency to 'localism,' to a general and inherent leaning away from the acceptance

of settled central authority, which must be taken as characteristic of European society during the age of the fall of the Empire and the irruption into it of alien barbarian elements. Next comes the governmental system prematurely developed by the Carolingians under which a world of these deep-rooted tendencies was organized so as to present the outward appearance of a centralised state. We say appearance, for this appearance was deceptive; the premature attempt to stabilise arrested only and did not subdue the persistent tendency to local grouping, and by the large delegation of central powers which Charlemagne made to his three hundred counts and their subordinates the way was made still easier for the coming of feudalism.

Significant, too, in this connexion, are the inveterate habit of the Carolingian rulers to divide their inheritance among their sons; the grants of immunity charters which allowed the recipients, lay or spiritual, to shut off their lands from the interference of royal officers for judicial and fiscal matters; the use of the 'missi dominici' (see page 243r), which could



PRE-FEUDAL SURVIVAL ON THE FACE OF SOUTH-WESTERN ENGLAND

The strips, usually an acre to an acre and a half apiece, that composed an open field were unhedged and only separated by a deep furrow or a ridge. The distinction between field and strips may be seen distinctly in the plan in page 266z. In the parish of Stogursey ('Stoke Courcy') in Somerset the entire system actually persisted complete down to 1879, and this photograph, taken not long afterwards, shows the still surviving 'balks,' as the dividing ridges were called.

Photo, Miss E. M. Leonard

indicate weakness as well as control ; the fact that so soon after Charlemagne's death his empire could present no united front to the invasions of the Northmen and others. All these are aspects of the Carolingian age which go far to explain the appearance of the feudal regime.

Add to these the removal of the strong hand of Charlemagne and the speedy loosening of central control which followed, and, finally, as an exterior factor, insufficient in itself to disrupt a properly rooted system of government, the invasions of Normans, Wends and Saracens which burst upon the West in the ninth and tenth centuries and which were made by peoples whose own habits were in the direction of local grouping round a chieftain. The sum of the causes enumerated explains the appearance of the feudal age.

Looking next to the finished product, we see in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the main fact that central government has virtually disappeared, and that

there has been a regrouping of allegiance round the local potentate, the founder of one of the great feudal families which, as a rule, traced their pedigree to the tenth century. With the possession of land goes the right to exercise powers of government over its inhabitants. Property and authority are now blended, and a relation of lord to vassal with mutual and reciprocal obligations has become the instrument by which are carried out the functions of government and protection as we know them. Something intermediate between no rule and central rule has come into existence. Royalty waits in the background with powers rather potential for the future than actual for the present.

A formidable difficulty for the modern student lies in the conception of a world in which local government *was* government—all the government there was ; for 'local' to us denotes something distinct from, and subordinate to, central government by the state. Hence we practically assume that the latter is 'natural' and foreordained for settled societies, and judge the feudal age as 'unnatural,' grotesque and provisional. It is of some help to remind ourselves that the very

recent institution, the nation state, may in some future phase of history be considered 'local' as compared with the rule of a world state or a league of nations.

Again it must be emphasised that the terms 'feudal system' and 'feudal institutions' are misleading when applied to the formative period.

The men who were grouping themselves in local knots for protection were not formulating theories or being intentionally systematic. In that state of flux society was too busy to pause and analyse itself ; it was as unconscious of itself and of theory thereon as the first bearers of coats of arms were of the heraldic science of a later, more leisured age.

Further, it would be convenient to accept Guérard's formula : 'What formed the base of the feudal society was the land ; and every man who possessed a portion, large or small, of land possessed a portion, large or small, of authority to govern.' That is certainly how the feudal society looked when fully grown, but it is not true of the ninth and tenth centuries. The personal relation of weaker to stronger, apart from the question of land granted or surrendered, was conspicuous in the formative age, and it is only gradually that there is a gravitation of various sorts of relationships into the standardised and characteristic one indicated by Guérard.

At this point we may dismiss the numerous difficulties arising out of the voluminous discussions as to what may be called the formal origins of the clothing in which the feudal relations were dressed. We may safely say that there existed, before feudalism, certain legal forms in which relations of personal dependence were expressed by Romans, Celts, Germans, along with certain methods of holding land on conditions ; these, doubtless, contributed their quota to feudal terminology, but the feudal world and its origins really explain themselves without these, and we need not confuse the origins of the form of an oath with the necessities which produced the feudal regime.

A final difficulty cannot be shirked. The feudal society in its 'classic' form presents the appearance of a social pyramid with king or emperor as apex, and below him in

Cautions against generalisations

Feudal structure as completed

descending scale the greater vassals, the lesser vassals, and so on, down to the smaller nobles. Such a structure looks as if it had come into existence from above downwards, whereas we have to accept the confusing fact (confusing because it represents confusion) that this feudal structure came into shape more or less simultaneously at all its levels and that gaps in the chain connecting king with lowest noble were filled in when the general conception of the feudal relation, that every man must have a lord, came to be accepted. If a metaphor can be used it might be that of the tree of which trunk, branches, twigs and leaves appear at the same time; or we may say that the steps of the feudal ladder were formed as disjointed pieces and were by a series of later developments joined up into a coherent whole.

We have now lifted out for separate examination the three main 'layers' of the feudal world—remains of village community, the legacy of the domal system, the conditions of the formative period of feudalism. With these in mind we can look more closely at the feudal society in being, always with the proviso that its characteristic was broad uniformity in principle combined with great diversity in the way in which that principle expressed itself locally.

Also (and the contrary is nearly always assumed in works on feudalism) it must be realized that there never existed a perfect model feudal state but only a set of instances of the working of the feudal method of government. In England the strong hand of the Norman kings gave it one sort of bias; in France the weakness of royalty gave it another; in Germany the influence of the tribal system and of strong emperors delayed its full ripening. The only perfect model may be said to be that taken to the Holy Land by the Crusaders and there established artificially, without roots, in alien soil; and if we see that these men tried to govern feudally in that foreign region because they were incapable of thinking about government in any other terms, we begin to understand feudalism and the Middle Ages and can

estimate at their right value the text-book statements that such and such a king 'aimed at destroying feudalism.'

Some negative propositions will take us some steps towards our closer view. There were absent from the feudal age the closely knit state with nerves of communication reaching to every district and every individual; the modern nation and nationality and all the background of common speech, literature, tradition, achievement, that goes with it; that ultimate expression of the modern world, the national army, the nation under arms. Again (and this explains much of the disaster that broke from time to time on that society), there was not modern wealth and accumulated capital by which the worst effects of pestilence and famine might be averted and those of great wars minimised; by contrast there was not the power of destruction achieved by later civilizations.

Speaking positively, we may say that there was a world more fantastic to us than that of Greek or Roman; a world of which the keynote was an intense localism, a diversity of custom and practice which the medieval mind could accept calmly but which to us is bewildering. The travelling merchant buying cloth at so much an ell must ask what 'ell' is meant, and how many inches there are in it, and even in what kind of money the price is quoted. The seller of quack medicines in a thirteenth-century work says that he will accept different pennies at Paris, Chartres, Le Mans, Orléans. A man selling a parcel of vegetables or sack of corn must tell the buyer what measure he is using, for there was infinite variety from place to place in capacity measures. We read that a peasant has fifty measures of land and must ascertain with which perch the land has been measured, for in Artois alone there were acres of at least fifty different sizes, and the traveller in the Belgian lands among 150 villages would meet 80 different lengths of the pole, perch or rod.

A crime is committed; whose business is it to arrest the criminal? It depends on where the crime is committed; on this side of the road the count has jurisdiction and on that the bishop; in one street the

burgesses of the town have the right to arrest and try, in the next the king's sergeants are concerned. It may make a difference whether the crime was committed by day or by night, in the house or outside. It is more important to decide on whose gallows a man shall hang, who shall have the right to his confiscated property, than that he *should* hang.

The typical baron holds land of a lord to whom he is bound by oath to render military service and attendance at the court at which cases between vassals are tried. In theory the land

he holds can be taken back by his lord; in practice it reverts only for breach of the feudal oath, or at failure of heirs; but the theory is represented by such payments as that of the 'relief' at each new succession—the 'death duty' of the time. We need not make of the inferior noble

too important or dignified a figure, for a process of feudal 'morcellement' went on and one village might include a score of fiefs. The baron may hold parts of his lands from different lords and on different conditions; hence an extraordinary interlacing of rights, claims, jurisdictions. The medieval encyclopedias and law-books give much space to such questions as: A baron receives a summons for help on the same day from the king and his overlord, from two overlords, from his father and his overlord; which shall he obey? In the lands he holds on this tenure the baron is the government, but this side of his activities occupies a minor part of his time and is, as a rule, performed by an agent trained in these matters. It may be conveniently illustrated if we take the case of a baron anxious to raise money to equip himself for a crusade. He draws up a list of possible ways, which includes these items: A charter of privileges to the town of A; the

rights of high and low justice in fifteen villages; the farm of a ferry; the right to police a fair; fifty bushels of wheat per annum due from certain lands; two-twenty-thirds of the tithe in the village of Z; the right to collect a penny in the shilling on all goods sold within the bounds of Y. This invented list is true to feudal life, and the important deduction is that the baron is disposing, not only of things which are property in the modern sense, but also of pieces of the right to govern.

The part of his duties he takes most seriously is that from which the others originate—war; whether it be under the banner of his lord on crusade, in judicial combat, as part of a coalition against king or emperor, as the arm of the Church in suppressing heresy. There is immense eagerness on this side of his work, and the chase was an inadequate substitute. The great revolution caused by the introduction



PART OF THE BARON'S DUTIES : JUDICIAL COMBAT

The typical baron's interests were chiefly martial, whether in war itself or in its various modifications such as judicial combat. Here two such means of settling a dispute are taking place in the lists before a king, with the corpses of earlier losers in a pile behind; from a 15th century MS. of Christine de Pisan's *Livre des faitz d'armes, et de chevalerie*.

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels

of the stirrup into western Europe made possible shock tactics, the cavalry charge, the armoured knight, the tournament; the feudal knight imposes this conception of war on his age and the connexion of gentility with cavalry service comes from him. The notions embodied in the idea of chivalry (see Chap. 116) emerge as part of his equipment, and, no mean bequest, have descended to some nations in sport and war.

The baron's house is his castle, and necessarily so, for he has no government to which to appeal for

Importance of redress, and his overlord Baronial Castle may be occupied elsewhere.

Unfortunately his house-fortress, once a rallying point and shelter, remained as a centre of resistance to the growth of public order, an opportunity for tyranny and a refuge for the robber baron. The household of the greater baron deserves more than passing notice, for it is one of the most significant things in history; it is the core of constitutional history, the origin of many modern institutions, the forerunner and ancestor in direct line of Whitehall and the government offices of half the world. One great feudal person, by name Capet, made and acquired France, and his domestic officers became national and state officers; another such feudal lord made England into a state, and the parliamentary and other institutions which were originated in his household have been handed on to the rest of the world, and still to-day Imperial Parliament meets in 'our Palace of Westminster.'

A well known list of the fifteen pleasures of the feudal baron includes chess and listening to minstrels among his more intellectual pursuits, but it may be said that he was not in reality far removed from the serf on the intellectual side. The two laughed at the same things, and the fact is important. The theology and philosophy of an era give us a view of its rarer minds, but the rank and file of mankind are seen better through another medium—that of the 'fabliaux,' the mysteries, the songs. The harlequinade of the pantomime represents medieval humour, and the large sums spent by great nobles in setting up elaborate booby

traps in their castles are of more significance than many of their acts that have received more attention from the historian.

In the baron's favour it may be said that he was not, for many generations of his existence, a social parasite, and when he became one it was because his duties were taken from him by changing conditions while he was left with his tastes and privileges. He was a soldier turned statesman and attempting to run a political and administrative machine; he was the product of war and confusion, and as these became less the normal state of things he became a dangerous anachronism. He was, at least, never a pretence, did not sit at home at ease; risked his skin on the smallest excuse, and was no more violent and brutal than the rest of his world. The town to which he gave a charter was as feudal and as foreign to modern ideas as he was. It set him no example of moderation or dislike for war, for its inhabitants would set out with great good will to destroy the looms of a neighbouring town which presumed to make cloth of the same width as theirs.

The feudal nobility formed but a small percentage of the whole feudal society, of which the bulk is composed of the later representatives of the subordinate population which we met on the domain. In the formative centuries of feudalism there has been a levelling down and up; the majority of the rural Serfdom and population in the eleventh and the Serf twelfth centuries is in the

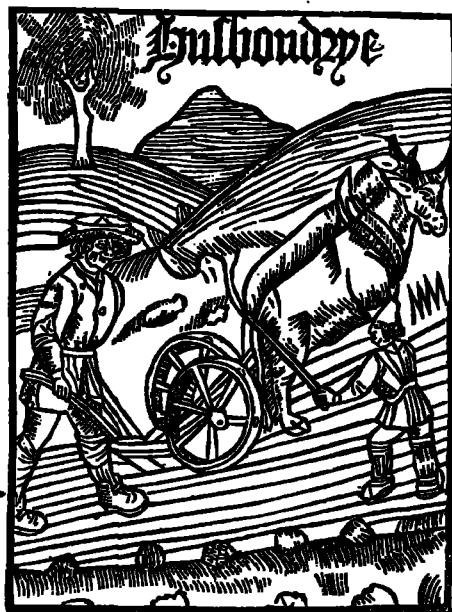
half-way state between free and servile status known as serfdom. In this connexion we must beware of telescoping conditions prevailing in different centuries, or of bringing under a common description inhabitants of widely separated regions. Medieval society was more static than ours, but it did move. With this qualification, we may risk description of the 'average' serf if only to serve as standard by which to gauge progress in given time and place.

The average serf, then, is a villager installed on a holding; he is bound to the soil and not free to leave the domain; he may not marry outside the domain without his lord's leave; as an economic dependant

he makes payments in services and kind ; at marriage, birth of a child, at death, payments are exacted from him which are the signs of his personal dependence ; he can be bought, sold or exchanged. These are facts about serfdom and the serf. They may easily, we believe, be misinterpreted. The serf was not allowed to leave his land ; he seldom wanted to leave it, for it was his means of livelihood. He could be dispossessed at his lord's will ; without crediting the latter with too much intelligence it may be mentioned that the land was valueless without the serf to till it, and it was from tilled land that the lord drew his income and the services that enabled him to get his reserved land cultivated ; in practice, servile families kept the same holdings for generations. The serf could be bought and sold with the estate ; this is true, and he was not easily free to refuse to form part of the transfer, as the employees of a modern firm would be if it changed hands.

Against harsh and arbitrary treatment his defence lay only in appeal to long established custom, but the strength of this need not be underestimated. The main point is that too literal an interpretation of the legal definition of the powers of the lord leads to neglect of the force of inertia exercised by groups of human beings, such as the inhabitants of a medieval village, and there is a tendency for historians to utilise chiefly the more violent examples of systems that had their normal and workaday aspects.

The serf was in the double relation to his lord of economic dependence and personal servitude. The two relations tended to become separated, and we have the curious phenomenon that serfdom as a legal status, as a personal dependence, may exist as between A and B though A holds no land from B ; serfdom and land-holding have become distinct matters, so that to describe a man as a serf may mean that he stands registered as such on the estate books of a certain lord and owes him payments at fixed rates. This was, in brief, the position of the serf whether his lord was lay or spiritual ; for if it be asked whether the serf of the Church was better placed than the serf of the lay baron, it must be replied that his treatment might



PLOUGHING AN OPEN FIELD

A vignette at the beginning of the first published work on agriculture in English (*The Boke of Husbondrye*, 1525, perhaps attributable to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert) shows a peasant and his lad ploughing an open field with a yoke of oxen

be less arbitrary but he would none the less have to pay what was due from him. The Church was a better book-keeper than the layman, and maintenance of serfdom depended largely on well kept registers and periodical checking of lists, especially in disturbed times.

The position of the serf, fairly stable in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, underwent a slow change from then onwards. There were possibilities of escape from the tie in return for a cash payment, or as an act of piety on the lord's part, and there was, after plague or war, great difficulty in keeping the records. Over wide areas, as in the northern French plain, status followed the mother, and the children of a serf married to a free-woman were free. The freedom acquired by the serf who had spent a certain period in a chartered town probably affected but small numbers, but there was migration of another kind which was far-reaching in its consequences. The Canada and Australia of medieval

Ways of escape
from Serfdom

Europe lay within the bounds of Europe itself, and at various dates new land was opened up for cultivation. Marshes were drained and forest areas cleared, and the abbot or count responsible for the clearing of new land offered as an inducement to settlers the prospect of better conditions both economic and social. There was thus a weakening of the rigid dependence of the earlier generations of serfdom.

These possibilities of escape must be taken into strict account when considering the ultra-legal view of serfdom; at the same time it remains true that there were regions in which serfdom remained oppressive and degrading far into modern times.

The medieval village is little changed in appearance from the domain from which it inherits its characteristic division into lord's land and land granted out to dependants. It retains, too, the marks of its more remote ancestor, the village community, in its open fields, its three-field system, its ownership of dispersed strips of ploughland. There may be more land under the plough than formerly and the waste may be diminished, but feudalism as such has not changed the rural economy.

We may safely visualise the medieval village by way of its modern representative, for the 'lie of the land' has altered little, though English hedges hide the old open fields. The church,

The average manor house, workshops of craftsmen requisite for a self-sufficing community, tithe barn or grange—these, with the cottages of the peasants, are the nucleus round which lies the ploughland which remains in most places to-day as the oldest visible monument of man's handiwork. The rest of the village territory includes the waste or common, the woodland and hay-meadows—these last, as a rule, the property of the lord of the domain. The typical peasant who lives here is a small farmer. He has his cottage or farmhouse, often of flimsy enough construction, to judge by the frequency of the medieval crime of arson. The furniture was in keeping and an iron cooking pot was often the most costly article.

Besides cottage or farmhouse, croft and garden, he has his scattered pieces of

arable. Communal ploughing and reaping disappeared at widely varying dates in different parts of Europe, but in any case 'dispersion' involved common ploughing times and harvest times and prevented the enterprising man from improving his own holding. The holding, thus inconveniently arranged, is as a rule small—a forty acre farm was a large one—and it was made still less workable in the French and Belgian plains by the inveterate custom of equal division of the land among the heirs of the peasant, bond or free.

Methods of agriculture changed little in medieval times. The soil was improved only by the use of marl, the ploughing in of the stubble, which was left much longer than nowadays, and the pasturing of the herds on it after harvest; at the same time there is no need to exaggerate the defects of medieval agriculture; it fed a large population, and there were farms in the hands of efficient stewards which gave good returns even on modern standards.

The peasant's crops were spring and winter corn, peas and beans; much of medieval life is explained by the absence of root crops such as turnip and wurzel for winter feed for stock. His beasts, sheep or cattle, were pastured on the village waste in charge of the village herd, and the system did not tend to the improvement of strain; after harvest they were turned on to the stubble. Pigs were sent into the woods in autumn to fatten on the mast, and so universal was this custom that the documents often measure woodland not by acreage but by swine-feeding capacity. For his fuel and repair the villager depends on the woods, which are usually the lord's private reserve. Concessions were made, and permission to take fallen branches was interpreted as liberally as it would be to-day. Sometimes, bowing to necessity, the lord granted part of his woodland to the village so as to be undisturbed in the rest—a warning against a too literal interpretation of the domainal monopoly.

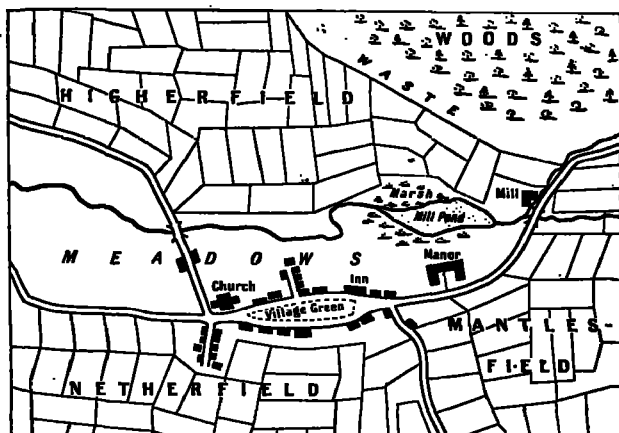
The peasant's food is of the kind and quality traditional with the farm labourer; bread, beans, bacon are its staple, with the addition of the fruits of poaching both for fish and game, though it may be said that on the Continent game laws, at

least touching small game, became severe only as war became less available as the chief occupation for people of quality.

The life here sketched involved a host of regulations for its control, and these were embodied in local customs or 'usages.' These are the peasant's charter; they touch his life at every point, they are the only 'constitution' that concerns him. They cover the dates for the completion of sowing and reaping, the number of beasts he shall have on the waste and their kind, the use of the wood, the ownership of the strayed swarm of bees, responsibilities for hedging and ditching, and so on. For the interpretation of these customs, which temper tyranny more than may be realized, there is the local court held by the lord's steward which deals with breaches of the usage of the village. The medieval peasant is often more vitally interested in the fact that his neighbour has stolen a furrow or two from him than in wider politics; the village is his state and its affairs the only ones that touch him deeply.

It is probably not possible to formulate an exact estimate of the medieval peasant's economic position. The following list of the main items in the payments due from him to various authorities may serve, however, to indicate its essentials and throw some further light on a rural organization common in its broad outline to all medieval Europe. The payments are considered here as they touch the peasant as central figure and without regard to their origin, feudal or domainal, or to their exact scientific definition as fees, taxes, rents, etc.

Under the head of 'rent' are conveniently grouped such payments as appear to be directly attached to the pieces of land he holds and which will be transferred with it if it changes hands. As might be expected in a system of great



TYPICAL MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

The map, based on that of an existing village, attempts to reconstitute the territorial arrangement of a medieval village. With the help of a large-scale ordnance map, and of the parish tithe map with its field-names, a similar reconstruction can be made in the case of many existing English villages.

antiquity, we find the greatest irregularity. This half acre is saddled with an annual payment of ten shillings; that owes a measure of corn; a third provides for the repair of the abbey roof; another is held on condition of performing errands for the lord. There is often bewildering variety and little apparent proportion between the area of land and the payments or services due from it. As time progresses and money decreases in value the cash payments become less onerous; payments in kind survive the Middle Ages and in times of scarcity were crushing. The corvées, or labour rents, universal in the earlier days of the domain, disappear in many districts in the thirteenth century, having been commuted to money payments. In other parts they remain as a burden on the peasant and an uneconomic method of cultivation for the lord of the soil. At times of scarcity of labour, as after the Black Death, the landlords attempted to institute a return from money payments to the corvée system, with consequent revolt on the part of the peasant.

The tithe, a tax levied on all produce of the soil, live or dead, was universal in the Christian world. It represented a source of income which the Church abandoned with reluctance, but lay possession of it was widespread, and it was bought and sold, divided and subdivided,

until an elaborate system of book-keeping was necessary for its collection.

Of the crops the tenth sheaf was collected, and the tithe cart making its way through the fields was a familiar sight at harvest time. On beasts the proportion was not always a literal tenth, and the possibility of the poorest beast being offered for tithe was avoided by the device of 'last through the gate' or some such method. In coastal regions the tithe

was levied on the produce of the fishing fleets and a share of the total catch was duly handed over to the collector. Even the early shallow coal workings in the Mons region were brought under tithe, and one basket in so many went to the local religious house—an anticipation of the modern royalty. We should sadly misread the medieval world if we took the tithe merely as burdensome; it was a payment for services rendered, and the prayers and offices of the Church meant something to those paying tithe. But it was distinctly vexatious in its mode of collection. We find complaints from A that in threatening weather he sent three times to the monastery to say his sheaves were ready for tithing and no one came, and his crop was spoiled by rain.

The villager must take his corn to be ground to one mill and to no other, to that belonging to the lord, lay or spiritual, who, by early assumed right or by special charter, has had bestowed on him the monopoly of erecting a mill or mills on a given stretch of water; for the water-mill is the rule until the thirteenth century in western Europe. The miller had usually farmed the mill from the local monopolist, and his habits made him one of the most abused figures of medieval times. Corn had, of course, to be ground somewhere, and the payment fixed by ancient local custom, and generally a proportion of the grain brought for grinding, was not heavy in itself, but with increase of population and improvement in communication the system became a burden. The farmer was prevented from using a more conveniently situated mill, and, above all, was liable to long wasted days. He arrived at the mill with his loaded beasts,

to find after long waiting that his turn in the queue was taken by the servant of some local personage who was 'hopper free,' that is, who for a consideration had acquired the right of having his corn ground 'first after that found grinding.' The complaints in medieval documents are often of this order, and when the rural had become an urban community the difficulties were more serious still and struggles by the bakers to break the monopoly are frequent. In the vine regions the use of a domainal winepress was similarly imposed.

The compulsory use of an oven, owned by the lord or his lessee, for the baking of bread is an interesting instance of a communal benefit which had become a tyrannous exaction. That it was an obvious advantage to the villager to have his bread baked is proved by the survival of such ovens to our times, but when the use of a particular oven was enforced, probably with a fixed minimum of loaves and without possibility of competition, it became irksome. The payment for the service was not heavy, being fixed, as a rule, at one loaf in so many according to season and price of fuel, but it involved inquisition into the number of loaves brought during the year and interference with the cottager's liberty to bake at home.

The payments so far noted are regular and fixed, and the peasant can reckon them in his budget, but the notorious 'tallage,' representing the right of the baron to tax at will his subjects, the dwellers on his estates, could not be so reckoned. By origin apparently a personal tax and badge of servile status, it often became settled on the land as distinct from its holder; originally, too, 'à merci,' or at the lord's will, in frequency and amount, it had become, by a series of compromises and arrangements, fixed and proportionate to the size of the holding. But there are many instances of its survival in its most oppressive forms, and of futile revolts against its continuance.

Estimates of the lot of the medieval peasant have usually gone to one of two extremes. There is the school which, attracted by the absence from medieval

Incidence of
the Tallage

organization of some of the less amiable features of modern life, looks back to the medieval rural organization as that of a golden age, and sees therein chiefly the more pleasantly coloured features presented by the great chroniclers. Others take the blackest view and compress the thousand years of medieval history into a regrettable interval in the march of human progress. The true view must be tempered by the facts; so far as possible, and, although all historical estimates are of necessity in the nature of comparisons, there is no need to supply the medieval peasant, after the event, with a foreknowledge of modern progress by which to heighten the miseries of his lot.

As to his economic position, it is impossible to be quantitative in our conclusions, and particularly is it unwise to apply to his rents and other payments any standards derived from attempts to reckon the comparative value of money in his day and this. It is safer to be dogmatic here than in most things historical and to say that such estimates are without value. The opinion may be risked, however, that

**General lot of the
medieval peasant**

the sum total of the
payments due from him
to various authorities

was not excessive, and that he was not over-rented or over-taxed. He held land of which in practice he was not easily dispossessed—the landless villager is a modern product. He was able to live on its produce; for, after all, we have to admit that the domainal system did work, though the standard of subsistence it allowed was much lower materially than the modern English one. He lived under a government that he had not chosen, and under controls and monopolies that were not of his establishing, and which were more and more anachronistic as time went on. His horizon was a narrow one; it was bounded by the confines of his village, or, at most, by the neighbouring town. Through his parish church he might see vaguely Rome and the Papacy; he might see, too, vaguely enough, though with increasing distinctness, a wider political world, as ducal or royal power pierced through the feudal barrier. The rule of his lord was often brutal and was

certainly capricious; it could be more effective in his hurt than in his defence; but it was often from the lord's underlings, near to him socially, that the worst of his oppressions came.

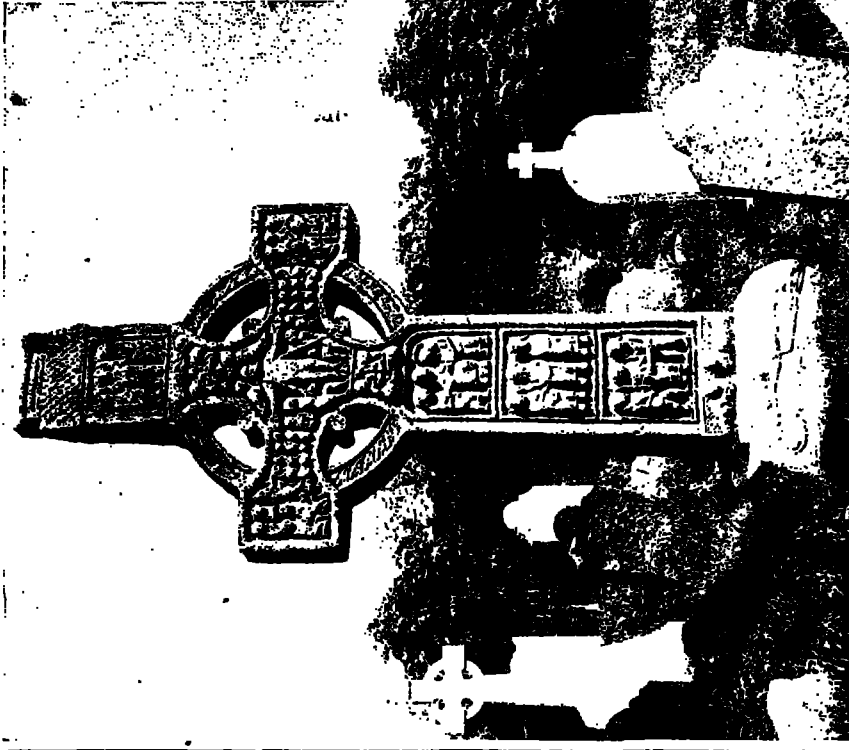
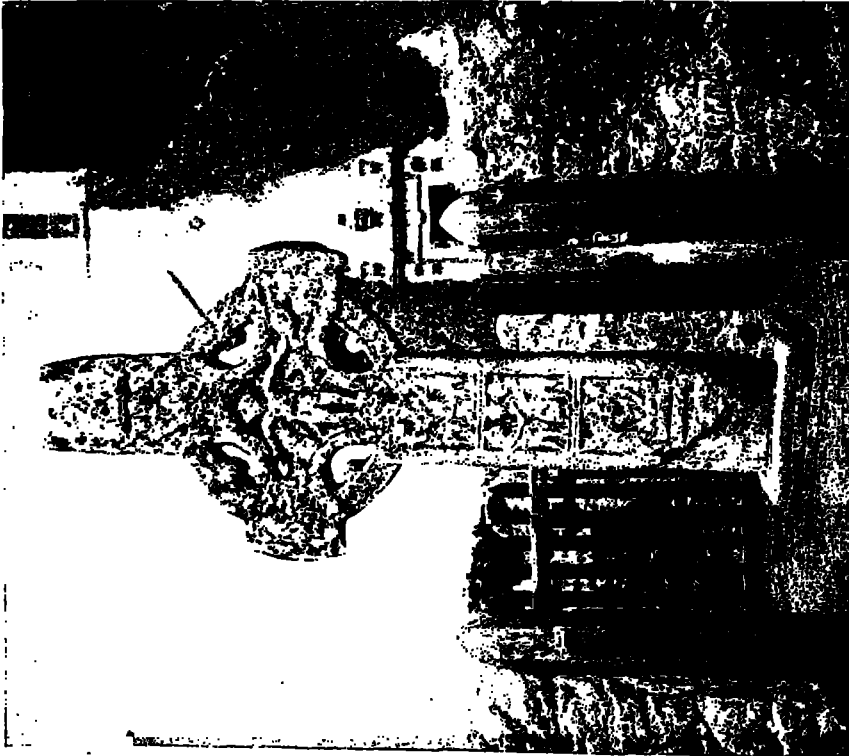
We know that the serf or peasant was despised and distrusted—medieval literature is full of proofs of this; but it would be more interesting if we knew, for example, what in the thirteenth century was the attitude of the free peasant to the serf who worked by his side in the same village; this we do not know.

His chief miseries, we believe, came not from the domainal system as such, nor perhaps from feudalism in itself. They came from the great

defect of medieval society **Sources of his
in general—lack of security chief miseries**
and lack of strong executive

power, able and willing to see to the carrying out of laws and customs not in themselves over-faulty or vicious. Apart from the common dangers of famine, and its close follower pestilence, the peasant was the first and most frequent victim of war, and medieval war, if not so effectively destructive as modern, was more frequent. The medieval army—as, for instance, in the Hundred Years' War—laid waste a tract of from ten to fifteen miles wide on its line of march, and the peasant died of hunger or fled to the woods, or to the nearest walled town, where he was compelled to stay sometimes for two or three years; and there were no generations in any part of continental Europe in which the peasant was not so exposed.

Slow release from much of this was to come with the increase in the power of duke, or king, or tyrant, with the supersession of feudalism by central government, with the substitution of standing armies for feudal hosts, with the abolition of private war. The peasant is to receive protection, and in return to enter a wider world, in which he shall pay his share towards the costly apparatus of the modern state. He is to live in comparative (not absolute) security, and, although, perhaps, without so large an interest in the soil he tills, is to achieve consolation in the form of a larger share in the responsibilities and expenses falling to the free citizen of the modern state.



FINELY SCULPTURED ICONOGRAPHIC CELTIC CROSSES ON OLD MONASTIC LANDS

In Ireland the glebe land round a church was a sanctuary, and in ancient times the limits of the sanctuary were marked by high crosses, under the arms of which fugitives might find protection. Representative specimens are Muiredach's Cross (right)—one of three at Monasterboice—and the cross at Durrow (left). There were monasteries at both these places. These crosses were iconographic, with representations of Christ, the Crucifixion and various incidents narrated in the Old and the New Testaments; a characteristic of the Celtic cross is the circular ring round the intersection of the arms.

Photos, W. Lawrence

IRELAND'S PART IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

How an Island on its Western Confines preserved and transmitted the Learning of the Ancient World

By. STEPHEN L. GWYNN

Author of *The History of Ireland, etc.*

WHAT we now mean by Europe, except as a mere geographical expression, dates from the eleventh or twelfth century; it is really a reconstruction and extension of that grouping and common civilization which was called the Roman Empire. Ireland, lying on the outer rim, had indeed contact by trading and raiding with the Roman world, but was never brought into it by armed conquest. It was, however, at last 'Romanised,' or, as we should say now, 'Europeanised,' by the peaceful penetration of Christianity, at the very moment when Roman armies were being withdrawn from Britain.

S. Patrick was a Roman citizen, son of a 'decurio,' probably in South Wales, and he was captured by Irish raiders, about A.D. 400. The evacuation of Britain took place while he was a slave in county Antrim, and to the end of his life he thought of himself as a Roman, urged by divine power to work among the barbarians for the sake of Christ. His mission, for which he spent perhaps twenty years in preparing, is dated A.D. 432. Among his companions were Gauls and Britons: and the church which he established throughout the whole of Ireland before his death in 461 owed much at first to the British and Welsh saints and scholars scattered along the western coast from the Clyde to the Severn. Here Christianity, which had been the official religion of the Empire, survived, when the rest of England and Scotland had passed under pagan rule.

In bringing Christianity to Ireland, Patrick brought the Latin language and the use of Latin letters—keys to all the European knowledge of the time. The

Irish had their own literature and their own records; but these were preserved, as in Gaul, by men specially trained in the use of memory. Patrick did not discourage the continuance of this learning: among his converts were not only princes but chief poets and sages. Yet for more than a century the two forms of learning were kept apart, knowledge in Gaelic relying on oral transmission, but Latin teaching on the written word.

It is well to distinguish at once between the history of the two learnings in Ireland. Irish literature and history and law continued to be transmitted in the native language **Native Gaelic** and and, even up to the **Latin Learning** time of Queen Elizabeth,

largely by the trained memory. This literature meant a very great deal to Ireland; and, as contact with Europe developed, it absorbed parts of the general European tradition—the story of Troy, for instance, and the history of Alexander, as well as the Bible. But it never itself became part of the literature of Europe; it remained insular in its appeal—extending, of course, to Gaelic Scotland. Irish law again, preserved in Gaelic, had so strong a grip that the Gaelic order had to be utterly broken to pieces before the Irish would accept any other system; and for this reason Ireland gave to Europe in the Middle Ages no jurists. Ireland's service to Europe lay in preserving what Ireland received from the crumbling Roman Empire through the Roman citizen Patrick—the religion of Christianity and the Latin learning.

Yet it should be noted that Ireland was the only country of northern Europe in the Dark Ages where learned men did not

despise the native or vulgar tongue. Columba was the special champion of the poets, and, according to tradition, a poet in Gaelic himself. It is probable that the Irish students of Scripture were taught at least in part through Irish, their own language: for there are many ancient manuscripts with Irish glosses or marginal annotations. Neither Gaul nor Frank nor Welshman has left us any such notes. If the Irish were at this period, as seems certain, intellectually the quickest race of northern Europe, it was because their teaching was not solely reliant on a language which, though universally known among the educated, was not anywhere the speech of an existing people. Notably enough, a modern Irish Catholic divine, Dr. Walter McDonald, has made a strong plea for the use of the vernacular rather than Latin in the study of Catholic theology, because the mind works better in the medium of its mother tongue.

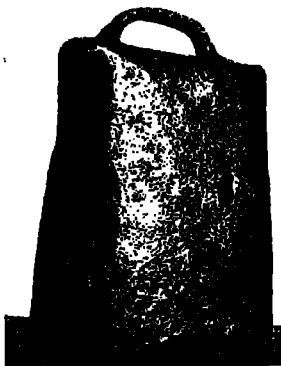
With respect to Latin learning, the Irish were not mere custodians of a deposit. The Christianity planted by S. Patrick

grew with an intense life, stamped by the character of the race. He and his companion missionaries were secular clergy, bishops and priests. Those who made Irish Christianity a lamp in the Dark Ages were ascetic monks, joining to the passion for holiness an equal passion for learning. Many of them were of princely blood; but in all the same instinct asserted itself, to seek out somewhere a lonely place, a 'desert,' and there live in prayer and meditation and study.

To each of these leaders disciples flocked, drawn by the repute of his sanctity. About the founder's cell other cells grew up, built of wattles and clay: the largest building was a tiny oratory in which they worshipped.

But the community submitted to a 'rule,' imposed by its leader; and there was division of labour. A great part of the labour was the multiplication of books. Without books there could be no spread of learning. Many of the great saints were great scribes—and none more notably than the first Irish missionary overseas.

This was Columba (521-597). By birth eligible for the kingship of North Ireland, and, therefore, a possible high king of all Ireland, he entered religion and received his first classical training at Movilla on Strangford Lough under S. Finian. Later, he studied at Clonard in Meath under another S. Finian, pupil of S. David of Menevia in Wales. His training completed (and it included courses in the native Irish learning), he began to found monasteries all over the northern half of Ireland, many of which became famous centres of scholarship and the illuminator's art. Kells and Durrow are conspicuous. About 563 he left Ireland to found a monastery at Iona. On the



S. PATRICK'S BELL

Iron bells resembling ordinary cow bells were used by the Irish saints in their ministrations. S. Patrick's bell is still preserved in Dublin.

National Library, Dublin



THE ORATORY OF S. GALLERUS

Of the oratories of the early Irish saints the most complete surviving specimen is that of the fifth-century S. Gallerus, near Smerwick Harbour, in County Kerry. It is built of rubble masonry, with the door for the only aperture, and measures 23 feet by 10 feet externally, and 16 feet to the roof ridge.

Photo, Clifton Adams

west coast of what was then called Alba (for 'Scotia' and 'Scotus' up to the tenth century meant 'Ireland' and 'Irishman') Gaelic princes, holding a petty kingdom in Antrim, had established a branch of their power; and the Alban territory had grown the more important. Iona lay where the territory of Columba's Christian Gaelic kindred bordered on that held by the heathen Picts, to whom his mission was addressed. The work which he began was carried on at Iona by forty-nine successive abbots; and the barren rock grew into one of the centres of European life and thought.

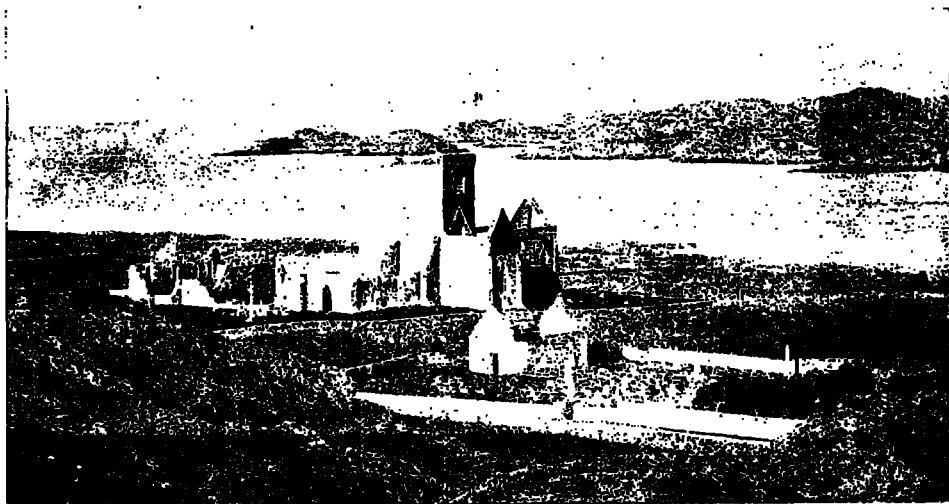
Its mission work extended beyond Alba. When the rulers of Northumbria sought to introduce Christianity among their people, neither Britons of Britain or of Brittany nor Gauls would approach the Saxons. The Northumbrian king, Oswald, who at one period was a refugee to Iona and was baptised there, appealed to its monks for help; and about 635 S. Aidan came and established the monastery of Lindisfarne on Holy Island near Bamborough. His labours and those of his fellow workers extended far and wide the work which S. Augustine thirty years



S. COLUMBA'S HOUSE AT KELLS

In the course of his career S. Columba is said to have founded a hundred monasteries, Kells—of which no traces now remain—being one of the most notable. This building, known as S. Columba's House, was originally an oratory.

earlier had begun. 'Augustine,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'was the apostle of



IONA, 'THE ISLAND OF COLUMBA OF THE CELL'

S. Columba landed on Iona in 563 and founded the monastery which became the centre of Celtic missionary work. All trace of that building has disappeared, and the remains above are of the Benedictine monastery and nunnery that replaced it in 1203, with the thirteenth-century cathedral church of S. Mary. The Chapel of S. Oran, in the cemetery, was built by Queen Margaret in the eleventh century on the supposed site of S. Columba's cell. This is the oldest ruin in Iona.

Photo, Frith & Co.



S. LUKE : BY A LINDISFARNE MONK

When they left Lindisfarne in 875 the monks took with them, among other treasures, an illuminated copy of the Gospels (see also plate facing page 2453). This fell into the sea off Cumberland, but was recovered at Whitherne in Galloway.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero D. iv

Kent, but Aidan was the apostle of England.' It is stated that in 662 every bishop in England but one had been ordained by an Irishman, and that single exception was a Gaul who had studied in Ireland.

To spread Christianity in the seventh century was to spread learning. Outside the clerks of the Church illiteracy was general. In the monasteries learning was fostered, and communication between these centres was maintained through Europe. At Iona, hard to reach even to-day, the abbot Adamnan, born in 625, wrote a description of the Holy Places of Palestine, with plans and measurements based on the conversation of a Gaulish bishop who travelled to Palestine in 690, and who thereafter, being shipwrecked on the Scottish coast, spent a winter in Iona.

Communications were specially close between monasteries of kindred foundation, such as Iona and its offspring Lindisfarne, or the other Northumbrian abbeys. In a secondary sense Ireland is responsible for the work of Bede, the Saxon, whose abbey was at Jarrow. 'The history



RUINS OF THE PRIORY CHURCH ON HOLY LINDISFARNE

S. Aidan founded a monastery on Holy Island, or Lindisfarne, near Bamborough, on the east coast of Northumberland, about 635. It was an offshoot of the monastery at Iona, and S. Cuthbert became a bishop of the see and was first buried there. The monastery suffered repeatedly and severely at the hands of Norse pirates, and was destroyed towards the end of the ninth century. In 1093 a Benedictine priory was established on its site, and the ruins of that church are still standing.

Photo, Harle

of Latin is the history of education and follows the great schools,' writes W. P. Ker in *The Dark Ages*. 'There is a line from Ireland to Iona, and from Iona to Jarrow and York, and from there to the Court of Charlemagne' (where Alcuin of York was the chief director of studies). Again, 'The decline of education was not universal. If studies failed in Gaul or Italy, they flourished in Ireland. Latin literature was all one.'

During the general chaos of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, Ireland, free from invasion, provided a seed-bed in which tranquil studies were zealously fostered, and here an asylum was offered to the seekers after learning. Bede, writing of the great pestilence of 664, observed that it raged in Ireland:

Many of the nobility and lower ranks of the English nation were there at that time who, forsaking their native island, retired thither, either for the sake of divine studies, or of a more continent life, and some of them presently devoted themselves to a monastical life; others chose rather to apply themselves to study, going about from one monk's cell



S. COLUMBAN'S HERMITAGE AT LUXEUIL.

S. Columban, one of the greatest of the early Irish missionaries, reached Luxeuil, in the modern department of Haute-Saône, about 590, and founded a monastery. For twenty years he lived an ascetic life in this cave before resuming his missionary wanderings through Flanders, Switzerland and Italy.

From Stokes, 'Three Months in the Forests of France'

to another. The Scots as willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read and their teaching gratis.

In the great school of Armagh there was a 'Saxon quarter' (or rather 'third') — Trian Sacsan.

Yet even more important for Europe than the work of Irish teachers in their own land was the labour of those who followed Columba's example farther afield than Britain. The first of these took the name 'Columbanus' (in Irish, Colman). A noble of Leinster, he was born in 543; trained first by an anchorite on one of the islands in Lough Erne, he proceeded to Bangor on Belfast Lough, 'which was then one of the finest schools in Europe,' says Clarke in his *History of the Abbey of St. Gall*. In 585 with a band of companions Columban passed into Gaul and began a course of wanderings which led him to Burgundy. Its ruler Guntram (see page 2269) bestowed on him Annegray at the foot of the Vosges; but when disciples multiplied the saint settled in a ruined Roman city, where pagan statues were still standing, and there founded the monastery of Luxeuil, which grew to be one of the most important in what is now France.



THE SPELL OF SANCTITY

S. Columban died in 615 and was buried in his monastery at Bobbio. This bas-relief on his sarcophagus, showing a bear and an ox yoked to the same plough, commemorates the extraordinary influence he exercised over wild creatures.

From Stokes, 'Six Months in the Apennines'

The Irish missionary work was carried on even more by example than by preaching. Columban and his followers lived a life of rigid asceticism, peaceful and harmless. The birds and beasts came about him unfrightened, and his fame spread, like that of some holy man in India of to-day; or as did within this century the fame of

Personal influence of S. Columban Charles de Foucauld, the soldier monk, among the Touaregs.

Noble youths gathered about him, as they had gathered in Ireland about Enda and Columba, and they received instruction in his learning as well as in piety. For Columban was a good writer of Latin both in prose and verse, skilled in classic as well as in Christian literature. Other foundations sprang from his first settlements. Brie, Faremoutiers, Jouarre and Rebais were founded by his disciples or friends. But these foundations were made after the saint himself had been forced to leave his first settlement, where he had spent twenty years.

For Columban, bold as well as gentle, withstood the masterful queen regent, Brunhild, and when she demanded the saint's blessing for the four sons born to her grandson Theuderich by concubines he refused it. 'They shall not reign,' he said, 'for they come from the stew's.' By Brunhild's influence he was driven, about A.D. 610, with his Irish companions out of Burgundy, and put on a ship at Nantes bound for Ireland. But the vessel was driven back by storms, and the captain put the ecclesiastics ashore as the cause of ill luck.

Columban made his way to the court of Clothar, king of Neustria, at Soissons; but after a while he conveyed himself to Flanders and up the Rhine into Switzerland about 610, where he undertook a mission to the heathen Alemanni and Suevi. One of his disciples, Gall, trained also at Bangor, knew the language of the country, and preached in it at Bregenz. After some time the country turned against the Irish missionaries, and the duke of Alemannia ordered them to leave. Columban, now sixty years old, went on into Italy; but Gall, on the plea of illness, stayed behind and took refuge in the forests.

Columban was well received at Milan by the king of the Lombards, who gave him the church and territory of Bobbio, in a gorge of the Apennines between Genoa and Milan, and here he established a monastery which lasted till 1803; its church is still the parish church. Here in 615 Columban was buried; but in the last year of his life he had sought a more complete seclusion and died in an anchorite's cell at Trebbia.

Meantime his disciple S. Gall had found for himself a desert site where the Steinach brook falls into Lake Constance, and had obtained a grant of the land. With two Swabian disciples he felled trees, built huts, erected a small chapel and cultivated a field, meantime going from village to village and preaching against heathen customs. His fame spread; other disciples came to him, and so began the monastery of St. Gall, which lasted twelve hundred years, and from which a Swiss canton (St. Gall) takes its name. Gall died there about 630, and was buried in the chapel and venerated as a saint.

Thus from Columban's mission there sprang up centres of religion and learning in Burgundy, in northern France, in Switzerland and in Italy, all of which grew into **Missionary work on the Continent** great and lasting institutions. Columban's name is the greatest among those who devoted themselves to missionary work on the Continent, both reviving Christianity where it was perishing and spreading it for the first time among actual pagans—giving, as Ker says in *The Dark Ages*, 'the spirit of their lives to animate the brutish mass and turn it into Christendom.' The 'rule' which Columban wrote for his foundation at Luxeuil was observed also not only at Bobbio but at St. Gall; it was, according to some authorities, followed generally throughout Gaul for half a century till it was replaced by that of S. Benedict, who was Columban's contemporary. The Benedictine Dom Gougaud, in *Celtic Christianities*, says that in many cloisters the two rules were combined. Traces of it remained till the close of the eighth century.

But the influence of Ireland on continental Europe in this early period of the

seventh century does not limit itself to the work of Columban and his companions—nor even to the results achieved by the Gauls or Swabians or Lombards trained at Luxeuil or St. Gall or Bobbio. A host of other Irishmen swarmed out on the same quest. S. Fursa established himself as an anchorite at Lagny on the Marne, and such was the repute of his sanctity that on his death his bones were taken for burial to Peronne, and here was founded a monastery specially for the Irish—'Perrona Scotorum.' Up till at least 770 its successive abbots were Irish. Belgium also had its Irish missionaries, at Ghent and in the Argonne. S. Kilian evangelised Franconia and died at Würzburg. The monasteries of Honau and Altomünster were founded by Irish monks, and in the eighth century Ferghail, abbot of Aghaboe, left Ireland and became abbot of S. Peter's at Salzburg, and later bishop of that city. But this notable man, known to medieval Europe as 'Vergil the Geometer,' is even more notable as a thinker than as a missionary. His name belongs to a later part of this discussion.

Thus it fell to the lot of Ireland, which had received Christianity from Roman Europe, to preserve Christianity behind a sea barrier when Britain and the Continent were swept by barbarian inroads. Then, as Europe began to reshape itself, Ireland brought back the gift it had received. Columba and his successors in England, Columban and his followers or imitators on the Continent, spread Christianity; and with it they brought back and extended the Latin learning, not exclusively using the classics, Cicero, Vergil, Horace and Ovid, for schoolbooks, but introducing and adding to the post-classical literature. Ker in *The Dark Ages* sets out what that means:

The Latin authors carried on the traditions of classical education; they taught the liberal arts; they collected material for natural and civil history and expounded it; they preserved the classical forms of verse and prose, with modifications according to their taste; they served the Church in the teaching of Divinity. In one kind of composition only are they innovators: the rhyming hymns are the original Latin poetry of the Dark Ages.

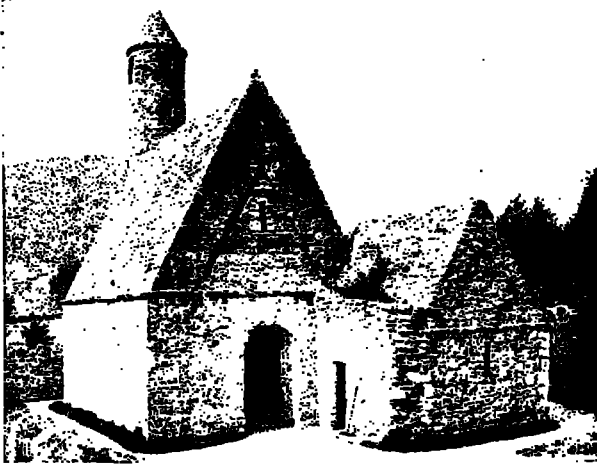
It is at least possible that rhyme, which had been always a feature of Gaelic poetry, was developed in Latin under Irish inspiration. From the Abbey of Bangor, where Columban and Gall were trained, comes this stanza in praise of the Bangor Rule of Life:

Benchuir bona regula,
Recta atque divina,
Stricta, sancta, sedula,
Summa, justa ac mira.

These lines are not in the modern European rhyme; but they are rhymed in the assonantic manner of Irish poetry—the last two vowels in 'divina' coinciding with those in 'mira.' The further development to rhyme in our sense would naturally have been given by continental disciples whose ears were not accustomed to the Celtic assonances and demanded the more complete concord of consonantal rhyme.

The work done by Irish foundations on the Continent for the diffusion of culture was by no means all due to Irishmen. Just as the institutions which S. Patrick, the Roman Briton, founded in Ireland were manned increasingly by natives of the country and rapidly became Irish, so, similarly, at St. Gall for instance, the large majority of the monks and abbots after the first founder's time were of continental stock—mostly Swabian. But it must be remembered that except for the Irish missionary this community would not have come into existence. In the same way, but for the Roman Briton S. Patrick, the Irish monasteries would not have begun. But the institutions created by Columba and the rest were very unlike anything of which Patrick ever dreamed; and, conversely, the monasteries of Irish type founded by Columban, by Gall and the rest turned into something quite un-Irish.

In 720 Iona and Clonmacnoise, and probably even Bangor and Armagh, still remained collections of wattled cells, scattered about tiny oratories; but by that time St. Gall had grown into a stately Benedictine abbey. The Irish monks, though they were to a certain extent pioneers in building with stone in their own country, contributed nothing to the



AN EARLY IRISH STONE CHURCH

Although wood was the characteristic building material of the ancient Irish, little stone churches were erected from early Christian times. S. Kevin's Church at Glendalough, in Wicklow, is representative. It measures 25 feet by 15 and has a high-pitched roof and a round belfry—reputedly the earliest of its type.

Photo, W. Lawrence

art of architecture which was the supreme achievement of the Middle Ages in Europe and in Great Britain. It was not till the twelfth century that a great Irish ecclesiastic, S. Malachy O'Morgair, set himself to introduce into Ireland something of the splendour and beauty with which he saw religion surrounded in the cloisters of his friend S. Bernard of Cluny; and, when he did, he was met by protests from the ascetics against this idle profusion. Thus, while in one sense the Irish were the founders of medieval Christendom in the Europe north of the Alps, in another sense northern Europe had to break away from the asceticism of Irish teachers to reach that medieval Christian culture of which Gothic architecture is the splendid expression.

But assuredly the Irish, in the sixth and seventh centuries, did not come to the Continent with the expectation of learning anything there. To S. Gall and those Irish disciples who gathered about his cell, the Suevi were 'bar-

barians'—exactly as the Irish were to S. Patrick. Later, from the eighth century onward, when the Swabian monks had, as Dr. Clarke points out, their own local saints and their local traditions, the Irishmen were still overbearing, but found their pretensions to a monopoly of culture resented. Also, from the very first days of their mission, certain of their traditions were disapproved.

A special form of tonsure had grown up among them, running from ear to ear across the scalp; they were asked to conform to the usage recognized at Rome and in southern Europe. More serious was the fact that whereas Rome in A.D. 465 had introduced a new method of fixing Easter, the

Scoti and Britons adhered to the old Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, with the result that Irish and British Christians in 631 celebrated Easter a month later than the rest of Europe. Part of Augustine's task in 605 was to bring about unity in this respect: but his arguments were



A MASTERPIECE OF IRISH METAL WORK

Celtic skill in metal work was remarkable, Irish filigree work in particular showing rare beauty. The finest specimen is the ninth-century silver Ardagh Chalice, round the body and foot of which are bands of filigree set with plaques having patterns wrought in filigree wire on a repoussé ground.

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

met by a fierce and arrogant conservatism. The missionaries were as unyielding as the native Gaelic monasteries: Columban in Burgundy withstood the authority of Rome and demanded that religious usage should accord with the Irish tradition.

Ireland being the centre of this northern Christianity, the controversy was here fought out. Munster was first won over; but the north, with all the foundations sprung from S. Columba's work, stood out. In 664 the Synod of Whitby in Northumbria decided for the Roman view and the churches and people gradually conformed to the decision. Yet even then Colman, abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne, refused to submit, abandoned his abbey and took with him a band of monks to found a new settlement in the island of Innisboffin, off the Galway coast. Iona, the centre of the Columban tradition, stood out till 716.

Thus it may be said that Ireland, which contributed little to the architectural development of monastic institutions, also actually impeded the growth of conformity in ritual. But there is another aspect. First, in the progress

**Benefits of
Controversy**

of this controversy, intercourse between Europe and Ireland was greatly augmented and monks from southern Ireland made the pilgrimage to Rome in great numbers: the existence of controversy developed contact, and made unity real. Secondly, the mere fact that such a European discussion was carried on diffused knowledge; and one of the chief contributors to it was an Irish saint, Cummian, who had been trained in the Columban monastery of Durrow, but whose assent was won for unification. There remains a letter from him to the abbot of Iona which discusses the whole question of calendars used by the Macedonians, Egyptians and Hebrews, and the opinions of such commentators as Jerome and Origen. It helps us to understand that in the seventh century Ireland really was a great centre of knowledge, and not merely of religious zeal.

In truth the service which Ireland rendered to Europe, apart from the diffusion of Christianity, was the diffusion of book learning. In a barbarous age, the Irish were pre-eminent as bookmen.

Ireland was a factory of books. By Irish custom a man's rank was expressed by his 'eric,' the price to be paid for his killing; and the eric of a scribe was equal to that of an abbot or a chief. Further, the labour of the finest of the Irish artists was expended upon the adornment of books.

Europe's debt to Ireland for missionary work is expressed in a letter written by Ermenrich, a monk of Reichenau, to Grimald, abbot of St. Gall, about A.D. 850: 'How could we ever forget the island of Hibernia from whence we received the radiance of such a great light, and whence the sun of faith rose for us?' But the debt for learning needs clarifying.

First comes the work that was done in Ireland itself. A letter from Aldhelm to Eahfrid describes (not without jealousy, as Dom Gougaud notes) the English students 'catervatim classibus advecti'—sailing to Ireland in crowds by fletfuls. The life of S. Cadroe says: 'The Scoti [that is the Irish] had many thousands of teachers.' These were at the service of European culture in their home country. One result in particular may be specified. All the great Irish saints from Patrick downwards were deeply versed in the Holy Scriptures—this was indeed Patrick's only scholarship; and in the seventh century or early in the eighth there was compiled a treatise on canon law, which became widely known on the Continent in the eighth century as Canon Hibernensis, and 'contributed powerfully to the shaping of ecclesiastical law among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons.' This was of great importance in an era when every clerk could claim to be judged by the church's courts. The Irish compilation commended itself by the convenience of its arrangement, by its constant justification of its teaching from Scripture and from the Fathers, and by the atmosphere of ascetic piety which pervaded all its instructions as to monastic discipline, fasting, prayer and the cult of relics.

It is impossible in an age when letters were cultivated only in the Church to distinguish between sacred and secular learning. But the work of two scholars enables us to

Europe's debt to
Ireland's learning



IRISH DRESS OF LONG AGO

Illustrations in the Book of Kells, and elsewhere, show the ecclesiastical and lay costume of eighth-century Ireland. Both the angel here (left) and the evangelist wear the characteristic long mantle and narrow undershirt reaching to the feet.

From Abbott, Book of Kells

judge by a modern standard the quality of Irish teaching. Ferghail, abbot of Aghaboe, to whom a passing reference was made above, spent the first forty years of his life in Ireland. Then he set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, 'according to the pious usage of the Irish clergy,' says a medieval account. But his fame was so great that he was detained for two years in Gaul at the court of Pepin. Then

he proceeded to Bavaria, where he was made abbot of Salzburg. At Salzburg he taught, as he had taught in Ireland, that the earth was a sphere and that there were people at the antipodes. A jealous rival 'delated' this teaching of his to Rome, and Ferghail was summoned to defend his views; but he was not called upon to renounce them, and he died, in 784, still bishop. It is probable that his advanced teaching continued to prevail in the island of his upbringing.

Dicuil the geographer, an Irish monk, wrote a treatise on the Ten Problems of the Grammatical Art, which is lost. He, finished, however, in 825 a treatise on geography, *On the Measurement of the Earth* (part in prose, part in verse), which sums up the geographical knowledge of the ninth century. He does not adopt Ferghail's theory of the universe.

The treatise is based largely on the Latin and Greek geographies, though it is not certain that Dicuil knew, at first hand, Herodotus and the other Greek authors quoted. But this knowledge is largely supplemented. He can tell that in Iceland—which Irish monks had reached sixty years before the Norse settled there—a man has sufficient light at midnight in summer to 'pick lice off his shirt.' He relates also that, 'although we never read in any book that any branch of the Nile flows into the Red Sea, yet Brother Fidelis told in my presence to my master Suibhne (to whom under God I owe



CLONMACNOISE, IRELAND'S MOST FAMOUS EARLY SEAT OF LEARNING

S. Kiernan founded the abbey at Clonmacnoise, on the Shannon, about 548, and it speedily attained European reputation as a seat of learning. The ecclesiastical ruins are the finest in Ireland, comprising remains of all the 'Seven Churches of Clonmacnoise,' notably the fourteenth-century Great Church. The two ruined towers and three carved crosses are other notable relics. Clonmacnoise was a great book-producing centre, its most famous production being *The Book of the Dun Cow*.

Photo, W. Lawrence

whatever knowledge I possess) that certain clerics and laymen from Ireland, going to Jerusalem on pilgrimage, sailed up the Nile for a long way.' Trajan's canal from Nile to Red Sea was then still open. What a picture this gives of the studies at Clonmacnoise, where Suibhne was abbot! The learning gathered from books is put together with the reports brought back by members of this wandering race. Brother Fidelis had measured the base of a pyramid and found it four hundred feet in length. That would pass into the teaching at Clonmacnoise—which is now a group of ruins standing between the Shannon and a great waste of red bog, but was in Dicuil's youth recognized through Europe as a fount of knowledge.

By the latter part of the eighth century, when the conception of Christendom began to take the place of the old Roman Empire, Charlemagne was set upon reviving literary culture. He had fetched over a learned clerk, Alcuin, from York, one of the foundations sprung from the Irish Lindisfarne. Alcuin speaks in one of his epistles of the services rendered to Christendom by 'the most learned Irish masters who brought about so great advances in the churches of Christ in Britain, in Gaul and in Italy.' Whether he himself ever studied in Ireland is uncertain; but there exists a letter from him to Colgu, chief professor at Clonmacnoise. It begins with a lament that Alcuin had for a considerable time received no letter from this friend of his in Ireland, and says that he 'feels daily need of his support.' It conveys word to Colgu concerning 'your men' (that is, pupils of Clonmacnoise) 'who were at the monastery of S. Martin at Tours.' It describes the political situation of Europe;



ALCUIN AMONG THE EVANGELISTS

Alcuin (see page 2437) was teaching at the cloister school of York, a foundation sprung from the Irish Lindisfarne, when Charlemagne invited him to Aachen. While abroad he maintained correspondence with Ireland. He figures in this frontispiece to a Bible produced at St. Martin-le-Tours about 840.

British Museum

and ends by conveying a gift of fifty gold pieces from Charlemagne, with as much more and a quantity of choice oil for use in ceremonies from Alcuin himself. So far from the Shannon's bank extended the fame of this 'chief scribe and master of the Scots of Ireland.'

Further, the personal suite of Charlemagne comprised two Irishmen of whose coming (c. 782) a story is told by a monk of St. Gall in the Deeds of Charlemagne:

Charles was already lord in the western part of the world, yet scholarship was almost forgotten in his whole empire, and at the same time the worship of the true God had grown cold; then it came to pass that two Scots from Ireland arrived with some British merchants at the court of Gaul, incompar-



ANCIENT IRISH BROGUES

Shoes worn by the early Irish were made of hide, tanned or untanned, and stitched with thongs from the same hide. The top specimen is a complete shoe made of a single piece; the lower had a separate sole. Brogues practically identical with these are worn in the Island of Aran to-day.

National Museum, Dublin

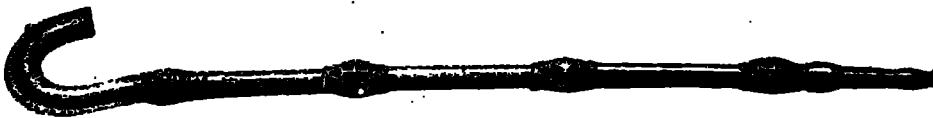
ably well versed in sacred and profane lore. Having no other wares to sell they cried out daily time after time when buyers came near: 'He who hungers for knowledge should come to us, because it can be bought here.' But the reason why they called out was because they saw that people prefer to obtain things that have to be paid for rather than which can be had for nothing. Finally they had shouted out so long that those who listened in wonder, or even thought them mad, bore the news to King Charles. Charles ordered them to be brought before him, and asked if they really possessed the true wisdom. They answered:

'Yes, we have it and will gladly impart it to those who ask becomingly and in the Lord's name.' And when Charles asked what they charged for it they replied, 'We only crave of thee, O king, suitable places of residence and gifted men, food, drink and clothing without which this earthly pilgrimage cannot be complete.' The king at first kept them both with him. But then, as he had to take the field, he allowed one of them called Clemens to live in Gaul. To him he entrusted numerous children of noble, of good, and even of low birth, and allowed them such necessities as they required and suitable class rooms. But he sent the other to teach in the monastery of S. Augustine at Pavia, to which everyone could go who wished to study under him.

The companion of Clemens was Dungal; and, according to Dr. Clarke, either this Clemens or another, Clemens the Scot, succeeded Alcuin as head of the court school under Charlemagne, and was the teacher of Lothair, the future emperor, to whom he dedi-

cated a grammatical treatise. The monk of St. Gall from whom the story of Clemens and Dungal has been quoted was Notker Balbulus, and he had a right to praise Irish learning, for he was the pupil of a learned Irishman.

From its foundation in 613 onwards, St. Gall had a certain number of Irish monks. In the ninth century their number increased, instead of diminishing as time went on, for a definite reason. Ireland, which had been sheltered during the



PASTORAL STAFF OF AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY IRISH BISHOP

On their peregrinations afoot the early Irish saints naturally used walking-sticks, and after their death these were sometimes encased in metal and preserved as relics. Ornament, sometimes in the enamel work in which Celtic artists excelled, was lavished on the cases of these pastoral staffs, and until about the eleventh century their simple crook shape remained the form of the crozier bestowed upon bishops and abbots. This bronze specimen dates from 1040.

British Museum

seventh and eighth centuries, was subjected to the inroads of the Danes from 800 onwards. These were specially directed against the monasteries, and to the missionary impulse was now added the desire for a place where peaceful study could be pursued. The monks migrated in crowds. Walafrid Strabo, writing before 836, speaks of 'the nation of the Scots in whom the habit of wandering has become almost a second nature.' On the roads leading to Rome, and especially above the Rhine, were special hospices for the entertainment of these pilgrims: strangers with long flowing hair, clad in a long robe of undyed wool tied by a belt, a cowl of the same material, and raw hide sandals—such as are still worn by Aran islanders. They carried a long staff, a wallet and bottle of leather, often also a reliquary and writing tablets, which they appear to have introduced into Germany.

The Irish pilgrims were widely disliked (according to the testimony of one of themselves) because of the clamour and importunity of the large parties in which they travelled. Some, it would appear, were impostors. But they had among them such men as Moengal, who had travelled from Ireland with his uncle, a bishop, to Rome; and on the way back they halted at St. Gall, which was only a day's journey from St. Viktorsberg, one of the hospices. The bishop and his nephew were invited to remain as inmates.

The monastery had two schools, the outer for the sons of wealthy nobles, the inner, in which the standard was higher and the course of instruction much larger, for the intending monks.

Moengal was put in charge of the inner school. 'After the advent of Moengal and his Irish friends,' says Dr. Clarke, 'the school of St. Gall rapidly reached its full stature.' This was about 850.

Moengal, who in Ireland had probably been abbot of Bangor, taught all the seven 'liberal arts': grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. As regards grammar, Priscian, representing the most difficult teaching in this subject, was regularly studied in Ireland, and the library of St. Gall preserves a manuscript of his

Treatise written in Ireland, and having glosses in Irish. This book was acquired by St. Gall from another monastery after Moengal's time; but it indicates the standard of Irish teaching.

Moengal's special importance, however, is that he knew Greek in an age when such knowledge was very rare in Europe, and there is at Basel a Greek text of the Psalter with interlined Latin translation written by him, and beautifully written, for he was an artist-scribe as well as a scholar. His school at St. Gall was one of the four places in Europe where Greek was being taught. Notker Balbulus refers to the 'ellenici fratres' (Greek brothers) of St. Gall; but these appear to be simply Moengal and his pupils, of whom Notker was one.

Further than this, one of the reasons why Moengal was pressed to settle at St. Gall was that he had great skill in music. His pupils Notker and Ratpert have left chants that are still used, and it is said that Moengal developed the use of instrumental music—an art specially studied in Celtic Ireland. We are expressly told that he assisted and encouraged his pupil Notker in devising a system of notation for the sequences which were chanted, and that when this was done he urged the young composer to collect a volume of them and dedicate it to the bishop of Vercelli, who was chancellor of Charles the Fat.

Moengal's case is a fair illustration of the work done in Europe by Irishmen. The library of St. Gall was in great measure formed under the influence of Irish monks. 'We may attribute to their efforts,' says Clarke, 'the study of Greek and the introduction of such writers as Priscian, Charisius, Lactantius, Sedulius and Johannes Scotus.' These represented the newer contributions to learning, and the last two of them were Irishmen. Also, the Irish were commentators on Boethius; they were chiefly responsible for preserving Pelagius—a suspect writer. His commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul was at St. Gall, though without the name of its heretical author.

Yet, says Dr. Clarke, 'St. Gall does not belong to the category of genuine Irish

monasteries like S. Martin's the Great at Cologne, S. Symphorian's at Metz, S. Martin's at Mainz and the foundations of the Irish mission in Bavaria.' These were ruled by an Irish abbot and the monks were to a certain extent at least recruited from Ireland.

When they fled to Europe in search of places of shelter during the period of the Danish raids, the Irish did not come empty-handed. They carried their books with them. The Anti-

Irish Monks and European learning phony of Bangor, one of the earliest liturgical books in Europe, came from Belfast Lough to Bobbio. Adamnan's Life of S. Columba was only saved from complete loss because some fugitive from Iona brought a copy of it to Reichenau on Lake Constance.

But the men who fled were even more valuable than their books. Moengal belonged to a group who had somehow acquired Greek in Ireland; one of his friends was Sedulius, who about 848 arrived at Liège, where he and his companions were entertained by Bishop Hartgar and founded an Irish colony. The monks found useful employment writing, copying and collecting manuscripts. They were in touch with other Irish groups at St. Gall, at Salzburg, where Vergil the Geometer (see page 268r) had established himself in the previous century, and at Milan.

Sedulius wrote voluminously in both prose and verse, and names in his writings several of his compatriots, scholars like himself. He commented Scripture and the classical grammarians, and composed for Lothair II a sort of 'Mirror for Kings' (De Rectoribus Christianis—On Christian Rulers) partly in verse, partly in prose.

But by far more notable than he was Johannes Scotus Erigena, a scholar born some time before 825, possessing both Latin and Greek and writing verse in both languages, but more notably a bold thinker and subtle reasoner. Employed by the archbishop of Reims to reply to views set out by the monk Gottschalk, who preached predestination in its extreme form, he argued for free will, and refused to admit that God could have knowingly created creatures born to be damned.

For his arguments he relied on pure philosophy, or dialectic. Reason, he held, is the basis of all knowledge, the revelation vouchsafed by God to man; authority is a species of this revelation, yet stands below reason, and needs that reason should be its interpreter.

'Scots porridge' was one of the names applied to the writings of this daring reasoner, who also, incidentally, revived the teaching of Ferghail about the existence of antipodes. But he was none the less an intimate companion of the emperor Charles the Bald, who loved not only his learning but his wit—which did not respect persons. 'What divides a Scot from a sot?' asked the emperor on one occasion when John sat opposite him. 'Nothing but a table,' answered the Scot. This was permitted to the man who could translate neo-Platonic mysticism from the Greek so skilfully that Anastasius the Librarian wrote to Charles: 'It is a marvel how this barbarian, brought up on the outer edge of the world, should have been able to grasp such ideas and render them into another tongue.'

How far modern theologians may be justified in condemning him as 'the father of rationalism' need

not be discussed. It **A Free Thinker among the Schoolmen** is plain that he brought to Europe in

the early Middle Ages a vivid intelligence, which affected the views alike of heretics and orthodox schoolmen, and later the German mystics. 'No foreigner, except Alcuin, exercised a more notable influence in Carolingian France,' says Dom Gougaud; and among the successors and disciples attributed to him are two Irishmen, Elie, who became bishop of Angoulême, and Martin the Irishman, one of the most learned persons in the school of Laon—a centre of Irish teaching, and consequently a centre of Greek study. It is said that a bishop of Laon, nephew of Johannes Scotus' first patron, the archbishop of Reims, prided himself on being able to speak Irish.

Such was Ireland's contribution to the intellectual life of medieval Europe, the work first of missionary saints and then of wandering scholars. Its extent can only be guessed at, because it was made

through Latin; but Ireland was an extremely important agent in the general diffusion of Latin which unified medieval Christendom. 'The classical tradition of the rudiments of polite learning took possession of Ireland; it came back from Ireland to Britain or Germany,' writes Ker. 'At Clonmacnoise, or in the palace of Charlemagne, at York, or St. Gall, the old liberal arts were cultivated and kept alive.'

The distinctively Irish skill in book illumination spread with the Irish scholars to the Continent and was imitated there; but it led nowhere. The Irish masterpieces in the Books of Kells and Durrow were never approached in excellence. European art grew on other and more congenial and more fruitful lines. The

Irish script, which had been adopted in England under the influence of Irish missionaries, began to be disused on the Continent; its contractions and ligatures were too difficult to read, and even Irish scholars like Moengal, working on the Continent, used the continental script in the ninth century. But in the earlier times when books were at their scarcest Ireland was perhaps the chief source of supply, and certainly afforded an unsurpassed example for beauty and finish of penmanship.

From the eleventh century onward, after Brian Boru had reduced the menace of the Danes to quiescence, Ireland was busy within her own bounds, renewing her schools and her store of books. There were still Irishmen working on the Continent: Marianus Scotus of Bavaria is typical of these. But Ireland had ceased to be a source of European energy; her own tasks fully occupied her best men. By the twelfth century the greatest Irish ecclesiastic of his time, S. Malachy, was

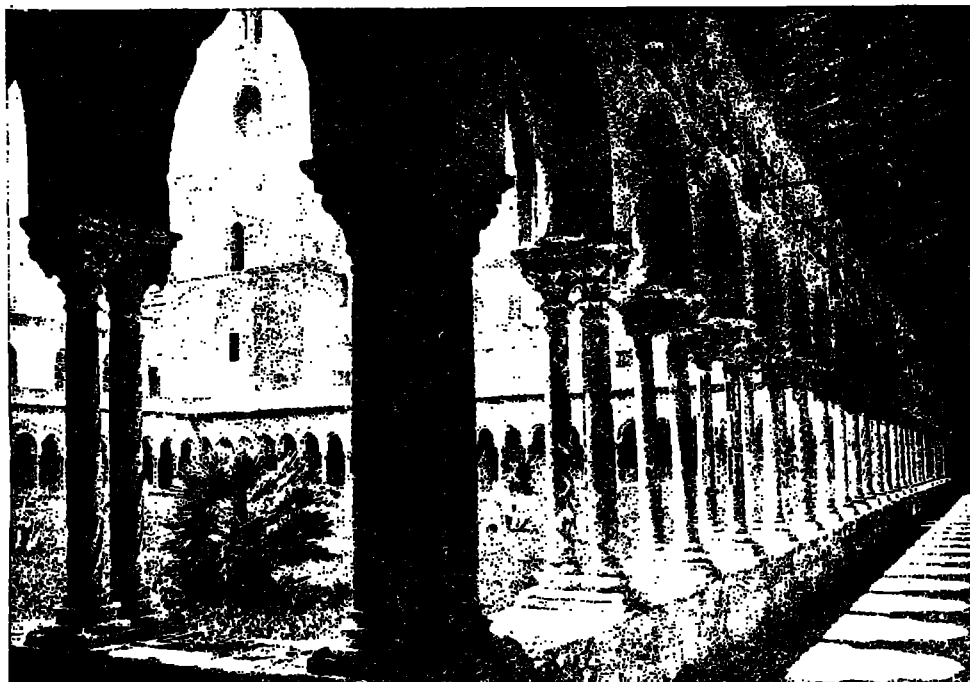


SUPREME MASTERPIECE OF CELTIC ART

Kells, the monastery founded by S. Columba, was the parent school in which Celtic scribes learnt the art of illuminating manuscripts, which they brought to such marvellous perfection. Its seventh-century copy of the Gospels known as the Book of Kells, remains the unexcelled example of the Celtic illuminator's skill.

seeking to introduce into Ireland much of the continental culture. Then came the Norman conquest, after which it cannot be said that Ireland made any contribution to the general development of European civilization until the Middle Ages in their most extended sense were at an end.

Yet even in this latter period the wandering scholars from this island are found all over the continent. S. Thomas Aquinas was the pupil of an Irishman, Petrus de Hibernia, who taught at Naples. Even in the reign of Henry VIII, Maurice O'Fihilly, a Franciscan monk at Padua, and later archbishop of Tuam in his own country, edited the works of Duns Scotus. If it be true that Duns himself was Irish, as his surname implies, Europe's intellectual debt to Ireland is much greater than has here been stated. But, however this be, the influence of Ireland, spiritually and intellectually, upon the growth of medieval Christendom cannot be denied; and it was the result not so much of a few specially gifted individuals as of a widespread missionary fervour and a not less diffused zeal for knowledge in the race as a whole.



Monreale Cathedral, founded by William II, is of prime importance to the student of Sicilian architecture, sculpture and mosaic work. The interior is most impressive, with its admirable proportions, beautiful marbles and superb mosaics. The cloister (top) is unique; the 216 columns are all different—plain, spiral, diapered, mosaic-ribboned—and the capitals are carved in high relief with different legends, constituting a sculptured story-book of extraordinary fascination.

MONREALE CATHEDRAL : SHRINE OF NORMAN-SICILIAN CULTURE

Upper photo, Brogi

THE KINGDOM OF SICILY UNDER THE NORMANS

A brilliant cosmopolitan regime set up in Sicily
and South Italy by Adventurers from the North

By E. G. GARDNER Litt.D. F.B.A.

Professor of Italian, London University; Author of *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara, etc.*

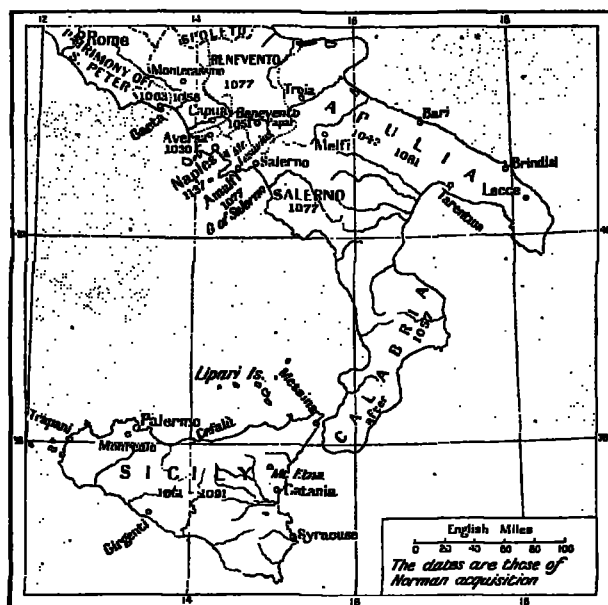
IT may roughly be said that, from the time of Charlemagne to that of Victor Emmanuel, there were two almost distinct Italies; the north and south of the peninsula, with different traditions and different social conditions, separated by what a Bourbon king of Naples was to call 'the holy water barrier,' the Patrimony of S. Peter and what developed into the States of the Church. This distinction began with the Franks, but was crystallised by the Normans.

The Frankish conquest at the end of the eighth century, while overthrowing the incomplete Langobard domination in the north and establishing what became the temporal power of the popes in the centre, had left the south practically intact. 'It is from this moment,' writes Pasquale Villari, 'that southern Italy begins to have a history which is separate and very different from that of all the rest of the peninsula.' The 'regnum italicum' in the north—the 'kingdom of Italy' of which the symbol was the iron crown of Milan (see page 2354), the kingdom of the Carolingians and then of the three Saxon Ottos, united by a personal union to the Western Empire of the German kings—developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into the Italy of the communes, which became the Italy of the Guelphs and Ghibellines (see Chapter 106). Otto the Great had indeed claimed southern Italy for the 'regnum italicum,' and his ambassador, Liutprand of Cremona (see also page 2629), had declared to the Byzantine emperor, Nicephorus Phocas: 'The population and the language manifest that the land which you assert to be part of your empire

belongs to the Italian kingdom.' And, nearly two centuries later, we find S. Bernard adopting the words of the Fourth Gospel for a similar claim with respect to Sicily in his letter to the emperor Lothair: 'Whosoever maketh himself a king in Sicily speaketh against Caesar.'

But the Western emperors, in spite of repeated attempts, had never been able to make this claim a reality, and—to perpetuate the division between the two parts of the peninsula—there came, in the beginning of the eleventh century, those strange romantic freebooters and pilgrims from the shore of the British Channel, the Normans (see Chapter 98), to establish in contrast with communal Italy of the north a monarchical Italy, the Italy of the south which, in spite of all subsequent political changes, was to retain its essential character of a feudal monarchy as long as it had an independent existence. Nevertheless, with their conquest the Normans were accomplishing what has been called a 'mission of Latinity,' which was one of the factors in the ultimate unification of Italy. It was the historical part of these men of Scandinavian descent to win back southern Italy from the East and to unite Sicily to the Latin civilization, even as they were simultaneously doing with the once Roman province of Britain.

This southern Italy in which the Norman adventurers made their appearance was nominally—since the reconquest of Apulia and Calabria for the Eastern Empire by Basil the Macedonian in the latter part of the ninth century (see page 2498)—subject to Byzantium, and the Byzantine capital



AREA OF THE NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY

Norman occupation of South Italy began in 1030 with the taking of Aversa. Robert Guiscard arrived in 1046 and with his brother Roger conquered the whole of South Italy and Sicily. In 1127 Roger II of Sicily secured possession of Apulia and Calabria, together with Capua, and in 1130 assumed the royal crown.

was at Bari. Its civilization, at least in those parts where the imperial domination was effective, had become largely Greek. Naples appears to have been at one time a centre of Hellenic studies with a somewhat marked anti-Roman tendency, but after the eighth century it adopted Latin instead of Greek as the official language. Sicily itself, where three centuries of Byzantine rule had destroyed the western characteristics imposed by Rome, had fallen to the Arabs in the ninth century and become completely orientalised.

This Saracenic conquest of the island caused the emigration of Greek refugees into Calabria, where Greek monks and hermits founded religious houses under the rule of S. Basil, and extended their Hellenising influence as far northwards as Rome itself. The most famous of these 'monks errant,' who, as Jules Gay observes, were 'the natural intermediaries between the Latin and the Byzantine worlds,' was S. Nilus of Rossano, who died in 1005, and whose memory the noble Basilian abbey of Grottaferrata in

the Alban Hills still cherishes as its founder. But against this Hellenising influence, especially as associated with Byzantium, except in Calabria and some parts of Apulia, there was a growing resistance, intensified by the financial burdens laid upon the cities by the Byzantine officials—a resistance personified in Melo of Bari, who in 1016 first approached the Normans for aid in the liberation of his country from its Greek fetters (see page 2615).

Within Byzantine Italy, but only relatively acknowledging the supremacy of the Eastern Empire, the maritime cities of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta—where the Latin blood was less mixed—had obtained virtual independence as duchies in which the nobles at least gradually acquired some political rights. They have been described as aristocratic republics under here-

editary dukes, and the dukes of Amalfi were merchant princes like the great Venetian families. Further there were the practically independent Langobard principalities of Capua, Benevento and Salerno. Here, instead of Roman law as codified by Justinian, Langobardic legislation prevailed. To a far greater extent than their dispossessed kinsmen in the north these Langobard princes and nobles had become Italian, and the civilization of their states was Latin. Here, as elsewhere in Italy, the Langobard conquest had been a settlement, and the population was a fusion of the Langobard with the native Latin Italian element. Even in the Byzantine provinces this Langobard element must be recognized. It is a noteworthy fact that it is in this Langobardic Italy of the south, and more precisely in the principality of Capua, that, in a group of documents shortly after the middle of the tenth century, and more than a hundred years before anything comparable

Langobard element
in South Italy

can be traced in other parts of the peninsula, we first meet with sentences that are no longer Latin, but intentionally vernacular Italian, and used as such for official purposes in law suits.

In this same principality of Capua was the great abbey of Montecassino, the headquarters of the Benedictine rule, which became the centre of monastic culture in Italy under the famous Desiderius, who presided as abbot from 1058 to 1086, when he was raised to the Papacy in succession to Hildebrand as Victor III. He imported artists from Constantinople who established schools of workers in metal, marble and mosaic; he refounded the library, enriching it with works of secular as well as sacred authors; encouraged the copying and illuminating of manuscripts and the production of Latin poetry, and commissioned the writing of the great history of the monastery, which was accomplished under his successors. Desiderius himself was a Langobard of princely stock; he was well disposed to the Normans and a powerful intermediary in their negotiations with the Papacy. In the Langobard city of Salerno had arisen, fully developed by the middle of the eleventh century, the first regular school of medicine in Europe, and to have studied there sufficed to make the reputation of a practitioner in other lands.

Not only in Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, but in Benevento and Salerno, and in cities subject to Byzantium like Trani,

Troia and even Bari, there was a noteworthy development of municipal autonomy in continuation, perhaps, of the old Roman 'municipium.' This chronologically anticipates the communes of northern Italy, and would perhaps have led to an analogous evolution of city states in the south, had not their development been cut short and arrested at its initial stage by the Norman conquest reducing the whole to the comparative uniformity of the feudal monarchy.

This conquest was like no other in the history of Italy. It was not the migration of a people in arms, like that of the Ostrogoths or the Langobards, nor the invasion of a great feudal army, as in the

case of the Franks, or later when the Angevins made themselves masters of the Norman heritage. It was effected by bands of adventurers, acting at first independently, and later, even when augmented by other similar companies from Normandy and united under one leader, always in very small numbers compared with the peoples upon whom they imposed an organization quite alien to the traditions of the land. The hostility between Byzantine and Langobard or Italian, the mutual rivalries of the Langobard princes, the helplessness of the indigenous population, no less than the astuteness and military skill of the Normans, who boasted, not without reason, that those who faced them in the field were 'as meat before devouring lions,' were all factors in the extraordinary transformation of the confusion of southern Italy into a single great power.

Unquestionably there was an initial period—while the Normans were gradually establishing their various states in Apulia and Calabria, and then making perpetual war among themselves—when these Northmen were mere barbarian soldiers, contributing a fresh and more potent element of anarchy, reducing the native populations to a condition of misery worse than they had endured under Langobard prince or Byzantine 'catapan.' Bent on the acquisition of territory, recognizing no authority, each Norman chief lived by indiscriminate plunder, and made his petty wars by wholesale devastation of the regions within his reach (see page 2215).

Out of this anarchy emerges the gigantic figure of the son of Tancred de Hauteville, 'terror mundi Guiscardus.' From a mere robber chieftain, now in the service of one Norman leader, now in that of another, Robert Guiscard rose to be the lord of all, with a legitimate title as duke of Apulia from 1059 onwards, recognized as such by the pope, nominally the feudatory and ally (both on his own terms) of the Papacy. The capture of Bari in 1071 finally overthrew the Byzantine government on the mainland, and in 1072 the taking of Palermo from the Saracens secured the

Pioneers of the Norman Kingdom

Conquest leads to feudal monarchy

development of municipal autonomy in continuation, perhaps, of the old Roman 'municipium.'

possession of Sicily to himself and his brother Roger, though the conquest of the island was not completed by the latter until twenty years later. By 1080 all southern Italy, except the now Norman principality of Capua and the still independent city of Naples under its duke, owned Guiscard's domination, and his vast imperialistic designs upon Byzantium itself were only cut short by his death in 1085.

But Guiscard was a military conqueror with dreams of a vast hegemony, not a constructive statesman. His triumph had been due to his own personality. His successors as dukes of Apulia—his son Roger Borsa and his grandson William—were unable to maintain the unity he had imposed on the mainland, where the great Norman counts readily cast off the yoke which had been laid upon them by the might of one who had been their equal. In Sicily, on the other hand, as Chalandon remarks, the conquest had been from the outset effected by Guiscard and Roger with their own troops; none but they possessed any rights in the conquered territory; the other Normans were all their vassals, and the fiefs had been so conferred upon them that there was no possibility of a powerful rival arising out of their ranks. Thus the Norman future lay no longer with the duke of Apulia but

with the count of Sicily, and Roger had not only consolidated the island into a well organized state and obtained rights in Calabria but had become a recognized factor in the European polity when he died in 1101. To his son Roger—who succeeded his elder brother Simone as count of Sicily in 1103—was left the task of founding the Norman kingdom.

A new epoch opens when, on the death of duke William of Apulia in 1127, the second count Roger of Sicily appeared with his fleet in the harbour of Salerno to claim the entire Norman domination on the mainland. Promptly accepted as duke of Apulia, he was able within two years to hold the Great Council at Melfi in 1129, at which all the counts and vassals were compelled to take the oath of fealty to the new duke and his sons, Tancred and Roger. But even more significant was the edict which they were compelled to swear to observe. It forbade private war between nobles, enjoined just and pacific relations with the populations of the duke's dominions, respect for pilgrims, travellers and merchants and the subjection of criminals to the ducal courts of justice, and promulgated a universal peace. As Miss Jamison puts it, it 'laid foundations for the reform



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE GULF OF SALERNO

Salerno, first colonised by the Romans in 194 B.C., was a virtually independent principality under Langobard rule when it was taken by Robert Guiscard in the mid-eleventh century and made part of the Norman dukedom of Apulia. In 1127 it passed into the hands of Guiscard's nephew, Roger II of Sicily, who consolidated the Norman domination of Sicily and South Italy. The medical school of Salerno was world-famous throughout the Middle Ages, and was only closed in 1817.

Photo, E.N.A.

of the administration as well as for the introduction of a penal code,' and by the abolition of private war accomplished 'an achievement only equalled in contemporary Europe in England and Normandy.'

It was followed by the assumption of the royal dignity, and in 1130 Roger was crowned king of Sicily by the legate of the antipope Anacletus at Palermo. As there is occasionally some confusion in nomenclature, it may be well to note that the Norman sovereigns styled themselves 'kings of Sicily, the dukedom of Apulia and the principality of Capua.' It was not until the nineteenth century, after the Congress of Vienna, that there was the 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' under the restored Bourbons, the island itself being treated as a mere dependence—the island which, under the Normans and their Swabian successors, had been 'regale solium' (to adopt Dante's phrase), and in which the monuments still bear witness to the dazzling splendour of their sway.

Naples, the only remaining independent non-Norman state in southern Italy, passed under the rule of Roger after the death of its last native duke, Sergius, in 1137. But the king had to struggle against rebellions of his Norman feudatories and of the Italian cities, a Germanic invasion which reached Bari and Salerno, the enmity of the popes, and the perpetual threat of a hostile alliance of both Eastern and Western Empires against his kingdom. Only in the latter part of his reign did he succeed in enforcing peace and submission in his Italian dominions, and, with the capture of Tripoli in 1146, extend the Norman power over the coast of northern Africa.

These African possessions were lost in the reign of Roger's son and successor,



ROGER OF SICILY'S CHAPEL ROYAL

Built by Roger II between 1132 and 1140, the Capella Palatina at Palermo is a superb example of Christian-Saracen architecture. With its mosaics, marbles and painted honeycomb wooden roof, it is reputed to be the finest royal chapel in the world. The palace was originally the Saracen emirs' castle.

Photo, Alinari

William I (1154-1166). By the treaty of Benevento, in 1156, William made the Norman kingdom the ally of the Papacy, but he had to maintain a long struggle for his throne against a Byzantine invasion and several revolts of his own Norman feudatories, the stern repression of which—reacting more cruelly upon the non-Norman inhabitants of cities like Bari, which was destroyed—earned him, perhaps with scant justice, the title in history of 'William the Bad.' A Jewish traveller from Spain, some twelve years later, speaks of Bari as 'the great city which King William of Sicily destroyed. Neither Jew nor Gentile lives there at the present day.' It was rebuilt under his son and successor, William II, to whom by contrast has been

assigned the title of 'William the Good.' A contemporary historian—Ugo Falcando, the 'Tacitus of Sicily,' to whom Gibbon awarded a sentence of stately praise—has left a vivid picture of the joy on his accession at Palermo in 1166:

William, who was now almost fourteen years old, created king with vast joy of the people, rode in state through the city. Most beautiful as he was, on that day—I know not how—he appeared more fair to behold, and displayed a certain more noble loveliness in his countenance, that so won the grace and favour of all that even those who had hated his father, nor thought even to keep fidelity towards his heirs, said that they would transgress the bounds of humanity who should wickedly attempt aught against this lad; for that it was enough that the author of their ills should have been taken away, nor should the tyranny of the father be imputed to an innocent boy.

With the reign of William the Good, peace enjoyed by Sicily spread from the fortunate island to the Apulian and Calabrian mainland.

It has been said by Prof. C. H. Haskins that it is 'not too much to call the kingdom of Roger the first modern state.' But it was like no other state in history. Into the strange medley of southern Italy and Sicily, with its Greek, Langobard, Saracenic institutions, the Normans introduced the feudal system of the North, but superimposed upon it an elaborate bureaucracy derived from Byzantium, crowning the whole edifice with a theocratic conception of the holder of the royal throne, to criticise whose actions was declared akin to sacrilege. Their model of kingship was the Eastern emperor, the ruler of that great city which had been the 'Micklegarth' of the Normans' Scandinavian forebears who had served among the Varangians of the imperial guard. The feudatories held their lands by the grace of God and of the king, but the king himself—the nominal suzerainty of the pope being conveniently ignored—derived his power (like the emperor of Dante's



CORONATION MOSAICS OF ROGER II AND WILLIAM THE GOOD

Under the Norman kings a new style of mosaic was developed in Sicily, the so-called Norman-Sicilian, different from the Roman and still more different from the Byzantine. The churches built in the reigns of Roger II (1130-54) and his grandson William II (1166-89) are profusely decorated with superb examples of the school. These representations of Roger (left) and William receiving their crowns from Christ himself are in the Martorana church at Palermo and the cathedral of Monreale.

Photos, Brogi

Monarchia) directly from God; and so, in the mosaics of the Martorana at Palermo and of the cathedral at Monreale, we may still see Roger and William II receiving their crowns from the hands of Christ.

This theocratic aspect of the Sicilian monarchy was emphasised by the peculiar relations of the sovereign with the Papacy. In 1098 the elder Count Roger had obtained from Pope Urban II the dignity of apostolic legate in Sicily and Calabria, and his successors had claimed to exercise the same office throughout their kingdom, though, after the first William's treaty with Adrian IV at Benevento in 1156, this was restricted to the island. Thus the king himself was the supreme representative of the Church in Sicily, where no legate from Rome could penetrate without his express permission, and he consequently possessed an ecclesiastical authority over his bishops and clergy of a kind which no other sovereign of the period could claim to exercise. Immediately under the king was the Curia Regis, the instrument of government and administration, a supreme council and centre of the bureaucratic system, in which the Norman vassals of the crown were in a minority.

This Norman rule was essentially tolerant as well as eclectic. It did not suppress, but adapted itself to the pre-existing conditions and varying civilizations both of the island and of the mainland. The Normans had something of the old Roman gift of organization and adaptability, and, like them, interfered as little as possible with local conditions. 'Latins, Greeks, Jews and Saracens, let each be judged according to his own law'—thus ran the ordinance of the Norman kings. In the earlier period of the conquest and its consolidation (which coincided in date with the Schism, the final rupture between the church of Rome and the churches of the East, shortly after the middle of the eleventh century) the Greek clergy were to a considerable extent dispossessed of their monasteries and sees, but later they shared in the general toleration, and were even favoured by King Roger who, for a while, half contemplated adherence to the Eastern church against Rome;

**Norman tolerance
and adaptability**



GEORGE OF ANTIOCH

Roger II's admiral, George of Antioch, built the church of La Martorana at Palermo and in it placed this mosaic depicting himself prostrate at the Virgin's feet. It faces the coronation mosaic of Roger in the opposite page (left).

Photo, Alinari

though, with very few exceptions, men of Greek race were not employed in the higher offices of state.

Until the latter years of William II Moslems appear to have enjoyed very considerable, if not complete, religious liberty. The most reliable part of the Norman army was composed of Saracens, under their own leaders, and the elder Roger had strictly forbidden any attempt on the part of the Catholic clergy to make proselytes among their ranks. The commander of his son's fleet, the Emir of Emirs, or Admiral of Admirals, and the king's chief minister, George of Antioch, was either a Greek who had passed the earlier years of his career in the Moslem service in Africa or a Saracen who had embraced Christianity; it was he who built the beautiful church in Palermo, Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio, known as La Martorana, with his own portrait in mosaic at the feet of the Madonna opposite to that of the king. But, in extraordinary



INTERIOR OF THE ADMIRAL'S CHURCH

La Martorana church, finished in 1143, is one of the chief mosaic churches in Sicily, and its high altar of lapis-lazuli is also famous. The building is Byzantine in plan with a dome and three apses. A notable external feature is the campanile, with variegated marble columns on its several stages.

Photo, Alinari

contrast with the usual spirit of the Norman regime, we have the horrible story of the eunuch Philip, told by both Latin and Arab writers.

Philip was of Saracen origin, but had been brought up as a Christian in the king's household, and succeeded George of Antioch in the command of the royal fleet. After his victorious expedition against the Moslems of Africa, resulting in the capture of Bona in 1153, on his return home he was accused of being secretly a Mahomedan, and burned to death as a 'mockery of the Christian name,' the king protesting with tears that, in thus sacrificing his friend, he was only fulfilling his duty as a Christian sovereign. It is not clear whether Roger had suddenly turned bigoted at the end of his life, or

whether the religious plea put forward was a mere pretext.

As to the Langobards (who might by this time be called Italians), their aristocracy seems to have fused easily with the Normans as soon as the previously ruling families had been dispossessed. Robert Guiscard himself had married a Langobard princess, and there was unquestionably a good deal of intermarriage between the nobles of the two races, from the union of which the turbulent barons of later Neapolitan history were descended. Langobards seem to have been specially favoured as officials, the kings, after Roger, preferring men of comparatively obscure origin for their ministers in opposition to the powerful Norman feudatories. Thus, Maione of Bari, the Grand Emir or chief minister of William I, whose policy of a bureaucratic despotism led to a formidable revolt of feudatories and cities alike, was Langobard or Italian. His assassination, in 1160, as he left the palace of the archbishop of Palermo, is a dramatic episode of Sicilian history. The actual

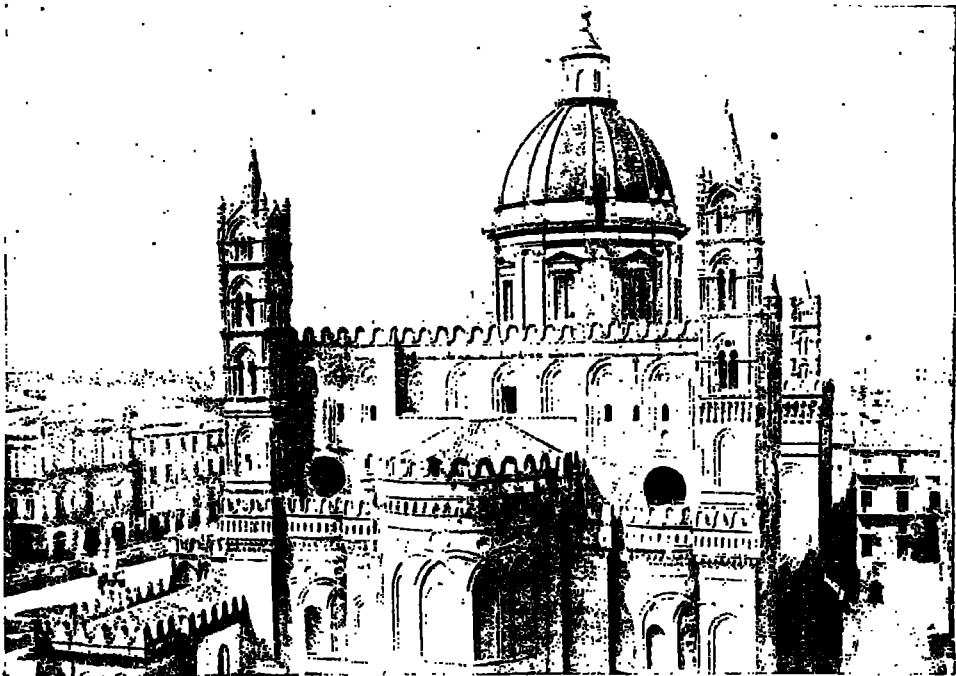
murderer was Matteo Bonello, his prospective son-in-law, who had been gained over by the conspirators with the promise of the hand of the beautiful countess of Catanzaro, an illegitimate daughter of King Roger. It was followed by another rebellion, both Norman and Italian, in Sicily as well as on the mainland, which was only crushed after the king himself had been imprisoned in his palace and released by a popular uprising (1161) in which his eldest son, Roger, whom the rebels had wished to place in his stead upon the throne was accidentally killed.

In Sicily not a few foreigners, notably Englishmen, were in the royal service, and held high positions. In the reign of Roger we meet the homely name of Thomas Brown, one of the royal chaplains

and 'familiar,' who, when William the Bad succeeded to the throne, went back to England and was employed in the exchequer of Henry II. During the minority of William II the number of foreigners at court excited the discontent of the Norman nobles and the people alike. A Frenchman, Stephen of Perche, whom the queen mother and regent Margaret had summoned to her aid and made chancellor, was finally compelled to leave the kingdom. An Englishman, Richard Palmer, was bishop of Syracuse; another, Walter Offamil, became archbishop of Palermo, the founder of the great cathedral in that city. Both were among the royal councillors, and Offamil, who had been the king's tutor, was the most prominent and influential statesman of the latter part of his reign, seeming, as Falcando wrote, 'to rule not only the court, but the king himself.' On the other hand, two of the king's most trusted ministers were Langobard Italian—Matteo

d'Aiello, who had inherited the traditions of Maione, and the archbishop Romualdus of Salerno. On the mainland the bishops seem to have been mostly Normans, while the monastic houses, like Montecassino, retained Langobard abbots.

Even under the unifying pressure of the monarchy with its 'curia magna,' there were very considerable differences between the conditions obtaining on the southern mainland and those in Sicily. The older divisions of southern Italy were largely preserved in the Norman provinces, of which members of the royal family bore the customary titles of duke or prince. The Norman feudatories had an importance in Apulia and Calabria which they never had in the island itself (where, from the outset, the fiefs were on a much smaller scale), and the counts frequently held the high administrative positions which in Sicily were normally monopolised by ecclesiastics and bureaucrats. As a rule, these nobles had no

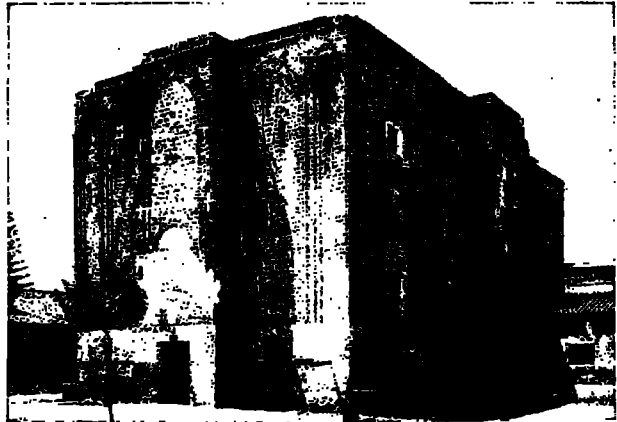


EAST END OF THE CATHEDRAL AT PALERMO

Palermo Cathedral was built about 1170 by an Englishman, Walter Offamil, once tutor to William II of Sicily and afterwards archbishop of Palermo. It is built mainly of a golden stone, with graceful campanili at the four corners, and its perfection is only marred by an inappropriate dome added at the end of the eighteenth century. The interior is very ornately decorated and there are some notable monuments of the Norman princes. Archbishop Walter's tomb is in the Norman crypt.

power of criminal jurisdiction within their fiefs, though they seem to have been frequently associated with the justices of the royal courts. From these courts there was always, at least in theory, the right of appeal for high and low alike to 'the royal majesty.'

There was naturally more municipal life on the mainland than in the island. But, although various privileges were at different times granted to the cities, notably to Salerno and Amalfi, no free city existed in southern Italy under the Normans; they were deprived of all political power, and the chief magistrate in each under various titles, the count of the palace at Naples



SICILIAN PALACE OF SARACENIC TYPE

Notwithstanding its Saracenic appearance and its inscription in Arabic characters, the palace of La Cuba, now a barracks, on the road from Palermo to Monreale was not a palace of the Saracenic emirs of Sicily, but is the work of Sicilian architects and builders carried out for William II in 1183.

Photo, Brogi



GEM OF ARABO-NORMAN ARCHITECTURE

Byzantine and Arabian (Saracenic) characteristics distinguish the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo, founded in 1132 by Roger II. It is conspicuous by its five red cupolas and its cupola-crowned bell tower, and is notable also for its enchanting Arabo-Norman cloister, of rather later date than the church.

or the bailly at Gaeta, were all appointed by the king. It is true that we hear of 'consuls,' but these were minor functionaries, subject to the royal nominee, and presenting no analogy with the magistrates bearing the same title in the communal cities of northern Italy. Outside the great cities a considerable portion of the population was in a state of serfdom, bound to the soil which they worked, but there were also free men with the obligation of military service, and a class of free men holding land without service, with small communities of local proprietors. In the peace of the reign of the second William a tendency set in for peasants to leave the shelter of the walled town and group themselves in hamlets in the countryside.

Sicily was comparatively seldom disturbed by the rebellions which so frequently distracted the provinces of the mainland, and it was here—the natural meeting-ground of Latin, Greek and Saracen—

that this cosmopolitan Norman regime could more freely develop. The Normans made Palermo the most splendid city of the medieval world: a city of magnificent churches and palaces, with decorations in marble, precious metal and mosaic, and of delightful fountains and pleasure gardens, upon which Arabian travellers from Bagdad or Córdoba looked with envy, praying that Allah might give them back to the followers of the Prophet. Here, under certain restrictions, Christian and Moslem and Jew lived side by side in quarters of their own, and we have vivid descriptions of the city from writers of the three faiths in the reign of William the Good: the Jewish rabbi from Spain, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the island in 1170; the Arabian traveller, Muhammad ibn Ahmed, known as Ibn Jubair, who came in 1183; and the Latin chronicler, Falcando. Benjamin describes the district round Palermo as a kind of earthly paradise. He speaks of the sumptuous gardens of the king, in which a large artificial lake had been formed:

Ships overlaid with silver and gold are there, belonging to the king, who takes pleasure trips in them with his women. In the park there is also a great palace, the walls of which are painted, and overlaid with gold and silver; the paving of the floors is of marble, picked out in gold and silver in all manner of designs. There is no building like this anywhere.

There was a famous silk factory and school of embroidery near the palace, in which the coronation robes of the kings were made, with inscriptions in Arabic and Latin. Carried off by Henry VI, they became a portion of the ceremonial attire of the emperors, and were only restored to Italy from Vienna after the Great War (see page 2837).

The successors of Roger tended more and more to seclude themselves from the eyes

of their subjects, wrapping the royal dignity with mystery and ceremony, appearing in public rarely and then in dazzling Oriental attire. 'No Christian king is more luxurious in his rule nor lives more delightfully,' says Ibn Jubair of



LOVELY SICILIAN SILK BROCADE

The silk fabrics and embroideries produced at the royal factory at Palermo in the twelfth century were exquisite, especially the royal coronation robes. The style was strongly Oriental at first, as in this specimen, showing a pair of peacocks in their pride, with a Kufic inscription on the border.

Victoria and Albert Museum

William, whom he depicts as resembling the Moslem kings in staying absorbed 'in the delights of kinghood.' The king reads and writes Arabic, shows the greatest tolerance to Moslems. His officials, pages and eunuchs are Moslems, and also the women of his palace, who sometimes convert the Christian women secretly to their own faith. He loves the society of learned men and, when he hears of such travelling in his dominions, tries by generous provision to retain them and make them forget their native land.

The good Arab suggests that the king was kept by a miracle from perceiving how strictly his pages and officials practised their religion, but he tells the well known story of how, when there was an earthquake, William heard the women and pages calling upon Allah and the Prophet, and bade each one invoke the Being in whom he believed and whom he adored. Besides his bodyguard of Norman knights, the king had another of negroes, Moslem by faith and with a Saracen captain.

While the magnificent Christian churches aroused the amazement of the Arabian traveller, he noticed with satisfaction that there was an abundance of mosques in the city, well preserved, from which the muezzin's

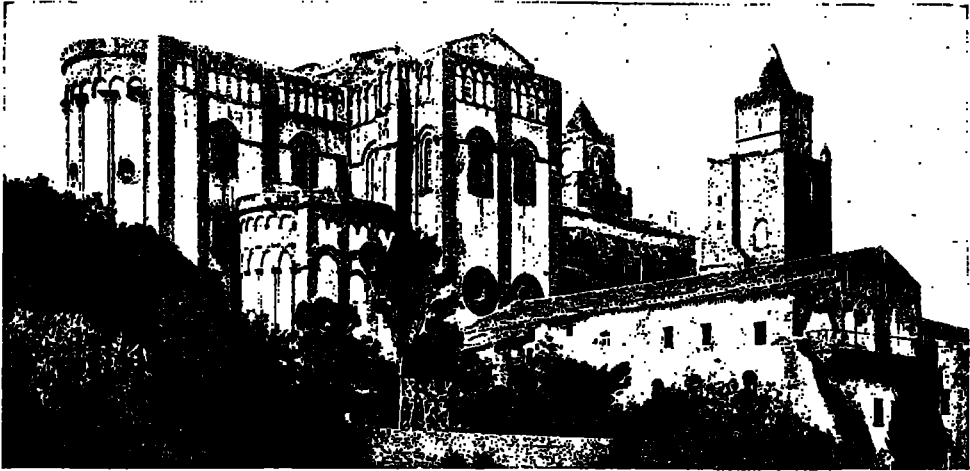
Travellers' tales about Palermo voice duly rose in the call to prayer. There was also (he naturally does not mention it) a great Jewish synagogue—Benjamin of Tudela estimates the number of Jews in Palermo at about 1,500. The costumes of the Christian women, thronging to the churches on Christmas day, also impressed Ibn Jubair; he speaks of their silk dresses worked with gold, their coloured veils, richly decorated shoes and the like. In the country the Christians employed Moslems to manage their industries, but the writer implies that there were grievances; for instance, if a Saracen broke with his family and took refuge in a church, he was forcibly baptised and lost to his kin.

It is clear, too, from Falcando that, during the rebellion of 1161 which had followed the murder of Maione, the Saracens had suffered considerably. Not only had court officials been murdered, but there had been organized attacks upon the localities inhabited by the Saracens, who had in consequence fled towards the south of the island, where they had fortified townlets. Later, even in Palermo, the Christians began to oppress their Moslem fellow subjects, and this new state of things was to lead to a general rising of the Saracens in Sicily immediately after the death of the second William. Indeed, Curtis goes so far as to declare that, under the two Williams, 'the safety of the Arabs was menaced from every side save that of the Court.' This menace seems to have

originated, not with the native Sicilians, but with the new Italian elements from the mainland, which it had been the policy of the kings, from Roger onwards, to introduce into the island, with a view to counterbalancing the Greek predominance in the non-Arab population.

Thus the population of the island, especially the eastern portion, was augmented by the encouragement of migration from Calabria and elsewhere on the mainland, such incomers—especially 'those of the Latin tongue'—being granted privileges and exemptions; and hence Messina became a mighty city, the rival of Palermo itself, with little colonies from Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Amalfi. Messina was not only the connecting link with Calabria, but the starting point for the Norman expeditions of African and Oriental conquest, and a stage in the passage of crusader or pilgrim for the Holy Land. Thus (as Volpe shows) while Palermo, with the royal court and all the circumstances of splendid life, remained essentially the Saracenic city upon which a Norman colour had been laid, Messina, the centre of the naval power of the kingdom with the great arsenal, became a more definitely Latin city, with a certain Greek element, particularly among the lower classes, but from which the Moslems seem to have been gradually excluded.

Ibn Jubair expressly mentions that no Moslem could stay in Messina, and, when his ship was cast on shore in the neighbourhood of the city, it was only the presence of Moslems barred the king that prevented him and his companions from being plundered or even sold as slaves. It was while he was at Messina that a page of the king, a high official, came in great secret to Ibn Jubair, craving news of Mecca and Medina, praying for some relic of those holy places, and speaking of the unhappy lot of such as he, who had to conceal their faith under peril of death. It is difficult to reconcile this with the tolerance the writer had found at Palermo and in the royal circle, unless we suppose that this page (like the eunuch Philip) had been brought up as a Christian, and that a return to Mahomedanism by such a one was treated as apostasy, a



CEFALU CATHEDRAL : A TRIUMPH OF NATIVE SICILIAN ART

The modern township of Cefalù was founded and fostered by Roger of Sicily, who built the cathedral there as a thank-offering for his preservation from shipwreck in 1129. The cathedral is Norman Romanesque in style, with a Norman portal flanked by massive towers. The decoration of the exterior with interlacing pointed arches is noteworthy. In the interior the twelfth-century mosaics, although impaired by restoration, rank among the finest examples of Sicilian mosaic art.

Photo, Alinari

man not being allowed to hold a religion other than that which he professed.

Roger had likewise planted agricultural colonies of Italians here and there in the island, organized into something like rudimentary communes. One such was at Cefalù, where the king built a magnificent cathedral to commemorate his escape from a tempest at sea, and afterwards ceded the city to the archbishop. Some of these colonies were composed of north Italians, Lombards in the strict sense of the word, and there are portions of eastern Sicily where a dialect with western Lombard elements is still spoken.

Not only in Messina, but in Palermo and in the chief ports of the mainland, Pisans and Genoese and Venetians had their colonies; and their merchants, together with those of Amalfi, had to some extent the commerce of the kingdom in their hands, though they never effected anything comparable to that economic penetration and exploitation of the south which was one of the Florentine triumphs in the fourteenth century. The port duties and tariffs involved formed a considerable part of the royal income. Iron mining, silk manufacture and fisheries (of which the tunny was the staple) were all royal monopolies; and it was said that the income from Palermo alone

exceeded that which Henry II derived from the whole of England. Falcando gives a glowing picture of the street of the Amalfitani, running from the city to the harbour, where rich garments of embroidered silk were exposed for sale.

French appears to have been the language of the Sicilian court, although Latin, Greek and Arabic were all three employed officially by the royal chancellery, and even in the last decade of the twelfth century Palermo could still be described as a city 'populo dotata trilingui.' The earlier chroniclers of the conquest, like the Normans, Gaufredo Malaterra and Alessandro of Telesco, and the poet Guglielmo Pugliese who sang the exploits of Robert Guiscard and was probably an Italian, wrote in Latin. But with King Roger the Sicilian culture for a while became cosmopolitan. The king himself—as was natural in one who cherished grandiose dreams of conquest—had a passion for geography. He found a collaborator in Idrisi, an Arab from Spain (himself a descendant of the Prophet), who had settled at his court, and there was constructed in the palace an enormous silver planisphere upon which was traced a representation of the entire world. With this basis Idrisi wrote in Arabic the work entitled 'Nuzhat, The Disport of whoso loves to go round the

World,' more generally known as *The Book of Roger*, which was finished in 1154 shortly before the king's death.

In Greek the archimandrite, Nilus Doxopatrius, composed the *History of the Five Patriarchates*, a defence of the claims of the Greek against the Latin Church—apparently prompted by the king at the time when he was tentatively looking to the East rather than to Rome in the great religious controversy. Under William I the chief literary figure in Sicily was another Greek,

Early translation of Plato's works Henricus Aristippus, archdeacon of Catania (and therefore Latin in religion), who translated into Latin two of the dialogues of Plato, the *Phaedo* and the *Meno*, a work of singular importance in the history of Greek studies in Europe which anticipates the Early Renaissance. Henricus Aristippus succeeded Maione of Bari as William's chief minister, the only Greek employed in so high an office; but his appointment was merely a temporary concession to the party opposed to the murdered emir, and he was soon dismissed and died in prison.

The cosmopolitan character of Sicilian culture was already waning when William II came to the throne. The chief writers of his reign are Romualdus of Salerno and Ugo Falcando, already mentioned, both of them Latin historians of the events they witnessed; a noteworthy Latin poet, Pietro d'Eboli (an Italian of the mainland), rose to sing of the struggle for the throne with which the Norman epoch ended.

The Sicilian court prepared the way, and created the setting, for the breaking into flower of a new Italian poetry under the Swabian successors of the Normans. Did the Normans contribute anything to this new growth? The story is familiar of how Taillefer, the Norman minstrel, accompanied the Conqueror's host at Senlac, 'singing of Charlemagne and of Roland, and of Oliver and the vassals who died at Roncesvalles.' We can hardly doubt that minstrels likewise came with the Norman knights to Italy, and that, mingling with the Arabic songs of the Saracens at Palermo, the notes of Norman and French numbers were heard in the royal palace and gardens.

Gervaise of Tilbury, one of the Englishmen in the service of William II, tells an amazing story—found later elsewhere and in various forms—of how a servant of the bishop of Catania, looking for a horse that had strayed, came to a wonderful palace on the slopes of Mount Etna, where he found King Arthur reclining upon a royal couch, not yet healed of the wounds received in that last great battle with Mordred. The legend can have originated only with the Normans, who identified Sicily with the valley or isle of Avallón. And on the mainland, in works executed under the Normans, an Arthurian scene appears carved over a door of the cathedral at Bari, while Arthur himself is figured on the cathedral pavement at Otranto, and Roland and Turpin at Brindisi. Thus the Normans, or possibly Bretons, associated with them in the passage to the Crusades, brought to southern Italy romantic matter or even Celtic tales.

It may well be that French poetry was read or recited in the latter days of William's reign. When, under Frederick II, there appeared that magnificent poetical production of the 'Sicilian school,' it was in part a blending of the courtly poetry of the troubadours, not without French elements, with motives drawn from the more spontaneous poetry of the people. Already, in the Norman epoch, we find a statute checking the licence of the 'joculatores,' the jongleurs or mimes who sang and acted in the public squares, and it has been argued that 'stornelli' and 'strambotti,' the vernacular poetry of the people, had already begun to flourish under the second William. Two such have come down to us, which (though not in their present form) have been thought to date from his time. The one records his law concerning matrimonial infidelity; in the other a woman sings:

Development of vernacular poetry

Sugnu ntra li jardina di Palermu
Ntra lu palazzu di so' Maistati:
E cu mi vattiò fu re Gugghiermu
Ch' è ncurunatu di tutti tri stati;

'I have been in the gardens of Palermo, in the palace of his Majesty, and he who baptised me was King William, who is

crowned lord of all three states.' Even if not based upon a song of his reign, it illustrates the hold that the good king's memory retained in popular tradition.

But the personal character of this beautiful and gracious young sovereign remains shadowy and mysterious. After that initial state pageant in the streets of Palermo, he disappears from our view into his splendid palaces, leaving us only such occasional glimpses as we have found in the pages of Ibn Jubair. Those women who surround him contemporary report represents as the inmates of his harem. His marriage with Joan, the daughter of Henry II of England, proved childless, though it is said to have been as a votive offering, to obtain the grace of a direct heir, that he reared the cathedral of Monreale, the supreme artistic monument of his reign. The virile spirit of the early Norman conquerors, already dwindling in his father, was not in him. But, though he led no armies in the field, he gave this golden age of prosperity to his subjects while continuing the old Sicilian policy of high adventure in the East and in Africa.

It was perhaps in part due to his Italian minister, Matteo d'Aiello, that the king in the affairs of Italy adopted a policy which was that of

Last Days of William the Good an Italian sovereign in supporting the Lombard League against Frederick Barbarossa; though afterwards—under the influence of Walter Ofamil—he allowed the heiress of his kingdom, his aunt Constance, to be married to the emperor's son Henry. A challenge to all Christendom roused him at last to personal effort. In the next year, 1187, Saladin took Jerusalem, and the Third Crusade was proclaimed; William assumed the Cross, and aspired to head the Crusade in person, while the Sicilian fleet relieved Tyre and recaptured Tripoli.

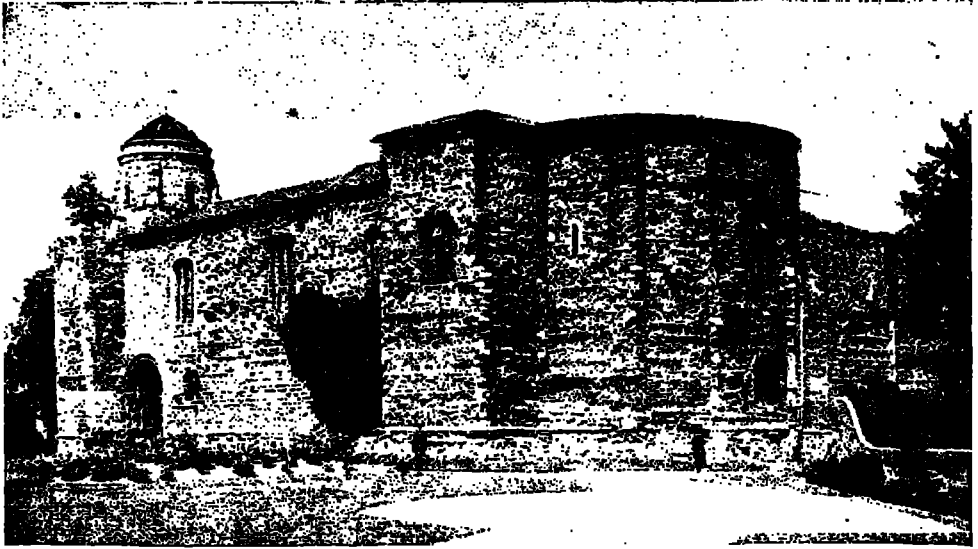
But the luxuriance of the South, the enervating consequences of Oriental life and morals, had destroyed the vitality of the House of Hauteville, and William died in November, 1189, at the age of thirty-five. The famous Latin lamentation, by Richard of San Germano, for 'Rex noster amabilis'—'that magnificent, pacific king, whose life pleased God and men'—expresses

the sorrow of his subjects. Dante—whose admiration of these Normans includes Robert Guiscard and Constance—regards William as a national king and hero in contrast with the Angevins and Aragonese who, in his own days, ruled over the disunited kingdom. He places him in the sixth heaven, the one modern example of a potentate who fulfilled the opening precept of the Book of Wisdom to the rulers of the earth to love justice: 'William whom that land bewails that now weeps for Charles and Frederick who live.'

Against the German husband of Constance, whose claims were supported by the English archbishop Walter, the Sicilian national party, led by Matteo d'Aiello, set up as **Conquest by the king Tancred, count of Swabian house Lecce**, an illegitimate grandson of the great Roger. Striking is the contrast between the founder of the Norman greatness in Italy and its last upholder. Robert Guiscard, darting still like a gleaming star through the glowing Cross in Dante's heaven of Mars, was 'a fair giant of Herculean strength, with ruddy complexion, broad shoulders and flashing eyes.' But Tancred was of minute stature and ill-favoured aspect, almost deformed. 'They have crowned an ape,' sings Pietro d'Eboli: 'The satyrs cry: Lo, a half-man is here.' Yet he manfully and ably withstood the Swabian imperial conquest, and it was not until after his death that Henry was crowned king of Sicily at Palermo on Christmas day, 1194. On the following day, at Jesi in the March of Ancona, a son was born to Henry and Constance. Pietro d'Eboli hails the birth of this grandson of Barbarossa and Roger:

Live, boy, glory of Italy, to mark a new age; who with twofold right dost bring back thy grandsires twain. Live, radiance of the sun, who from thy cradle canst aid the day with light. Live, offspring of Jove, heir of the Roman name, reformer of the world and of the empire.

This child was the future emperor, Frederick II (see Chap. 110), with whom the Norman civilization of the South lived a further life, and with whom the whole history of Italy enters upon a new phase.



Colchester is one of the only two stone castles built by William the Conqueror, the White Tower in the Tower of London (see page 2609) being the other. The keep, built with a free use of Roman materials, measures 152 by 112 feet, with walls from 11 to 30 feet thick, and is the largest Norman keep in England, having nearly twice the area of that of the Tower of London.

Photo, Donald McLeish



Very fine Norman architecture is preserved in the nave and transepts of the Priory Church of the Holy Trinity at Christchurch in Hampshire. Norman, too, is the turret at the north-east angle of the north transept, covered with arcading and other ornament. In the nave, of which this is an eastward view, and clerestory there are Early English additions and the choir is Perpendicular. Christchurch Castle, of which there are only fragmentary remains, was built in the time of Henry I.

NORMAN MILITARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

Photo, Frith

SOCIAL LIFE IN NORMAN ENGLAND

A Record of the Changes in Old English Society
which brought Medieval England into Being

By F. M. STENTON F.B.A.

Professor of Modern History in the University of Reading; Author of *William the Conqueror*, etc.

THE Norman Conquest marks the beginning of the greatest revolution which has ever affected English social life.

It introduced an alien aristocracy into England, with very different ideas of social order from those possessed by the former lords of the land. It established an intimate connexion with the nearer parts of the Continent, so that for a time the Channel united rather than divided England and France. It diverted English interests from the Scandinavian north to the Romance south. Through it England became a member, and in time a leading member, of the French-speaking group of nations whose wars, alliances and mutual reactions colour all western European history in the twelfth century. Through it England became subject to the authority of the Papacy and open to all the religious movements which arose upon the Continent during the Middle Ages. In most forms of social activity the Norman conquest marks a break with the traditions of the past, the entry of new forces and ideas and the beginning of a new type of society.

This does not mean that the difference between England before and after the Conquest was the difference between anarchy and civilization. It is easy to undervalue the achievements of the old English state. In name, at least, it was a united kingdom of England, however little authority belonged to its king in the remoter parts of his dominions. It produced scholars like Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, a humanist born out of due time, and saints like Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, who at the close of his long life was venerated alike by Frenchmen and Englishmen. Among men of affairs Ealdred, the last native archbishop of York, was at least the equal of his contemporaries

in France and Germany, and King Harold II himself, though his reign ended in disaster, overthrew the greatest ruler of the Scandinavian north. In matters of organization England before the Conquest had developed a national system of finance, and the king's household had already assumed the form which was to persist long after the Norman dynasty had come to an end. In architecture, the characteristic art of the Middle Ages, English builders had created a style which will bear comparison with contemporary work across the Channel. The essential features of medieval civilization had arisen in England before the death of Edward the Confessor.

The weakness of the Old English state lay in a different quarter. There were men of high ability among the English magnates, but with few exceptions their powers were spent on personal objects. When all due

Weakness of the Old English system

allowance has been made for the bias of Norman historians, it is impossible to acquit men like Godwin, earl of Wessex, and Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, of a narrow concentration on their own interests. It would be idle to blame them, for in the eleventh century men with no advantages of birth behind them rarely attained to power by other means. The danger to the state lay in the bitter rivalries which they aroused and in the opportunism which marked their successful careers. Godwin on occasion would call out his men against the king, Stigand would accept an archbishopric vacated by a predecessor whom his friends had driven into flight. Neither showed at any time any understanding of the reaction of their conduct on continental opinion or



WEIGHING COIN AT THE EXCHEQUER

The Early English coinage was remarkably good and underwent no material change until the end of the eleventh century. Thereafter it deteriorated until it was reformed by Henry II towards the end of his reign. This drawing from Badwine's Psalter depicts the weighing of coin at the Exchequer, 1130-74.

Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R. 17.1

of the danger which their disregard of public order brought upon the state. That Harold, the son of Godwin, should aim at the succession to the childless king Edward was perhaps inevitable. The remarkable thing is that he showed so little appreciation of the peril in which he would thenceforward stand from rivals beyond the sea, who were not likely to accept his recognition by the English magnates, as fatal to their own ambitions.

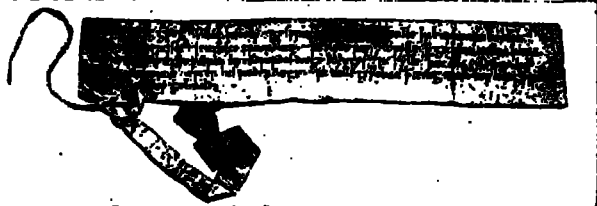
More dangerous than the rivalries of individual persons were the differences of race, of provincial custom and of social order which distinguished one part of England from another. In the far north it was still an open question whether the region which now forms the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland should belong to the Scottish or the English kingdom. Lothian had gone to the Scots in the preceding century, and the Tweed was no impassable barrier. Between Tees and Welland lay the northern Danelaw, in which an Anglo-Scandinavian race, jealous of its ancient customs, was only willing to accept the authority of the old English kings so long as it was left in virtual autonomy. In the west and western midlands it was still remembered that these regions had once formed part of the Mercian kingdom, a kingdom as ancient as that of Wessex itself. In all parts of the

land the maintenance of English unity really depended on the loyalty of the provincial earl and his influence with the thegns of his country.

The one fundamental advantage which remained to the king was the nobility of his descent. Edward the Confessor, ineffective as he might be in action, was still the head of the most ancient family reigning by continuous succession in the West. It had survived all the other English dynasties, it had centuries of history behind it

when Hugh Capet became king of the French. But for this unquestioned priority of descent it is hard to see how the unity of England could have been maintained under weak kings like Ethelred the Unready and Edward the Confessor. To the men of the time kingship was an unquestioned necessity. The men of the Danelaw would rarely look beyond the earls who were their immediate rulers, but they felt that above the earl whom they knew there stood the king whom they rarely, if ever, saw, but whose right they never thought of challenging.

It was the lack of this supreme qualification which formed the one great weakness in the position of William the Conqueror, as it proved fatal to his predecessor, Harold. To the men of the north the illegitimacy of William's birth was not in itself an obstacle to his recognition as king. Their own marriage customs were highly irregular from the standpoint of ecclesiastical order, and they were not



THE CITY OF LONDON'S FIRST CHARTER

William's desire to preserve the continuity of established English institutions appears in his charter to the City of London preserved in the Guildhall records: 'I will that ye be worthy of all those laws that ye were in King Edward's day. And I will not suffer that any man offer you any wrong.'

Courtesy of the Corporation of the City of London

concerned to inquire closely into the relationship formed by Duke Robert with Arletta of Falaise. The serious obstacle lay in the fact that the dukes of Normandy were by origin only the leaders of an army which had invaded France, and in themselves no nobler than the leaders of the bands whose settlement had created the Danelaw when Alfred was reigning in Wessex. This weakness explains some of the more remarkable features of William's conduct. It explains,

for example, his insistence upon the thin thread of kinship which connected him with the Old English royal house, and his claim that he had been chosen as heir to England by its last reigning member. From this point of view, again, it becomes easier to understand his devastation of the Anglo-Scandinavian north in the winter of 1069. The men of this region had shown by repeated rebellions that they recognized in him no hereditary right to rule, that they felt themselves free to choose whom they would as king, Edgar the Atheling, the heir of the Old English dynasty, or Sweyn of Denmark, the heir of the house of Cnut (Canute). In laying waste the north, William was not merely suppressing a rebellion, he was imposing a new line of kings on an unwilling people.

In the rest of England, William secured recognition more easily. South, at least, of the Welland there was no great compact province with traditions of independence. The rebellions which broke out in the south and west in William's earlier years were sporadic, and easily suppressed. Here, moreover, William profited by the fact that he was the claimant recognized by the Church, that his expedition had received papal sanction. The influence of the Church was at its weakest in Northumbria. The ancient monasteries of this region had perished in the Danish invasions of the ninth century, and there had been no subsequent revival of monasticism in the north. It is significant that although William had been crowned by the greatest Northumbrian ecclesiastic, Archbishop Ealdred of York, the archbishop's influence was not strong enough to bring the men of his province into submis-

sion. Conditions were different in the south and west. The great churches of Wessex and the Severn valley had survived the Danish wars. In the midlands the devastation of monasteries in the ninth century had been repaired in the tenth. Occasionally, indeed, a monastery showed itself unwilling to accept the new king. But on the whole the papal authorisation which William had received meant his acceptance by the rulers of the greater English churches, and by the very large number of persons who, for various reasons, were subject to their influence.

It was, moreover, on the men of southern England that the brunt of the fighting at Hastings had fallen. In particular, the death of King Harold and his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine in the great battle meant that a great number of manors in the south, east and midlands were deprived of their lords. They were



EARLY NORMAN-ENGLISH ART

A Norman artist's idea of a coronation is preserved in this picture of the crowning of S. Edmund of East Anglia, in 856. The picture is from a manuscript produced at the Abbey of Bury S. Edmunds early in the 12th century.

British Museum



RUINED NORMAN CASTLE AT PEVENSEY

Caesar is said to have landed at Pevensey, and the outer wall with solid towers of the castle is of Roman construction. On the nucleus of this old Roman coastal strong-point the Normans in the twelfth century raised a formidable castle with a keep and four massive circular towers.

Photo, Herbert Felton

at the king's disposal, and he could at once place trusted followers of his own in possession of them. Already at the very beginning of 1067 he felt his position in England secure enough for the moment to allow him to visit Normandy. The ease with which subsequent risings in the south were suppressed is remarkable. It is no doubt partly explained by the fact that Edgar the Atheling, the native claimant to the throne, found his principal supporters in the north. The men of Wessex and English Mercia could have no particular enthusiasm for a king who relied for his throne on the help of Northumbrians, Danes or Scots. Here, as on so many other occasions, the antagonism of north and south went far to determine history.

These general considerations should not, however, obscure the essential fact that the Norman Conquest was a military enterprise. There can be no question that the view which makes all the subsequent history turn on the battle of Hastings is correct. In securing the results of the battle and in frustrating all attempts to reverse its de-

cision it was the Norman castle which played the determining part. Even before the battle William had thrown up a castle at Hastings itself, and through the obscurity which lies over his activities in England in the important years 1066-1070 he can be seen anticipating rebellions and securing recently won successes by the building of castles at strategic points. In addition to the castles built by William's own orders to dominate towns, secure communications with Normandy or command important roads, the king certainly allowed, and probably encouraged, his leading followers to build similar fortresses for

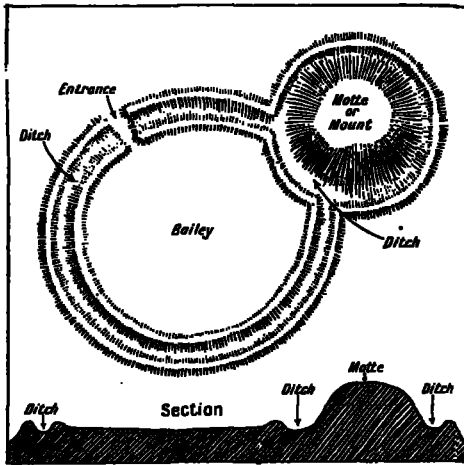
themselves. Before he died, each of his greater barons had founded a castle at the place which he regarded as the administrative centre of his lands.

Later events were to prove that a very real danger to public order lay in this great movement of castle building. In the eleventh century the art of defence had far outstripped the art of attack. Much of the disorder which from time to time broke out in Norman England was due to the ease with which a baron



THE CONQUEROR'S CASTLE AT HASTINGS

William's first act on reaching Hastings was to build a castle to secure his retreat should the battle go against him. The Bayeux tapestry hero shows the pioneers digging the ditch and throwing up the mound, and the timber tower fitted together for erection within the stockade on the summit.



PLAN OF MOTTE AND BAILEY

From an all-encircling ditch earth was removed to raise a platform, the 'bailey,' enclosed within a palisaded bank, and also a mound on which the commander's tower stood, the 'motte,' reached across the inner moat.

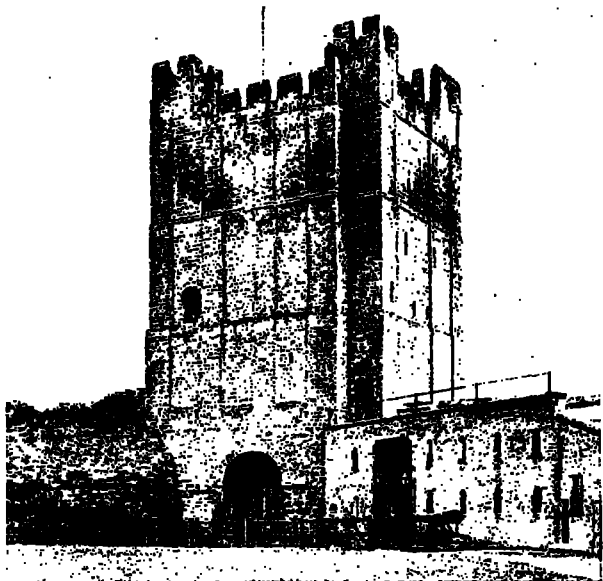
could hold a castle against all the forces which the king could bring to its reduction. But in the generation of the actual Conquest it was essential for the conquerors to secure themselves in the possession of their new lands and for king and barons alike to know that the country was sufficiently guarded with fortified posts against which all native risings would break in vain. Here, at least, the interests of king and baronage were identical, and the king of necessity allowed the future to take care of itself.

The ultimate origins of the Norman castle are still obscure, but by the eleventh century it generally conformed to the single well defined and effective, if elementary, type described in page 2608. In Normandy and England, as indeed wherever Norman conquerors moved to occupy fresh lands, the same form of castle appears. The variations of this 'motte and bailey' castle, as it is now generally called, are always worth study, for

it was by its means that the Normans secured the conquest of England.

For an army of invaders such as the Normans of the Conquest the ease and speed with which the motte and bailey castle could be run up formed its peculiar advantage. Without it, a generation or more might very well have passed before the English population came to realize that the conquest of their country could not be reversed. As a residence in times of peace it had many and obvious disadvantages. Life in a tower on the top of a mound or even within the constricted area of a bailey of normal dimensions must have been extremely inconvenient for the large, disorderly households attached to the great men of the Norman period. A considerable number of the earliest Norman castles are too small ever to have formed a permanent residence for the important barons who owned them.

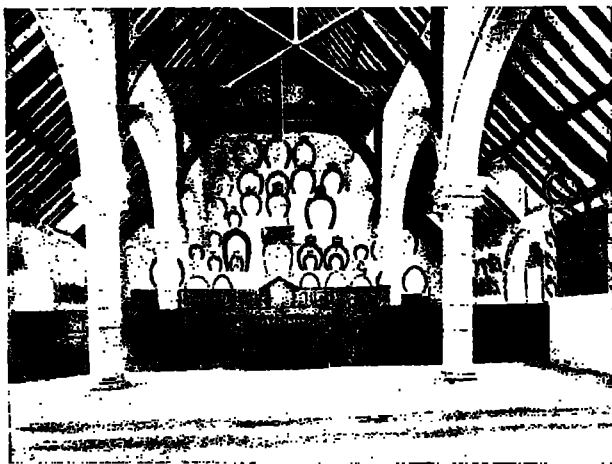
There was an inevitable movement towards life in the open country as soon as general peace had been established in England. A Norman king was much



CASTLE OF HENRY II'S TIME

Richmond Castle, on the Swale, in Yorkshire, was founded by Alan Rufus about 1071 and, owing to its position and massiveness, it was deemed impregnable. The square keep, characteristic of the castles of Henry II's time, with tower 100 feet high and walls 11 feet thick, is later work, but still Norman.

Photo, B. C. Clayton



INTERIOR OF OAKHAM CASTLE HALL

At Oakham in Rutland there is to be seen the finest extant example of a Norman hall, the common living-room in a twelfth-century castle. It is 65 feet long by 43 feet wide and the roof is carried on two rows of pillars and semicircular arches. The windows are small and there is no fireplace.

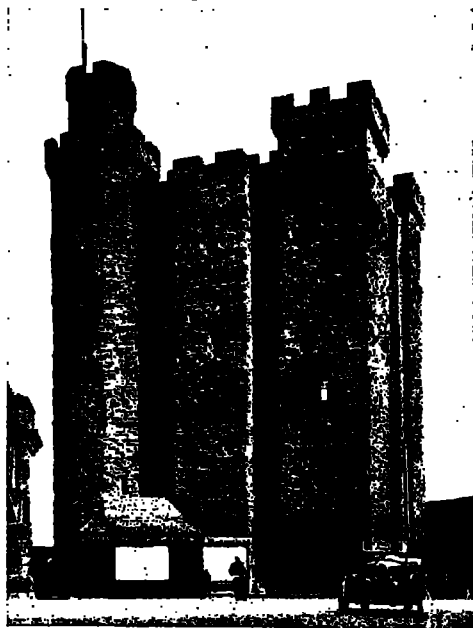
Photo, Henwood & Son

more likely to be found in a hunting-box within a royal forest than within one of the castles raised by the founder of the dynasty. It was only the larger castles which were worth developing into places suitable for permanent habitation. The replacement of the original earthen and wooden defences by stone walls and towers was a slow and expensive business. The square stone tower often regarded as distinctive of the Norman castle comes as a rule from the reign of Henry II rather than from the reign of any Norman king. William the Conqueror himself, with all the resources of a conquered country behind him, seems to have built only two stone castles in England: Colchester and the Tower of London.

The castle was a new factor in English social life. Such fortifications of this kind as had arisen in England before the Conquest were almost without exception the work of Norman friends of Edward the Confessor. Few in any case, most of them were planted on the Welsh border, where Richard's Castle and Ewias Harold in Herefordshire still remain as evidence of Norman settlement before the Norman Conquest. The innovation found no favour with the native thegns of the Confessor's day. Like their ancestors, they

lived in the villages of which they were the lords, in houses differing in little except size from those of the peasantry around them. It was a natural way in which to live, and as time went on it was adopted again by many, perhaps by most, of the knights of foreign extraction who came to fill the place in the social scale once held by the Old English thegns. The manor house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries descends, not from the Norman castle, but from the hall of the twelfth-century knight, itself resembling that of his Old English predecessor.

The numerous castles which arose in the generation after the Conquest were destined to very different fates. Some of them—Windsor, for example—became modified into royal residences. Others,



NEWCASTLE'S NORMAN KEEP

The strongest Norman fortress in the north of England was that founded in 1080 on the Tyne, by Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son. On its site Henry II erected the 'New Castle' with this superb square stone keep.

Photo, Donald McLeish

especially those planted to command the ancient English boroughs, became centres of local government, where resided sheriffs who were the intermediaries between the king and the shires. Others became the centres of wide estates, within which a great lord could administer justice to his military tenants, and maintain the estate considered by all appropriate to a man of his rank. Others, such as those along and behind the Welsh border, continued for many generations to play an important part in the defence of the land. But most of the earliest Norman castles lost their military significance when the country became quiet after the turmoil of the Conquest, and remain to-day, unmodified in plan, grass-grown after centuries of desertion, witnesses to a phase of social history in which for a short time the preservation of social order rested on the armed power of those who by the accident of one great battle had become the lords of the land.

The castle looms large in the perspective of history. To many of those who have attempted a reconstruction of medieval life its shadow has lain heavily over the whole social scene. Yet in reality one may read innumerable pages of medieval records without learning the name of a single castle. Except in times of civil war—rarer in England than in most countries—or along the remote borders of the kingdom, the ordinary man lived his life in town or country untroubled by the forces of which the castle was the expression in earth and stone. It is in other directions that the form of society which it is convenient to call feudalism left an enduring impression on English history.

The most important social consequence of the Conquest was the introduction into England of an alien aristocracy and its establishment upon the soil under conditions which burdened it with definite military duties to be performed when the king should need them. Owing to the work which modern historians have spent upon the unsurpassed records of medieval England, it is possible to realize something of the circumstances under which the Conqueror's companions received their

reward on the soil which they had won. Except for a natural respect for the ancient possessions of the Church, King William undoubtedly considered that all the land of England lay at his disposal. It was for him to decide how much land each of his leading followers should receive, and whether he should receive it in a compact territory, such as the earldom of Chester, or scattered over many shires. It was also for him to decide the amount of service which should be due in respect of this land. Throughout England, this service was normally expressed in terms of the number of knights whom a lord must supply when the king called for them. The number was determined, not by the extent or value of the lord's lands, but by the king's pleasure. The system of knight service which existed in Norman England goes back, in the last resort, to a series of personal negotiations between William I and his leading followers. The number of knights introduced into England in the Conqueror's reign has often been exaggerated. Few of his greatest tenants owed him as many as sixty knights. The whole feudal army of England in his time cannot have exceeded five thousand knights. It was not the size of this army, but the series of castles on which it rested that made it formidable.

It was only by slow degrees that the knights who composed this army were established in permanent estates of their own. In the very earliest days after the Conquest most lords seem to have kept their knights attached to their households, ready for immediate service. Long before the Conqueror died, however, the process had begun by which a great part of England became parcelled out in knight's fees, that is, in estates each originally intended to support a single knight. There was no general rule or custom determining the extent of a knight's fee. On the whole, though with innumerable varieties in actual practice, it tended to correspond to a village with its surrounding territory. The Norman knight was undoubtedly the predecessor, he was often the ancestor, of the later lord of the manor, and the village, the agricultural unit, the manor, the



WOMEN WEAVING IN THE OPEN AIR

In this picture of women weaving—their constant occupation in all classes of society—noteworthy points are the extreme crudeness of the loom, set up in the open air, and the retention in Norman times of the much earlier Saxon shears as scissors. An amusing touch is the introduction of the sheep that supplied the wool.

Trinity College, Cambridge, M.S. R. 17.1.

unit of private jurisdiction, and the knight's fee, the unit of military service, naturally tended to coincide. Already under the Norman kings there can be discerned the characteristic features of English medieval life, the manor with its court regulating the activities of a village

community, the lord's household supported by his demesne lands, the communal organization of the peasantry in the cultivation of their open fields (see Chap. 102), the scheme of rents and services which bound them to their lord.

Many of these features are very ancient. In innumerable cases the knight of the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have stood to the men of his village in a relationship identical with that which had united the English thegn, his predecessor, to their ancestors. The new factor introduced by the Conquest was the feudal service which united their lord to the greater man of whom he held his land. In place of the traditional services rendered on demand by the thegns of the time before the Conquest to their lords or to the king, there was now introduced a definite



EDUCATION FOR THE MANY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

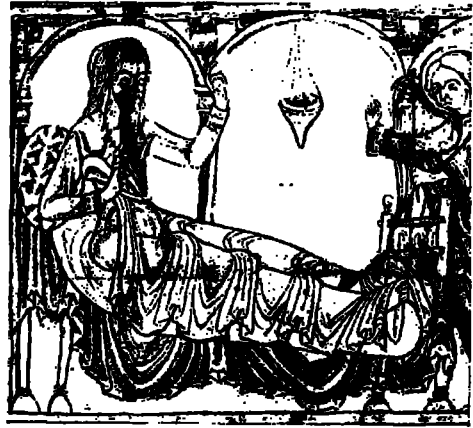
Remarkable actuality and not a little humour distinguish the pictures of contemporary life in England that adorn the psalter written and illustrated between 1130 and 1175 by Eadwine, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. This glimpse of a school with the carved lecterns of the teachers and the arrangement of the pupils around them is obviously a presentation of a normal twelfth-century class-room scene. Something in the nature of a writing lesson appears to be in progress at the moment.

Trinity College, Cambridge, M.S. R. 17.1.

relationship created by a precise understanding between the baron who had received his lands from the king and the knight who had received a portion of those lands from the baron in return for a definite military responsibility.

It was the precision of feudalism which made it an adequate basis for the land law of the Middle Ages, a precision which could only be attained in a conquered country, where new ideas would be worked out without the complication of traditional custom. To say that William the Conqueror introduced feudalism into England would be a serious mistake. In so far as feudalism means only the principle of tenure in return for service, it had existed in England long before the Conquest. It is a feudal system resting on a precise definition of service, as distinct from the incoherent relationships of an earlier time, that was the essential innovation introduced by the Conquest.

It was this precision that made possible the remarkable change which came over the character of English knight service within two generations of the Conquest. In essence, knight service was the duty of supplying a single fully armed and equipped knight to serve for forty days upon the king's summons. So precise



A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BED

Furniture was better and more plentiful in Norman than in Saxon times. The beds were commonly low wooden structures, with straw or feather mattresses, but 'tester' beds with head canopy and hangings were now introduced.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero C.ii

an obligation could easily be expressed in terms of money, and was indeed being expressed in this way before the end of the eleventh century. When in the course of the following century records become numerous, it can be seen that lords are dealing with the king for a commutation of the military service which they owe him. The rate at which this commutation was made varied from time to time. Normally, the rate was twenty shillings for each knight's fee. The payment made in respect of this commutation was known as scutage, a word already in employment in the earliest years of the reign of Henry I.

The social consequences of this change were important. The king gained, for he could hire knights who would be far more definitely at his disposal than were those supplied by his barons in accordance with the terms of the feudal bargain. To the military tenants themselves the introduction of scutage avoided the dislocation of life caused by obedience to a royal summons. But the wider consequences of the new departure are even more significant. It rapidly became possible for men of less than knightly status to take up land by military service. In the twelfth century estates held by the twentieth, fortieth, even the hundredth part of a knight's service were possible.



MILITARY AND CIVIL DRESS

In the later part of the twelfth century military costume still resembled that of the Conqueror's day, with nose-pieced helmet, shield and coat of mail. Civil costume comprised tunic, mantle, chausses, or swathings, and short boots.

British Museum, Harley Roll, Y.6

In such cases it is obvious that the military character of the holding was purely nominal. Tenure by the fortieth part of a knight's service meant the payment of the fortieth part of the sum at which a knight's fee was assessed to the scutages levied from time to time, and liability to the incidents and dues which lay upon those who held by military service. If a tenant by the minutest fraction of a knight's service died leaving an heir under age, that heir would be under the wardship of his lord. If he left a daughter as his heir, her marriage would be arranged by the lord. In all cases the heir of a tenant by military service made a payment to his lord upon succeeding to his inheritance. These incidents of tenure kept feudalism alive long after it had lost its original military quality. The remarkable fact is the rapidity with which its financial side became all-important after the Conquest, the matter-of-fact way in which the grandsons of the men who had conquered England expressed their military responsibilities to their lords or to the king in terms of money.

Knight service was not the only form of tenure which prevailed among the aristocracy of Norman England. Men of knightly descent were always

Land tenure by Sergeanty willing to take land in return for service of a non-military character, to become the stewards, butlers, chamberlains, marshals and other household officials of their lords. Tenure by service of this kind, which admitted of infinite variety, was known as tenure by sergeanty. Until recently its importance in the feudal scheme has been underestimated. It is only of late years that the important part played by household officers in the administration of great estates, and in particular in the administration of the kingdom itself, has become generally recognized. The household officer was peculiarly important because he was far more constantly in attendance upon his lord than the tenant by knight service. He was his lord's natural adviser, often the administrator of his revenue, often his personal friend. The steward of a great man was normally the president of his court; the steward of

a manorial court is a survivor from the early days of feudalism.

The importance of the household officer is clearly shown by the study of the persons who are known to have been most constantly present in the company of the Norman and Angevin kings. Great barons and ecclesiastics join them from time to time in their journeys over the country, but it is the officers of their households who form the permanent members of their company. It is the steward, chamberlain, marshal and constable who are present with them from day to day, and deal with the business which falls within a layman's competence. Long after the Norman period had ended, the king's household remained an effective instrument of government, and many of the constitutional struggles of the later Middle Ages turn on the attempts of the baronage to control the household organization. Even at the present time the great officers of the king's household appear once more before the world at a coronation, perhaps the last surviving trace of the feudalism which once governed England.

On no point was there any essential difference between the household of the king and that of one of his greater tenants, earl, bishop or baron. It should be added that on many points there was close similarity between the way in which the magnates governed their fees and the way in which the king governed England. In either case the household officers were available for the transaction of urgent business. In either case the tenants by military service, the king's barons, the baron's knights, were expected upon occasion to attend upon their lord, to give him advice and to deal with matters affecting the interests of their body.

The assembly of a baron's knightly tenants, the court of his honour, as it was called, was a highly important institution in Norman England. Little is known in detail of its activities, for it has left few records, and those which have been preserved are mostly of a late date. But in incidental passages it can be seen meeting, generally at its lord's castle, the head of his honour, settling the disputes

which continually arose between the various tenants of the same fee, receiving its lord's information about any grants of land which he had made within the honour, handling difficult matters such as the partition of estates held of the lord, arranging the incidence of military service among its members. It is in the court of the honour that English

The Court of the Honour

feudalism found its truest expression, that feudal principles were least hampered by the complication of ancient custom. The great age of its activity was the century which followed the Conquest, before the Norman and Angevin kings had made the justice which centred upon their own court effective throughout the greater part of England. During this century it remained an effective expression of the essential unity of interest between lord and man, the balance of rights and duties, which formed the real strength of feudalism.

What the court of the honour was doing within individual fees the king's court was doing within a wider sphere. At every emergency which arose during the Norman period the feudal character of the king's court becomes apparent. In a very real sense England itself formed a great 'honour,' of which the king was lord. His authority over his barons was no more absolute than was their authority over their knights. In either case, decision on any important matter could only be reached after discussion and general agreement. In neither case, so far as can now be seen, were proceedings marked by the formality which prevailed within the ancient local courts of hundred and shire, or was to prevail in the courts over which the king's professional judges came to preside. Discussion in the king's feudal court was remarkably free and outspoken, and the king himself appears as one among many interlocutors. Matters of honour, the sanctity of a safe conduct, for example, aroused more interest than matters of law or precedent. It would clearly have been impossible for the king to impose his will upon an assembly of this kind, composed of men each of whom was used to meeting his own men in his own court, unless he and they were in general agreement on

the matters at issue and the line to be followed in respect of them. The king's court of Norman times was essentially an assembly of equals, meeting to advise one whom they all recognized as their lord but whom, nevertheless, they regarded as one of themselves.

This attitude goes far to explain some of the perplexing features of Anglo-Norman history. It explains, in particular, the astonishing leniency shown by the Anglo-Norman kings towards rebellious barons: Atrocious acts of rebellion, suppressed with difficulty and threatening all social order, meet with no severer punishment than forfeiture, exile or imprisonment. Even when a defeated rebel has rightly been adjudged to lose his lands, it is common for some small portion of his former estate to be left to him. Norman England never saw anything corresponding to the terrible series of executions which followed most of the later battles in the Wars of the Roses. In this respect Old English custom had been the more severe, and held the life of the defeated rebel to be forfeited. This custom explains the different fate of the

two leaders of the rebellion of 1075 who fell into William's hands. **Norman attitude towards Rebellion**

He ordered the execution of the English earl, Waltheof, merely imprisoning his Norman fellow conspirator, Earl Roger of Hereford. It was not until the idea of sovereignty had been adapted from Roman law that rebellion against the king came to be regarded as the gravest of crimes.

The independence often shown by the baronage of the eleventh and twelfth centuries towards the king must have been fostered by an important fact to which little attention is commonly paid. The army which had fought at Hastings was an army of adventurers. It included soldiers from most parts of the French-speaking world. Among them were men, such as Count Alan of Brittany, from regions outside the sphere of Duke William's direct authority. There was a strong Flemish element in the army; there were volunteers from the south of France. Some of the more important Norman earls and barons held land in France of the king of the French as well

as of the duke of Normandy, and thus enjoyed the independence which divided allegiance always gave a ruler in the Middle Ages. Such men cannot have forgotten that in helping the duke of Normandy to conquer England they were acting of their own motion and not in compliance with feudal duty. One of the facts which reveal the greatness of William I is his success in bringing the leaders of his miscellaneous host to accept lands in England on terms which he himself specified. But the consciousness that of their own free will they had supported the founder of the Norman dynasty in his great enterprise must inevitably have affected their personal attitude towards him and his successors.

Modern writers often speak as if throughout the Middle Ages, and not least in the Norman period, there was a continual opposition between the king and the baronage. There are many incidents which on the surface support this view. Yet it will not stand a close

examination. For one thing, the men whom the king employed in the government of the country, the early Anglo-Norman sheriffs and justices particularly, were for the most part men of the baronial class. Aubrey de Vere, who was chamberlain to Henry I and served him as a justice in many counties, was a great baron and the ancestor of the medieval earls of Oxford. In Castle Hedingham, in Essex, he possessed one of the strongest private fortresses of Norman England. What the Anglo-Norman baronage desired was not so much independence within their estates as influence within the king's court. Throughout English medieval history the kings who lost favour with their baronage were the kings who gave their confidence to favourites instead of following the advice of their rightful counsellors, the great men of the land. Without the general good will of the baronage the Norman kings could never have carried on the work of government.

In the second place, in the time which followed the Conquest the interest of the king and the barons was in the last resort identical. The Norman barons established in England owed their lands, powers and privileges to the king. The brilliant success achieved by William the Conqueror should not hide the fact that the initial chances were all against it. For many years the more responsible members of the baronial class undoubtedly realized that they could not afford, even if they wished, to weaken the power of the king. It is natural that a general history of the Norman period should deal at length with the rebellions which arose from time to time. They are indeed important as illustrating dangers inherent in every feudal state. Yet rebellions were only incidents, exceptional to the normal course of the history. A group of discontented barons could at any time cause disturbance, and sometimes grave disorder. A disputed claim to the throne was always provocative of civil war. Yet the rebellions lightly undertaken by individual barons in the Norman period all collapsed before the forces which the king could draw from his loyal supporters, and the



FORTRESS HOME IN EAST ANGLIA

Built at the end of the eleventh century by Aubrey de Vere, Hedingham Castle, in Essex, was one of the strongest private fortresses in England. Its massive Norman keep is still in a condition for occupation.

Photo, F. Bond

anarchy which for a short time the dispute between Stephen and Matilda brought upon the land was followed by the establishment of the most centralised monarchy in western Europe. The picture of the Norman baron ruling his subjects from his castle in defiance of the king belongs to romance, not history.

Beneath the aristocracy introduced by the Conquest the life of the peasant and townsman continued, in essentials, to follow its ancient course. In a sense, town life underwent greater changes than those which came upon the country. It was varied by the addition of foreign elements, by the establishment of intimate contact with the Continent, and by new ideas of town government introduced from abroad. The commune—that is, the sworn association of burgesses for the defence of their liberties—appears at London, doubtless in imitation of foreign models, in Stephen's reign. The merchant and craft guilds, which in time come almost to dominate municipal life, had arisen in many English towns before the death of Henry I. They had been unknown in England before the Conquest, and their appearance can safely be ascribed to the influence of foreign example. Here and there, notably at Leicester and Northampton, a great baron, the earl of the shire, appears as the immediate lord of a county town. Yet the changes in town life definitely traceable to the Conquest are fewer than might have been expected.

Town conservatism was a very real thing. It manifested itself in a strict regard for ancient legal customs, in insistence on privileges derived from remote antiquity, in a lively consciousness of the dignity of the burgher. Even in a small town like Reading, given outright by Henry I to an abbey which he founded there, the new monastic lord deals very



LAY COSTUME IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Ladies wore tight gowns with trailing skirts and sleeves hanging to the ground, and men's mantles, too, were very long. Peasants, like the two shepherds (right), wore loose tunics and cloaks caught at the shoulder by a brooch. Hats and caps, of many different shapes, were worn by all classes of the community.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero C.10

respectfully with the 'free and honourable burgesses' of his borough. It is rather in the creation of new boroughs than in the modification of old ones that the Conquest left its deepest impression on English municipal history. Sometimes, as, at Norwich and Nottingham, a new French borough was created by the side of an ancient English county town, with its own customs of legal procedure and inheritance. More often the new town arose in the open country, at the intersection of important roads or adjacent to a navigable river. Throughout the Norman period, and indeed for long afterwards, there extended a struggle between town and town, in particular between the ancient pre-Conquest boroughs and the new foundations of French lords. The ancient borough of Thatcham on the Bath road, a group of burgesses established within a royal manor, never recovered from the foundation of a new trading community three miles to the west at Newbury by one of the Conqueror's barons.

The establishment of a town beneath a castle was a natural consequence of the new ideas which the castle represented. It gave protection, its lord could give trading privileges to the townsmen, and they could supply their lord with the produce of distant markets. Now and then Domesday Book will refer to these new communities, it will note a group of



REEVE AND REAPERS HARVESTING

The most important person in the actual working of a manor farm was the reeve. He was chosen by the villeins from among themselves and acted as foreman in charge, seeing that hours were kept and that all work in field and farmyard and dairy was honestly and efficiently performed.

British Museum, Royal MSS., 2B.vii

burghesses 'sitting before the castle gate' as a source of profit to the lord of the castle. More often these new, private boroughs came into existence without any record so early as the Conqueror's survey. Perhaps the most interesting among them are those which received from their lords the privileges possessed by some town in France. The 'Laws of Breteuil,' a town near the border of France and Normandy, formed the model for the privileges of many boroughs deliberately created in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In course of time many of these new, private boroughs far outstripped most of the ancient county towns of pre-Conquest England. Manchester, which receives no more than a passing reference in Domesday Book, is perhaps the greatest example of this development. The change belongs, however, for the most part to the period subsequent to the Middle Ages. Throughout Norman England the ancient county towns remained by far the greatest trading centres in the land. Tenacious of their customs, yet willing to receive foreign settlers upon conditions, they present a curious mixture of progressive and conservative tendencies. To a very great extent they were agricultural communities. The typical burghess of an Anglo-Norman county town was a farmer, with a share in the open arable fields which surrounded the borough and with rights of pasturage over the wastes which lay beyond. Within the town the messuage, the plot of land on which he dwelt, was essen-

tially a farm. The congestion of dwellings which marked many English towns in the later Middle Ages was in great part due to the subdivision of the ancient agricultural messuages, to the building of houses on what had once been gardens, orchards and farmyards. It was only gradually that the commercial and industrial aspects of town life became all-important. In the Norman period the agricultural side of the life of a borough came first, then its function as a market centre, then, at

a long interval, but with increasing momentum, its industrial activities.

Much of the earlier history of English towns is still obscure. It can just be seen that there was once a time when their defences had played an important part in protecting the land against Scandinavian or British invaders. Before the Conquest their military value had become small, and the sieges typical of Anglo-Norman history are sieges of castles, not of boroughs. It is as a market centre that the borough of the eleventh and twelfth **English boroughs** centuries is most clearly **in early times** differentiated from the village. It was important that a trader should produce the testimony of responsible persons to show that he had come honestly by the goods he sold, and it was within a borough that this testimony could most easily be had. Within the borough, again, mints were established—the relative importance of eleventh-century boroughs can best be estimated by observing the number of moneyers who worked in them.

From a remote time the Old English kings had seen the necessity of securing the highways which led from borough to borough. An attack upon travellers passing upon such highways was one of the gravest offences known to Anglo-Norman customary law. Upon the market itself there lay a special peace, broken only under heavy penalties. Moreover, the fact that the men who formed the borough community, unlike the tenants of a rural

manor, were not the men of any single lord had long before the Conquest caused the appearance of a borough court, in which disputes could be settled expeditiously. The procedure of these courts followed the practice of pre-Conquest times, and to them is due the preservation of a great body of Old English customary law to a recent period.

Throughout the Norman period, as for centuries before and afterwards, the village was the basis of English social life. Long before the Conqueror landed, the village geography of England had assumed

what was destined to be its permanent form. The disappearance of a village was an exceptional event in the Middle Ages, the creation of a new village was still more unusual. All the evidence suggests that the various forms of local association which exist to-day—the true village, the hamlet, the isolated farm with its dependent cottages—were present in Norman England. The appearance of one type as against another was determined by varieties of soil rather than by any specifically historical considerations. The continuity of rural life is one of its most remarkable features.

The characteristic aspects of the English village community have been carefully studied and are well known. Around the group of houses which formed the core of the community stretched the wide arable 'fields' of the village. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the custom was for half of this arable territory to lie fallow each year. The more complicated system by which in any year a third of the arable lay fallow, a third was sown with wheat, and a third with beans or peas—the 'three field system' of the text books—belongs to a time later than that of the Norman kings. The whole arable area was divided into strips (see the plan in page 2662) which varied much in area but generally approximated to the quarter of an acre. Their usual character, their length and sinuosity, can be learned from their survival in the 'ridge and furrow' (see page 2664) still to be discerned in grass land which in the Middle Ages had been under the plough.

It may have been the case that at one time no two adjacent strips were held by the same person. If so, the time was far distant in the twelfth century. The arable holding of the average villager was still distributed fairly equally over the main divisions of the village territory, but it is only rarely that any regular sequence can be discovered in the distribution of strips in a twelfth-century field, and the same person might well hold four or more of them in a compact block. On the other hand, there is no mistaking the prevalent feeling that the arable holdings within a village should be standardised; that, for example, if local conditions made a thirty-acre holding profitable for the ordinary villager, as many holdings as possible should be brought up to this acreage.

The standard holding materially facilitated the apportionment of service due to the lord and of taxation due to the king, and the tendency therefore appears at an early date for holdings of less extent than the average to bear some simple relation to it. Beside a full holding of thirty acres, there would exist a half holding of fifteen. It is only in exceptional regions such as East Anglia and the Marsh of Lincolnshire that this sort of standardisation was abandoned. Naturally, in the course of time the ancient holdings tended to be broken up. Even in the twelfth century land was a marketable commodity,



ANGLO-NORMAN WAYFARERS

With the exception of poor people, who perforce had to fare afoot, virtually all travelling in Norman times was done on horseback, women, as a rule, riding side-saddle. Pack horses carried most of the baggage and merchandise.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero C.46

and the prosperous villager would lay holding to holding and acre to acre. Nevertheless, the ancient system retained considerable vitality throughout the Middle Ages, and in many parts still survived into the eighteenth century.

Of equal importance to the village community was the common meadow. Often redistributed annually by lot, it was generally shared among the villagers in proportion to the extent of their arable holdings. The same principle governed the rights of pasture enjoyed by the villagers over the village wastes. Only when the pasturage was sufficient for

all conceivable requirements, a condition rarely fulfilled, was the villager without a share in the

village arable allowed rights of common over the village waste. Such villagers were, in any case, few. Domesday Book reveals clearly a large class of cottagers, sharply distinguished from the holders of the normal open field shares. It proved an important class in the future, for from it there arose the independent agricultural labourer. Yet the custom of the eleventh century expected the cottager to possess a share in the village arable, a share of which five acres was considered to be an average. That a holding of this kind should carry pasture rights in no way infringed the elementary principle that the waste should only be owned by those who possessed shares in the village arable.

A system of this kind needed regulation by common consent. Agriculture in an ordinary village under the Norman kings, as for long thereafter, was essentially co-operative. The great plough team, usually, it would seem, of eight oxen, was composed of beasts supplied by a number of different villagers. Throughout the village the interests of one man were so closely bound up with those of his neighbours that there was no room for the dissident. On the other hand, the difference between the seasons of one year and another, the occasional necessity for common action such as a piece of drainage, compelled the villagers to arrive at a common understanding from time to time. In other words, periodical meetings

of villagers, township moots as they may be called, were created at a very early date by the bare necessities of the primitive agriculture which prevailed in Norman England. Little is known about their deliberations. They kept no records, they are rarely noticed by those who set in writing the decisions of the king's courts. Yet these informal, unrecorded meetings of villagers deserve to be remembered beside the more familiar assemblies of shire and hundred. The hundred has altogether passed away, and the shire has assumed functions which would have seemed strange to the men of the twelfth century; but the modern by-law goes back to the regulations passed by the men of Anglo-Norman villages for the management of their common agricultural concerns.

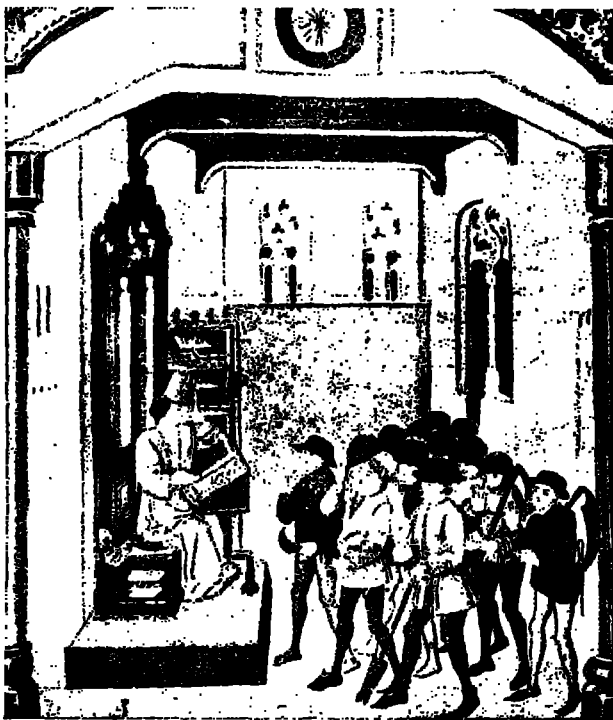
Stranger to modern ideas than the distribution of land which has been described was the social system whose purposes that distribution served. Much of medieval agricultural practice persisted into the early nineteenth century, many traces of it can be observed to-day. But the rural society of the Middle Ages rested on ideas as foreign to the men of the eighteenth century as to any landowner

Land tenure by
Agricultural service

of the present time. Beneath it lay the fundamental principle that the proper return for the occupation of land was agricultural service. This principle affects the relations of every peasant class to its lords. It is most strongly marked in the heavy burden of labour exacted from the unfree peasantry, the medieval villeins, but countless men of whose personal freedom there could be no question are also found performing agricultural services for their lords' benefit. In the north, indeed, labour of this kind was frequently exacted from men who by birth were more than peasants, and represented in tenure, as no doubt often in descent, thegn of the time before the Conquest. The distinction between the services of different social classes lay not so much in the nature of the work which was demanded from them as in its amount, and especially in the extent to which it subjected the tenant to the supervision of his lord's officers.

At the bottom of the whole social scale, a class of rightless slaves survived from the Old English period into the Norman time. The number of persons who were registered in Domesday Book as 'servi' is very considerable, and the disappearance of this class in the course of a few generations is a remarkable fact. It would seem that slavery was obsolete in Normandy at the date of the Conquest, and that the Norman lords of England assimilated the organization of their estates to the system with which they were familiar.

In other respects England and Normandy seem to have reached a similar stage of economic development in the late eleventh century. In both countries the fundamental peasant class was composed of men who in return for their holdings were bound to fulfil a regular and customary course of labour service on their lord's land. For a number of days in each week, generally three or four, their services were at the disposal of their lord for whatever form of work he might choose to appoint. In addition to this regular labour, the tenant of this class was required to help his lord at the seasons when extra work was necessary, such as hay-time and harvest. Beyond all this, he was required to make various payments of a miscellaneous character to his lord representing, it would seem, a return for such advantages as the right of taking wood for the repair of his house or for fuel. If he left his land without his lord's licence, he could be pursued and brought back again; the king would instruct his sheriffs to help in his capture. When he gave his daughter in marriage, his lord took money from him, the 'merchet' of innumerable medieval surveys. Everything seems to point to the unfreedom of the tenant of this class, the villein of Anglo-Norman land law.



LAND TENURE BY LAND WORK

Under the Norman manorial system the villeins became 'customary tenants,' holding their parcel of land by performing work fixed by the custom of the particular manor. This fifteenth century French manuscript depicts villeins reporting for work to their lord and receiving their orders from him.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; photo, Giraudon

Unfree he was, but it is easy to exaggerate his degradation. Recent work has emphasised the important fact that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries no strict line was ever drawn between the services of the villein and those of men whose personal freedom was unquestioned. There was no form of agricultural labour, no type of payment in kind or in cash, which was distinctive of villeinage. It was common for free peasants, men of considerable local standing, to pay merchet. They were often subject to the burden of week-work, they were generally expected to assist their lord at hay-time and harvest. Moreover, the weekly labour exacted from the unfree, onerous as it seems, could in practice be compounded for by a remarkably small payment in money. In the twelfth century it was possible for a man to get rid of three days' labour each week by a payment of fifteen

pence a year, and lords seem to have been not unwilling to introduce the principle of commutation into the management of their estates. Customary labour doubtless tended to be inefficient; it could only be exacted in strict accordance with precedent, and its transmutation into a more modern system was a matter for private arrangement between lords and men.

At a later time the essential distinction which separated the villein from the free tenant was the fact that the king's courts would not entertain any plea brought by a villein against his lord except in a matter of life and limb. In the Norman period the king's court had not yet extended its activities to cover the pleas of small men, and such a distinction would have had no meaning. In the ancient courts of hundred and shire the villein seems to have had a standing, though there was a tendency to regard his presence as infringing the principle that the free should not be judged by the unfree. It was in his lord's court that he litigated with his fellows, and that the matters which affected his daily life were settled.

The manorial courts of Norman England have sometimes been regarded as instruments of oppression, as the means by which alien lords imposed their will upon a reluctant native population. That the manorial court maintained the lord's control over his men, free and unfree alike, is certain. It was there that breaches of agricultural custom were punished, that fines were imposed, to the lord's profit,

on those who broke the peace, that the established course of labour service was maintained.

Nevertheless, the collective opinion of the manorial peasantry found its expression in the manorial court. It was the custodian of the custom of the manor, that body of ancient practice which the lord himself might not depart from. It was the means by which the routine of the time before the Conquest was preserved against the aggression of French lords and their stewards. It was a conservative force, and it represented to the master of the village community the stubborn opposition of its members to any departure from the ancient ways.

In any general discussion of the peasantry of Norman England it is all-important to remember that no generalisations will cover the whole of the country. In particular, it is essential to remember that England north of the Welland was following a social and economic development very different from that which prevailed in the south and west. In the regions which had been the scene of Danish settlement in the ninth century, in such a county as Lincolnshire, the free peasant, Differences between the socman of Anglo-Norman law, gave a character of independence to local society which was rarely present in the manorialised south. The typical peasant of this region was personally free, able to alienate his land, and responsible for the taxes at which his holding was assessed. As a rule he was free from the burden of week-work. His agricultural services were generally confined to work on his lord's home farm at the busy seasons of the year; his rents in money or kind were light.

Above all, owing to facts of very ancient history, the manors of this region were generally far less compact than those of the south. The typical Lincolnshire manor—and Lincolnshire was the richest of English counties in the Conqueror's reign—consisted of a lord's house with a home farm, a demesne, which maintained his household and on which such of the local peasantry as were personally unfree were bound to regular services of the kind which has been described. Its distinctive feature lay in the distribution over the surrounding villages of a considerable number of free tenants, bound to the central manor by the duty of attending its court, and paying their customary rents there, but free from all the seigniorial control which governed the lives of the villeins within a compact estate. Everything points to the conclusion that the free peasants of northern and eastern England represent the descendants of the Danish settlers of the ninth century. In the Norman period, and for long afterwards, Scandinavian personal names were commonly used among them. Their terms of land measurement were mostly of Scandinavian origin, their language was

an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect. They were intensely conservative, to which indeed is due the preservation of the evidence which proves their origin. In every way the remarkable forms of local association which arose among them stand in contrast to the regular manorial system which dominates modern conceptions of Anglo-Norman society.

Both forms of rural society, Anglo-Scandinavian and English, manifested great power of resistance to French innovations. It is, indeed doubtful whether there was any general wish on the part of barons and knights to modify the agrarian systems which they found in England. William I insisted that his followers should occupy with respect to the estates which he gave them the exact position held before the Conquest by their English owners, and a similar tendency to maintain the existing position seems to have governed the relations of the new aristocracy to the peasants beneath them. The strongest force tending to the modification of existing ways of life was the new forest law introduced to govern the districts set apart by the king for the purposes of his hunting.

The royal forests of the twelfth century covered a wide area. Most of them included villages of the normal type; none of them were stretches of uninhabited waste, though it was naturally the poorer land which gave the best opportunity for the king's hunting. Within a forest the ordinary course of agricultural life was continually affected by the forest law. The prohibition of killing any beast of the chase was only one, and not the most irksome, of the restrictions which lay on the dwellers within a royal forest. No fences might be erected which would exclude the deer, no timber or brushwood might be cut down without the licence of the king's foresters. There was no doubt justification for the numerous complaints of harshness and cruelty in the preservation of the forests recorded by early writers. But it should be remembered that there was another aspect of the forest. Within its boundaries the peasantry enjoyed very profitable rights of

common. They could obtain the king's leave to enclose portions of the forest for temporary cultivation, on condition that they were thrown back again into the forest after the expiry of a specified term of years. In course of time they came to regard themselves as something of an aristocracy compared with the men who lived outside the forest or in its purlieu.

When all allowance has been made for the wide area over which the forest law extended, it remains an exceptional interference with traditional habits of rural life. English society was ancient enough and sufficiently organized to withstand even the tremendous shock of a successful foreign invasion. The changes which came upon it as a result of that event came gradually, through the interplay of foreign and native ideas. For the most part their operation can only be traced with difficulty, by the slow collection and analysis of scattered records. To this obscurity there is one great exception. The Organization of the Church changes which came over the organization of the Church in England as a result of the Conquest are known with a fullness to which there is no parallel in the secular sphere. They also came gradually, and met with obdurate resistance from those to whom ancient ways were dear. But there is no mistaking their tendency, nor the ultimate completeness of their victory.

The great task which lay before the reforming party in the eleventh-century Church was to bring about its emancipation from secular control. Owing in great measure to the character of Edward the Confessor, the Old English church had been free from the grosser abuses which flourished elsewhere in the West. Edward had been interested in the character of those whom he had appointed to high ecclesiastical office, and had done all in his power to give an opportunity in England to individual foreign reformers. He had been hampered by the not unnatural prejudices of a strong party among the English nobility, and in the aggregate he achieved little. For the future of the Church in England it was a fortunate circumstance that the man who overthrew the Old English state,

was also a man of religious life, strict personal morality and a lively sense of the duty of the king in regard to the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. Few of his successors, none of his own family, reached his standard in these matters, but the example he had set retained its force. The reform of the Church in England was under him an alliance between Church and State for the correction of abuses condemned by the king as strongly as by any ecclesiastical authority. In making possible the initiation of a policy of reform, William was paying the debt which he owed to the Papacy for the support which it had given him in 1066.

In the eleventh century the church which stood within the boundaries of a manor was still regarded as a source of monetary profit to the manorial lord. To the clerks who compiled Domesday Book the manorial church and the manorial mill were on very much the same footing. Both contributed something to the sum at which the yearly value of the manor might be estimated. The lord nominated the priest whose duty it would be to serve the church, and he could bargain with him for a yearly payment in respect of the yearly revenues of the church, the dues and offerings of the parishioners.



ORDINATION OF PRIESTS

After the Norman Conquest the old national church of England developed a new vigour, largely owing to the bishops being relieved of much secular business and given more time to attend to their ecclesiastical and spiritual duties.

British Museum; Harley Roll, Y.6

Moreover, no law or custom forbade the parish clergy to marry, and there are clear traces of a tendency in the twelfth century towards the establishment of hereditary succession to benefices. The authority of the bishop had fallen very low, he had little or nothing of the elaborate organization which his successors developed for the administration of their dioceses, and the efficacy of his rule depended entirely on his own character and energy.

Under such conditions the Church was subject to the lay world in a way which ran counter to all the ideas of eleventh-century reformers. It

was at this point that the character of William I was all-

**The Conqueror's wise
ecclesiastical policy**

important. It would have been easy for a king in his position to have feudalised the Church, to have sanctioned existing tendencies and allowed his followers to use them for their own advantage. That he chose the harder course and lent the power of the crown to the improvement of ecclesiastical order is one of his clearest titles to greatness.

He made no revolutionary attack on the existing system, and many of its features survived for centuries. The lay patron exists to-day, a survival of the order which William found established in England. Here the vital change was the gradual restriction of the right of the manorial lord to bargain with the priest whom he was appointing to a benefice. It was long before a permanent and adequate provision was assured to every parish priest, but the first steps in this direction were taken very soon after the Conquest. Laws were passed against the marriage of clergy, but their enforcement was difficult. The married clergy were protected by a society which considered their position honourable, and the attempts of twelfth-century bishops and archdeacons to compel married priests to put away their wives met with natural and violent opposition. By forbidding bishops to hold ecclesiastical pleas in the hundred courts William necessitated the development of specifically ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the moral offences of the laity, but in so doing he laid the seeds of



CLERGY OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

In the twelfth century there was a marked quickening of religious energy in England. Many new churches were built and the numbers of the clergy and monks were largely increased by men who took their calling seriously.

British Museum; Cotton MSS., Nero C. iv

a quarrel between lay and ecclesiastical lawyers which affected the whole of medieval law. It is safe to assume that he was anxious to relieve his bishops from preoccupation with secular business, but he needed them for the work of the state. The administration of England under the Norman kings depended on the co-operation of ecclesiastics with the laymen of the king's court. It is not so much by any definite measures as by the whole tenor of a long course of action that William the Conqueror influenced the Church in England.

The movement which was to cover England with new religious houses began within a decade of the Conquest, but had gathered little momentum until the twelfth century was well advanced. Its importance in the history of the English church has always been recognized. From the present standpoint it has a further interest, for men of both races and of every social class took part in it. The part taken by kings, barons and knights in monastic founda-

tion and endowment stands in no further need of elaboration. It is of greater interest to observe that the new ideas affected the peasantry as no religious movement had ever affected them within recorded history. In the establishment of the Cistercian and Augustinian orders under Henry I and his successors a very material part was taken by men of undistinguished rank. Individually, no doubt, their gifts were small, but they were evidence of an interest in something beyond the routine of agricultural life, the niceties of customary law, the simple enjoyments which had satisfied their ancestors. Perhaps it is in the northern parts of England that this movement finds its most interesting expression, for there men whose names prove ancient peasant ancestry can be seen detaching acres from tenements formed by Scandinavian invaders in the ninth century to endow new religious houses founded by men whose immediate predecessors had conquered the land under William of Normandy.

In this work, more clearly than elsewhere, there can be traced the effective expression of that union of Frenchmen and Englishmen which created the medieval English state, and is the lasting achievement of the Anglo-Norman monarchy founded by William I.



ROYAL INTEREST IN CHURCH BUILDING

This illustration, depicting King Offa conferring with his architect over the building of a cathedral church, was drawn by, or under the direct supervision of, that industrious chronicler Matthew Paris, about 1240-50. It furnishes some highly interesting details of tools and mechanical appliances in use in the thirteenth century.

British Museum; MS. of Matthew Paris's 'Vita Duorum Offarum'

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XIX

- 1158 Frederick I Barbarossa elected German and Italian king.
- 1158 English anarchy ended by treaty of Wallingford. Death of Bernard of Clairvaux. Henry the Lion of Saxony restored in Bavaria. Sanjar, last Seljuk sultan, defeated by the Ghuzz.
- 1154 Frederick in North Italy. Accession of Henry II Plantagenet in England. Pope Adrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear), and William the Bad in Sicily.
- 1155 Frederick leaves Italy after coronation in Rome by Nicholas, who makes terms with Roman commune, Normans and Lombard cities.
- 1156 Frederick marries Beatrice of Arles.
- 1157 Duchy of Austria instituted. Diet of Besançon, widening breach between Adrian and Frederick.
- Death of Sanjar ends Seljuk sultanate.
- 1158 Frederick crowned king of Arles. Frederick invades Italy; beginning of war with Milanese League (to 1162).
- 1159 Alexander III pope; Victor IV antipope (imperialist).
- 1162 Fall and punishment of Milan. Frederick leaves Italy.
- 1163 Veronese League (anti-imperialist). Almeric (Amalric) king of Jerusalem.
- 1164-6 Struggle for domination in Egypt between Nour ed-Din's general Shirkuh and Almeric; Saladin wins distinction.
- 1166 Frederick returns to Italy; marches on Rome.
- 1167 Frederick takes Rome; Alexander escapes to Normans; plague breaks up Frederick's army.
- 1168 Frederick withdraws from Italy.
- 1169 Almeric leaves Egypt. Shirkuh secures wazirate in which Saladin succeeds him.
- 1170 Murder of Archbishop Becket.
- 1171 Henry II annexes Ireland. Saladin ends Fatimid khilafate in Egypt, ruling as Nour ed-Din's lieutenant.
- 1173 Ghiyas ud-Din of Ghor, having overthrown Ghaznavids in Afghanistan and Punjab, sets his brother Shahab ud-Din (Mohammed Ghor) over his Indian conquests.
- 1174 William the Lion of Scotland, taken prisoner at Alnwick, does homage for his crown; the treaty of Falaise. Frederick's fifth invasion of Italy. Baldwin IV the Leper succeeds Almeric. Death of Nour ed-Din; succession troubles.
- 1175 Temujin, aged thirteen, succeeds his father as chief of Mongol tribes in Central Asia.
- 1176 Frederick decisively defeated by Lombard League at Legnano. Saladin, dominating Syria, assumes title of sultan. Truce with Lombard League. Frederick makes submission to Alexander, at Venice.
- 1180 France; accession of Philip II Augustus. Henry the Lion deprived of Bavaria, which passes to the house of Wittelsbach. Death of Emperor Manuel. Alexius II Comnenus.
- 1181 Henry the Lion deprived of Saxony, but retains Brunswick; is banished. E. Saxony goes to Brandenburg (house of Albert the Bear). Alexander III dies. Lucius III pope.
- 1183 Definitive Treaty of Constance with Lombard League establishes free city states. Saladin completes his mastery of Syria. Usurpation of Andronicus Comnenus.
- 1184 Frederick again in Italy.
- 1185 Baldwin V king of Jerusalem. Andronicus killed; Isaac Angelus emperor.
- 1186 Baldwin dies; his step-father Guy of Lusignan king; war of Guy and Raymond of Tripoli. Henry (VI) son of Frederick marries Constance of Sicily.
- 1187 Saladin defeats Guy at Hattin or Tiberias (June); captures Jerusalem (Oct.) and other fortresses. Shahab ud-Din master of Punjab and Sindh.
- 1188 European princes take the Cross.
- 1189 Start of Frederick's Crusade ('Third'). Henry II dies. Richard I Coeur-de-Lion and Philip of France prepare for Crusade. Richard abrogates Treaty of Falaise.
- 1189 Frederick drowned in Cilicia; his army breaks up. Tancred elected king of Sicily. Western crusaders winter in Sicily.
- 1191 Richard conquers Cyprus; siege and capture of Acre; disensions of crusaders; Philip and others return home. Henry of Champagne made titular king of Jerusalem; Richard gives Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan. Henry VI crowned emperor in Rome.
- 1192 Treaty of Richard and Saladin ends Crusade. Richard on his return is captured by Leopold of Austria and held prisoner by Henry VI. Shahab ud-Din shatters a great Hindu confederacy at second battle of Tarain.
- 1193 Death of Saladin; disintegration of his dominion.
- 1193-1206 Conquest of the whole Ganges basin by Shahab ud-Din's slave-general Kutb ud-Din.
- 1194 Richard released on doing homage to Henry VI. Death of Tancred; Henry takes crown of Sicily.
- 1195 Henry the Lion dies. Guelphs hold Brunswick. Henry VI plans a 'crusade.' Alexius III Angelus deposes Isaac.
- 1196 Philip repudiates Ingeborg, m. Agnes of Meran.
- 1197 Henry VI dies; his crusade dispeaces.
- 1198 Innocent III pope (to 1216). Sicily under the infant Frederick (II) separated from the Empire. Constance dies, leaving guardianship of the child and kingdom to Innocent. Gradual expulsion of Germans. Philip II (of Swabia) and Otto IV (of Brunswick) elected rival German kings.
- 1199 King John succeeds Richard I.
- 1200 Innocent lays France under interdict.
- 1201 Innocent declares Otto emperor. Partial reconciliation of Innocent and Philip of France.
- 1202-5 War of Philip and John, in which Philip wins Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Brittany.
- 1202 Aladil brother of Saladin sultan (Eyubid dyn.). 'Fourth Crusade' assembling at Venice, diverted against Greek Empire.
- 1203 First capture of Constantinople; Isaac 'restored.'
- 1204 Second capture and sack of Constantinople; crusaders divide the spoils. Venice taking the Hon's share. Baldwin of Flanders emp. Temujin conquers the Kerait Tatars. Peter of Aragon makes his kingdom a papal fief. Ottocar (Premislav) duke of Bohemia confirmed as king by Innocent.
- 1205 Baldwin killed in Bulgarian war; Henry of Flanders succeeds. Independence of Bulgaria under Asen dynasty.
- 1206 Temujin assumes title of 'Jenghiz Khan.' Shahab ud-Din dies. Kutb ud-Din first (Slave) sultan of Delhi. Theodore Lascaris Greek emperor at Nicaea.
- 1207 Quarrel of King John and Innocent III.
- 1208 England laid under interdict. Albigenian 'crusade' begins. Emperor Philip murdered; Otto sole emperor. Francis of Assisi founds Franciscan Friars. Innocent crowns Otto emperor.
- 1209 Otto attacks Sicily; excommunicated.
- 1210 Death of Kutb ud-Din.
- 1211 Jenghiz Khan attacks China.
- 1212 Frederick II elected; war with Otto IV. Innocent appoints Philip of France to depose King John, with English support. United Spaniards defeat Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa. Altamah sultan at Delhi.
- 1213 John makes submission to Innocent from whom he receives the crown as a vassal of Papacy. Accession of James I of Aragon (to 1276).
- 1214 Ruinous defeat of Otto and his allies by Philip of France at Bouvines. Accession of Ferdinand III of Castile (to 1232). Magna Carta extorted from John by barons. Fourth Lateran Council forbids trial by ordeal. Order of Dominican Friars instituted. Frederick II crowned at Aix. Franciscan Order formally instituted. Death of Innocent III; Honorius III pope. Henry III succeeds John. Jenghiz Khan turns his arms westward.

Chronicle XIX

EAST AND WEST: CONFLICT AND INTERCOURSE. 1152-1216

THE brief period of sixty-four years covered by the present Chronicle is crowded with striking figures and dramatic events. It opens with the accession of perhaps the noblest, though not the most successful, in the long line of the Western emperors. Frederick I Barbarossa was the son of Conrad III's elder brother, whom he had succeeded as duke of Swabia. His mother was a Welf, sister of Henry the Proud and aunt of Henry the Lion, the young duke of Saxony; there were high hopes that the union in his person of the houses of Hohenstaufen and Welf would end the division of Germany into partisans of one or the other family.

He had taken part in his uncle's crusade and had won high distinction therein; and he had played a very creditable part in the strifes which had followed Conrad's return to Germany. If any man could have translated into actual fact the idea of the emperor as the accepted head of a united Christendom, Frederick Barbarossa would have done it. His failure was a final demonstration that the ideal—which he pursued all his life—was unattainable.

Qualities of Frederick Barbarossa

BET the outset of his reign seemed to promise that it was practicable. Frederick's known qualities had made the election almost unanimous; there was an unwonted disposition towards loyalty, markedly displayed by his cousin of Saxony, who was rewarded by reinstatement in the Bavarian duchy also. In two years confidence in Frederick and the stability of his position in Germany were almost confirmed, and he could turn to his other kingdom of Italy, where the German king's authority was seldom effective when his back was turned. But the premature move had the usual result; disturbances broke out in Germany, and before a twelvemonth was out the em-

peror had to hasten north again to quell them. And the Italian expedition had prepared a fresh crop of troubles.

Many of the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany had latterly acquired a great degree of autonomy. Broadly, they had first escaped from lay to episcopal overlordships, and then extracted practical self-government from the reluctant bishops. They now saw their self-government endangered by the appearance of a king with the loftiest idea of royal responsibilities, but also of royal authority; their attitude was already that of sullen mistrust, very obvious in the case of Milan; and this was intensified—though they gave their allegiance—by the drastic methods of Frederick in dealing with signs of recalcitrance.

Rome infected by Revolution

MOREOVER, Frederick alienated Rome as well as the Lombard cities. A succession of weak popes had followed the death of Innocent II in 1143. In that year the people of Rome, moved by the example of Lombardy, had set up a commune, rejecting the suzerainty of their bishop the pope. The popes—one of whom, Lucius II, lost his life in attempting to suppress the revolution—were forced to give way, while the revolutionaries were led by the ardent ecclesiastical and political reformer Arnold of Brescia, whom Innocent had condemned as a heretic. The popes had abated none of their theoretical claims, but their temporal authority had fallen to a very low ebb, and was practically ignored by their nominal vassal, King Roger of Sicily and South Italy.

Then in 1154 (which happened also to be the year of Henry of Anjou's accession in England) Roger died, leaving as his heir William, called 'The Bad.' Frederick crossed the Alps to assert his authority in Lombardy, and the only Englishman in



FREDERICK I, BARBAROSSA

Frederick I (c. 1124-90) became German king in 1152 and emperor in 1155. Despite his marked ability his reign was not fortunate for the Empire. He is figured in this relief in the cloister of S. Zeno, at Reichenhall in Bavaria.

the entire list of the popes, Nicholas Breakspear, became Pope Adrian IV.

Adrian was a strong man, resolute, fearless, utterly convinced of the Gregorian theory of the papal supremacy. He faced the commune boldly, and frightened the Romans into expelling Arnold by laying the city under an interdict. At his call Frederick, who desired formal coronation as emperor in S. Peter's, came to his aid; for the Normans in the south were threatening (1155). The first meeting of the pope and the emperor almost wrecked the accord, since Adrian required Frederick to alight and hold his horse's bridle while he dismounted. Frederick first refused, then gave way; but the event was ominous. Frederick was crowned, but it was hard to say whether the Roman

populace was more hostile to the pope or the emperor; and at this juncture the latter found that the call for his return to Germany was imperative. He left Adrian to make what he could by himself of a very critical situation and recrossed the Alps.

By his timely return to Germany Frederick effected a new pacification. The main troubles had been caused by the count palatine of the Rhine, and by Henry of Babenburg, who had been dispossessed in Bavaria by the restoration of Henry the Lion. Frederick now severed the East Mark—Austria—from Bavaria and erected it into a hereditary duchy for the Babenburg; Saxony retained the Middle Mark; while Albert the Bear, when forced to resign Saxony on the earlier restoration of Henry, had been placated with the Northern Mark of Brandenburg, which in the course of centuries was to develop into the kingdom of Prussia. Frederick also greatly strengthened his own position by marrying the heiress of Burgundy, which was thus attached to the possessions of the imperial house. But it was only by making politic concessions to the greater nobles that he was able to collect the great force with which he proposed in 1158 to impose his authority on Italy once for all.

Imperial Designs upon Italy

FOR Adrian had the full courage of his convictions. He had no intention of standing to the emperor only in such a relation as that of earlier popes to an Otto or a Henry III. Obviously his Hildebrandine ideals were incompatible with the imperial ideals of Barbarossa, and to face that main issue minor issues must be sacrificed. While Frederick was establishing a long unparalleled supremacy in Germany, Adrian was providing himself with allies, making terms with the Normans, with the Roman commune, with the communes of the north which were preparing to defy the common enemy of their independence, the German emperor. When Frederick in the plenitude of his success in Germany was holding a splendid diet at Besançon, Adrian's emissary propounded ecclesiastical griev-

East & West: Conflict & Intercourse

ances in terms which he intended as a claim to the over-riding authority of the pope.

In 1158, then, Frederick entered Italy at the head of a great army; without as yet an open breach with Adrian, but with manifestly strained relations, ostensibly for the purpose of reducing the defiant cities, Milan and her supporters, to submission. Milan had formed and headed a league; jealousy of Milan had brought about the formation of an opposition league, which saw its profit in supporting the emperor and claiming the reward of loyalty. So stubborn, however, was the resistance that Milan itself was only taken after a three years' siege, paying a proportionate penalty. For in each city Frederick appointed an official of his own, an alien governor called a 'podestà,' which meant the total disappearance of autonomy; and the inevitable ejection of the podestàs was an act of open rebellion. The fall of Milan seemed to signalise the decisive triumph of the emperor. In 1162 Frederick returned to Germany.

His troubles were not at their end but at their beginning. When Adrian died, in 1159, the cardinals elected an anti-imperial champion in Alexander III. The imperialist opposition elected an anti-pope, Victor IV. Driven from Rome and hardly able to hold his ground in Italy, but formally acknowledged by the kings of France and England, Alexander, in 1162, took refuge in France; and on his side was the whole weight of the great monastic orders in which lay the main strength of the Church.

As in the older quarrels, German loyalty to the em-

peror was not wholly proof against the influence of the Church, though the fact did not at once manifest itself. The settlement of Italy, however, was far too superficial to last. A new league, encouraged by Venice, was formed by Verona, in 1164; the leaguers expelled their podestàs; Alexander returned to Rome (1165) and excommunicated the emperor—generally a sure means of fomenting disloyalty. Once more, at the end of 1166, Frederick descended upon Italy at the head of a great host.

By taking the Mont Cenis route he turned the flank of the defence and marched straight on Rome, which fell, after a hard siege, in the late summer, Alexander making his escape to the Normans. But in the hour of victory a great pestilence smote the armies of the 'enemy of the Church,' shattered the conquering host, and encouraged the league to fresh energy. It only remained for Frederick to extract himself and what was left of his forces from Italy as best he could at the beginning of 1168.

Six years passed during which the emperor was striving to pacify the growing uneasiness in Germany, where the power of Henry the Lion, like the power of Henry, duke of Aquitaine and king of England, in France, was growing greater than becomed a vassal, and the preponderance of the papal party among the churchmen was constantly increasing. In Italy the rivalries of the cities were crumbling in face of the imperial menace to their common liberties; one after another joined the Lombard league, pledged to mutual defence of those liberties. In 1174 Frederick could wait no longer; for the



HENRY THE LION AND HIS CONSORT
Ambition distinguished Henry the Lion (1129-95), duke of Saxony and Bavaria, but he died in eclipse at Brunswick, where he is buried with his second wife, Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England.

S. Blasius Cathedral, Brunswick

fifth time he led an army into Lombardy, though a far smaller one. Two years later he met with a decisive defeat at Legnano, due mainly to the stubborn burgher infantry.

Frederick had learnt his lesson. Perhaps the real greatness of his character was most conclusively displayed in his recognition of the defeat as a proof that he had been in the wrong, and his courage in acting upon that very unpalatable conviction. He sought his peace with the pope, for he was not yet prepared to accept defeat at the hands of the rebel cities. But Alexander would not desert the cause and the alliances to which he was pledged. Frederick gave way. In effect he conceded all. For the second time an emperor threw himself at the feet of a pope and besought his pardon with tears. But Gregory had not been above inflicting degrading humiliation on Henry at Canossa; if at Venice (1177) Frederick humbled himself, Alexander, too, was great enough to know his adversary's greatness in defeat. On both sides the reconciliation was genuine; and it remained unbroken till Alexander's death, in 1181.

Substance of the Treaty of Constance

THE details of the Italian settlement involved long negotiation and were finally completed by the treaty of Constance in 1183. Practically it established the cities as free self-governing states owing little more than a nominal allegiance to the emperor. When they were released from the fear of him, they returned to their old rivalries and dissensions. When Frederick returned to Italy in 1184 it was to find among his old enemies friends and among his old friends enemies; but there was on his part no revival of his old policy. The chief outcome of that last visit was the marriage of his own son and heir, Henry, to Constance, the heiress of the Sicilian crown. The union of Norman and Hohenstaufen was to bear unexpected fruit.

At the moment, however, a crisis was arriving in the East which absorbed the emperor's closing years. In 1187 the Sultan Saladin captured Jerusalem. Before turning to the 'Third Crusade,' the other move-

ments in East and West during the period of Frederick's struggle with Adrian and Alexander demand our attention.

Frederick had started on his career with the definite design of realizing the theoretical idea of the emperor as the responsible but indisputable head of Christendom, in conjunction with but not in subordination to the supreme spiritual authority, the pope. Because the line between spiritual and temporal was impossible to define, the contest between Empire and Papacy had been renewed; and in the conflict between Frederick and Alexander the pope had been unmistakably the victor.

Frederick crushes Henry the Lion

IN Germany, however, Frederick met with a much greater measure of success. How real was his power there may be seen from the career of his mightiest feudatory Henry the Lion, a prince whose dominions stretched from the North Sea to the Adriatic. It would hardly be fair to say that Henry became disloyal; but his interest in the consolidation and extension of his own dominion made him withdraw from the active support which he had at first given to Frederick's imperial policy in Italy.

Like Albert the Bear in Brandenburg, Henry pushed his power eastward over the Slavonic peoples beyond the imperial border. Tribes which had resisted for centuries were brought under his sway; he founded cities, built churches and planted German colonies even in Hungary; his power grew so that he sought to make himself absolute in his duchies; he took to wife the daughter of a king, Henry II of England. His activities and his growing power excited hostility among his own vassals and anxiety in his suzerain, as well as the jealousy of other princes lay and ecclesiastical. But only after Frederick's defeat at Legnano and his submission to the pope did the emperor come into direct collision with his mighty vassal.

Nevertheless the result was the decisive victory of the emperor. Henry was deprived of his duchies and banished, though he was allowed to retain lands in Brunswick and elsewhere (1180). Bavaria passed from the house of Welf to the house of

Wittelsbach, Saxony between the Elbe and the Weser to the son of Albert the Bear, and the more western lands were attached to the archbishopric of Cologne—recent events having forced Frederick actively to seek ecclesiastical support—as the duchy of Westphalia. And although Henry did afterwards make an attempt to recover his position, it failed completely.

Thus when the news of the fall of Jerusalem came from the east in 1187, Frederick had done something towards the retrieval of his defeat in Italy by his new alliance with Sicily, and his power in Germany was at its height. The Papacy had passed into the feeble hands of short-lived popes since the death of Alexander; and by himself taking the Cross as the leader of a new crusade and the champion of Christendom against the infidel, Frederick seemed to have assumed once more the highest function of the imperial ideal, the function which Urban had once so effectively assumed for the Papacy.

Growing Autonomy of the Cities

A FEATURE of the whole period common to all the Western powers was one which we have already remarked in Italy, the development of self-government in the commercial cities. Primarily this meant their release from the overlordship—which often meant the tyranny—of magnates lay or ecclesiastical, though the willingness of the churchmen to concede large powers of self-government to the cities under their jurisdiction so far simplified the process. Lay lords too were often not unwilling to make concessions at a price. Every monarch, moreover, was ready to weaken the personal resources of a turbulent baronage and to lend a favourable ear to complaints or demands which would make the crown the immediate overlord.

Frederick in Italy tried hard to resist the movement as rendering the cities too independent, but elsewhere the independent city might be regarded as practically a certain ally of the crown in aiming at reducing the power of the feudatories; and a sovereign in want of money could on occasion—as when Richard wanted to equip his crusade—make a bargain out of the concession of chartered privileges.

In Germany, France and England alike it was the primary aim of statesmanship to strengthen the central government, and the primary difficulty of so doing lay in the power of the individual magnates, who could call their own feudal forces out to resist the central authority. Therefore, except when the temporal was in direct collision with the spiritual authority, or when cities claimed immunities incompatible with the authority of the crown, the regular tendency was for the crown to combine with the churchmen and to foster and multiply free municipalities, as a counterpoise to the territorial magnates. Italy provided precisely the two exceptions; there the opposition to the crown arose not nearly so much from the nobles as from the Church and from the cities. There, moreover, the Church and the cities defeated the crown; and the result was that there the free cities virtually developed into free states.

Both in France and in England the power of the crown progressed. In England sheer exhaustion brought the anarchy to an end when in 1153 Stephen came to terms with Henry 'Fitz-Empress.' Next year Stephen died, and Henry, the newly made husband of the ex-queen of France, a vassal of the French king in virtue of his lordship over a full half of the lands of France, became Henry II, king of England. His aim was no doubt the extension of his domains in France, but his main business was the organization of his English kingdom. The whole country was so utterly sick of anarchy that the nobles themselves welcomed a strong ruler and backed him in stamping out disorder and asserting the royal authority and the supremacy of the law.

Henry's Conflict with Thomas Becket

UNTIL Henry's sons grew up and defied restraint, no rebellious feudatory stood a chance against him, and he carried out, and indeed carried much farther, that systematisation of the methods of government which his grandfather Henry I had inaugurated. His most serious difficulties at home arose from his endeavour to combat the pretension of his archbishop, Thomas Becket, that the clergy were subject

only to the law of the Church and exempt from lay jurisdiction. Even in that quarrel he would have won—for the baronage was with him—but for the murder of the archbishop. Though he quarrelled with the archbishop he refused to quarrel with either Adrian or Alexander, both of whom had more than sufficient reason for desiring to remain on good terms both with him and with Louis VII. And he not only organized the government of England, but added to his dominion the lordship of Ireland—without, as must be admitted, taking steps to make that lordship effective. Also he was the only king of England who succeeded in compelling a king of Scots to acknowledge his suzerainty, in the treaty of Falaise (1175) when he held William 'the Lion' a prisoner. That treaty, however, was abrogated fourteen years later by his son and successor Richard I Coeur-de-Lion.

It was characteristic of Henry that, like some of the strongest rulers in the past, such as Charlemagne and Alfred the Great, he made constant use of the council of magnates, not on the theory that their assent to his reforms was necessary, but partly to test public feeling, and partly because, their formal approval of his proposals once pronounced, they were practically debarred from offering subsequent opposition. The practice, however, helped later to give warrant to the doctrine that the council was consulted 'of right,' not merely 'of the king's grace.' But of more immediate impor-

tance at the time was the fact that Henry's methods of establishing the royal authority fixed more firmly than before in the English political mind the fundamental principle of the supremacy of the law, which was presently to be formulated in the Great Charter extorted from his son John, and underlies in England far more than in any other country the whole history of her constitutional development.

But Henry, king of England, was at the same time in France the most powerful feudatory and rival of the crown, a still more serious menace to the central authority than his son-in-law Henry the Lion to that of Germany. In fact he spent more of his time in France than in England, endeavouring to extend and consolidate his power there by the absorption of provinces to which his wife could exhibit a technical claim. To a great extent he was successful. Louis found in Henry the grand obstacle to his insidious policy of strengthening the crown, which was none too strong, by fostering dissensions among the greater feudatories. It was left to Louis's able and unscrupulous son

Philip to carry that policy to a triumphant issue after Henry had long been dead.

In the contest between Henry and his suzerain, diplomatic more than directly military, nothing helped Louis so much as the perpetual discords between Henry, his wife and his sons, who were apt to make common cause with Louis and his son after him—Louis died in 1180—to



VESTMENTS OF S. THOMAS

Thomas Becket was canonised in 1173, but from the moment of his murder he was venerated as a saint and martyr. Memorials of him were eagerly sought and preserved as sacred relics.

Sens Museum; photo, Paul Robert

free themselves from their father's control. The contest between father and sons was not yet at an end when the unlooked-for thunder-clap, the news of the fall of Jerusalem, reverberated over Europe, calling a disunited Christendom to arms in one sacred cause.

After the fall of Edessa there had been no immediate advance of the Crescent against the Cross. Islam, as usual, suffered from its divisions, and the Seljuk sultanate at Bagdad was ended in disastrous collision with the eastern Turks in 1159; its power was never brought into play against the Latin kingdom, whose active adversaries were always the western sultans or governors in Syria, or the wazirs who dominated the Fatimid khalifate in Egypt.

At Jerusalem Baldwin III, the boy who succeeded Fulk as king, grew up to be an exceedingly capable and popular prince. The most dangerous of his enemies was Zanghi's successor at Mosul, Nour ed-Din, who was, however, more seriously concerned with extending his power over Moslem rivals than with attacking the Christian kingdom, for which a real expansion, based only on its own resources, was practically out of the question, though in the collisions which took place the honours perhaps rested rather with the 'Franks.' Baldwin died when still a young man in 1163, and was followed by his brother Almeric or Amalric.

Now, at this time the ruling wazir in Egypt was ejected: he bethought himself of appealing to Nour ed-Din, supreme in Syria since he had brought Damascus under his sway. Nour ed-Din sent an army under his general Shirkuh, who restored the wazir Shawer. Shawer took alarm at the power of his restorer, broke with him, and invited aid from the king of Jerusalem. Shirkuh, having captured



MARTYRDOM OF S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

His resistance to what he regarded as encroachments upon the legal privileges of the clergy led to Thomas Becket incurring hostility from Henry II which culminated in his assassination in Canterbury cathedral, December 29, 1170. The tragedy is vividly portrayed in this early 13th century manuscript.

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 5102

Pelusium, was besieged there by Shawer and Almeric. The outcome of the very confused campaigning which went on in Egypt and Syria between 1164 and 1169, in which Shirkuh's nephew Sala ed-Din Yusuf Ibn Eyub won brilliant distinction, was the withdrawal of Almeric (who died shortly afterwards) from Egypt, the immediate establishment there of Shirkuh himself as wazir of the Fatimid khalif, and, on his death, the succession to that office of Sala ed-Din, the great 'Saladin.'

Like all Turks, Saladin was a Sunni. As wazir of the Fatimid he was practically master of Egypt, and in 1171 he set aside the khalif and resumed the long-lost allegiance of Egypt to the orthodox khalif,



THE CRUSADERS' GREATEST ANTAGONIST

According to tradition this portrait—manifestly from life—is of Saladin. He wears the green turban of the Prophet and a dark red robe with a very large pattern, invariably an indication of exalted rank. The work dates from about 1180 and is the oldest extant Arabian portrait of the Khalifate period.

From Martin, 'Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey'

under the direct suzerainty of Nour ed-Din. When that great ruler died in 1174, Saladin before long made himself master of Syria, as well as Egypt, and turned to his grand project of expelling the Christian power from the East.

The Latin kingdom fell upon evil days. Almeric died in 1174. The boy who succeeded him, Baldwin IV, was a leper, Raymond of Tripoli acting as regent. Baldwin IV died in 1185, his nephew Baldwin V next year, and the succession was disputed between Raymond and Guy of Lusignan, as husband of Sibyl, the sister of Baldwin IV and mother by a previous husband of Baldwin V. The war of succession gave Guy the crown, but completed the disintegration of the Latin kingdom.

Meanwhile, the house of the Comneni at Constantinople had fallen. Manuel, John's successor, had been a brilliant but erratic person of the Coeur-de-Lion type, but the Empire needed something more than a recklessly daring knight-errant or a captain who won startling victories against heavy odds. The son Alexius II, who succeeded him in 1180, was a minor whose throne was usurped by his cousin,

the tyrannical Andronicus, who was killed in a rising of the Byzantine mob (1185), which set in his place the perfectly worthless Isaac Angelus; a prince without principles, in whose eyes duplicity was the essence of statecraft.

SUCH, then, was the position when the hosts of Saladin poured down on Palestine in 1187. At the battle of Hattin or Tiberias, in June, King Guy met him and suffered an overwhelming defeat, being himself taken prisoner. Saladin swept on, and in October captured Jerusalem. Very soon all that remained of the Latin kingdom was isolated cities and fortresses which stubbornly held Saladin at bay.

Western Europe felt the call not less potent than in the days of Urban. The new pope, Gregory VIII, took up the cause with zeal; zealous, too, was his successor, Clement III, whom his death next year set on the papal throne. The great princes—the emperor, young Philip of France, Henry II of England, his son Richard, who was now independent duke of Aquitaine—did not leave the nobles to take the lead, as in the First Crusade; they hastened themselves to take the Cross. The popes and the clergy urged



BALDWIN III ON CAMPAIGN

Baldwin III (1130-63) succeeded his father, Fulk, as king of Jerusalem in 1143, but did not assume power until 1152. His ten years' personal reign was almost entirely occupied in warfare, chiefly with Nour ed-Din of Mosul.

From 'De Passagis in Terram Sanctam'

all Christian men to lay aside their personal feuds and join in the Holy War. Conspicuously, Frederick, despite his age, set himself at the head of the movement, gathered a great force, left his son King Henry in charge at home, and was on the march for Palestine by the old route through Asia Minor, crossing the Bosphorus early in 1190, before the western monarchs were ready to take the field, or rather the sea, since it was by sea that they were to advance.

They were not ready because they could not lay aside their dissensions. Henry was actually at war with Richard leagued with Philip when he died in 1189, and Richard became king of England as well as lord of Aquitaine. The two kings were at this time theoretically warm allies, but even so it was not till the late summer of 1190 that their host embarked for Sicily en route for Syria.

Meanwhile Barbarossa's adventure had been wrecked. Both Isaac Angelus and Kilij Arslan at Iconium (Konia) did their best to thwart his progress without venturing on open opposition; but these difficulties were overcome and all seemed to be going well when Frederick was drowned in attempting to swim across a swift-flowing river. Among his followers, when they had lost their leader, a strange demoralisation



PLANTAGENET TOMBS AT FONTEVRAULT

Henry II died at Chinon, July 6, 1189, and is buried in Fontevault Abbey. By his side sleeps Isabella, wife of his youngest son John, afterwards king of England. It was the discovery of John's intrigue against him that broke the heart of King Henry, whose domestic history had been tragical throughout.

Photo, Dureau, Rouen

set in; many of them deserted and went home; plague broke out, more than decimating the remainder; and only a remnant found its way to join the army which was besieging Acre—it had long since fallen to the Saracens—and was itself being besieged by Saladin.

There Philip arrived in April (1191), Richard in June. Already the rivalries and jealousies which were to wreck the 'Third Crusade' were in stormy operation. In Sicily Richard, with singular lack of policy but not without excuse, had quarrelled with Tancred, an illegitimate grandson of Roger, who had been made king in disregard of the legitimate claim of Constance and her husband Henry VI, the son and successor of Barbarossa. On

his way from Sicily he had turned aside to eject the independent prince or self-styled emperor of Cyprus, Alexius Comnenus, who was certainly in collusion with the enemy. The capture might have proved of great value, but it had the appearance of a piece of brigandage for personal aggrandisement.

Philip had already learned to detest and dread his former ally Richard; who, in spite of his passion for mere feats of arms, was incomparably the ablest of the captains but was a perfectly impossible



KING RICHARD I AND HIS MOTHER

Although a brave and accomplished man, Richard I (1157-99) was not the 'perfect knight' that he was represented by troubadours. Notwithstanding his constant unfilial conduct it was by his own desire that he was buried in Fontevault at his father's feet and beside his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Photo, Dureau, Rouen



TOMB OF SALADIN AT DAMASCUS

Saladin (1138-93) became sultan of Egypt and Syria in 1175. In 1187 he proclaimed a Holy War against all Christians, swept through Palestine and captured Jerusalem. The Third Crusade followed, ending in the suppression of the Latin Kingdom and the union of the Mahomedan East.

Photo, Bonfils

colleague by reason of his intolerable arrogance. To Richard the fall of Acre in July was undoubtedly due; but it also gave the finishing touch which ensured the failure of the crusade. Guy had become king only because he was the husband of Sibyl who was now dead; Conrad of Montferrat was the husband of her younger sister Isabella, and claimed to have a better title to the crown (which had ceased to have a kingdom) than Guy; the crusaders became partisans of one or the other, and although the quarrel was temporarily patched up the cracks were only 'papered over.' Philip found that his presence was urgently needed in France, and withdrew, followed by most of the French crusaders.

The war with Saladin degenerated into a series of desultory engagements, brilliant enough as personal encounters but of no real military value. Conrad of Montferrat was murdered, his widow married Henry of Champagne, to whose claim Guy was

obliged to give way, and Richard compensated Guy by presenting him with Cyprus. But all hope of unity had long passed away; enthusiasm was dead; instead of receiving reinforcements, the ranks of the crusaders were being constantly depleted by withdrawals. In bitter wrath and with genuine grief Richard realized in 1192 that nothing more could be accomplished, and signed with his magnanimous adversary the treaty which left the Holy Land in the possession of the Mahomedan power, with only certain ports in the hands of the Christians, from which free access for pilgrims to Jerusalem was guaranteed. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was no more, though the titular hereditary kingship survived for generations.

Saladin's Influence on History

A YEAR later Saladin died. Under him Egypt and Syria had once more been joined in a single dominion, and he had once for all deprived the Christians of any foothold in Asia which could be made a base for military aggression, though a part of Asia Minor still appertained to the Greek Empire. Saladin's own sultanate was destined to break up; in all such developments the only security for continuity lay in an established hereditary succession in a family which produced capable rulers in each generation. Division among Saladin's sons led as usual to years of strife, though by 1200 his brother Aladil had brought the bulk of the dominion into one sultanate. The name Eyubid (or Ayyubid according to another spelling) is given to the dynasty, from Eyub, the father of Saladin and Aladil.

From a Western point of view Saladin's great achievement was the suppression of the Latin kingdom; from that of the Mahomedan world, the suppression of the Fatimid khalifate in Egypt was perhaps of no less importance. Thenceforth Islam in the West was orthodox, i.e. Sunni, though the Shiah doctrine never lost its hold in Persia, where it was presently to attain a decisive supremacy.

The Third Crusade ended the era in which the idea of 'chivalry' was very largely intertwined with picturesque feats

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of arms in Palestine. Armed pilgrims continued to visit the Holy Land, expeditions were headed by nobles and even by monarchs, but there was never again anything that had so much as the semblance of being an effort of united Christendom, though pope after pope endeavoured to revive the crusading spirit. The romance of crusading departed with the disappearance of the two great romantic figures, Saladin and Coeur-de-Lion, and the commercial and peaceful communication between East and West was probably increased by the fall of the Latin kingdom.

THE brief eight years' reign of the emperor Henry VI (1190-97), the son of Barbarossa, was fraught with great possibilities, which were brought to naught by his premature death at the age of thirty-three. Lacking his father's nobility of character, his brain was keener and his ambitions even wider in their scope. He aimed once more at uniting Germany and Italy under the supreme sway of the emperor, and, when that was accomplished, at making the world empire not merely a theory but a fact. Able as he undoubtedly was, it does not seem probable that his genius, or, indeed, the genius of any man, was equal to a project so stupendous; but his life was cut short before he had done more than carry through its first stages.

In Germany, Henry of Hohenstaufen had once more to deal with the Welf Henry the Lion. In the south, Sicily and South Italy had set aside his own and his wife's claims in favour of Tancred, being hotly antagonistic to German domination. He succeeded in winning over the Welf; he did not succeed in ousting the Norman, with whom he had to be content with a compromise, till Tancred's death enabled him to establish his

own title in very drastic fashion over subjects who were seething with wrath at the arbitrary tyranny of the German rulers he imposed on them—very little to the liking of his wife, who was not a German but a Sicilian. Accident, too, had enabled him to get into his hands the king of England on his return from Palestine, and to extract from him, as a condition of release, homage for his kingdom which became for the moment technically a fief of the Empire.

He was embarking a mighty armament for the East, when he was smitten with a fatal illness; the mighty armament made haste to disperse; and the whole fabric of his imperial vision melted into thin air. For his heir was a two-year-old babe. And at this precise moment the death of the old pope, Celestin III,



RICHARD'S CAPTIVITY AND DEATH

Returning from the Holy Land in 1192, Richard was seized by Leopold of Austria and imprisoned in the castle of Durenstein on the Rhine. This event (left), and also his death in April, 1199, at an archer's hands while besieging the castle of Chaluz, is illustrated in this early French manuscript.

British Museum; Cotton MSS., Vitellius A. xiii

made way for the election of the mightiest figure in the whole list of the popes, Innocent III.

The baby Frederick, later known as Stupor Mundi, 'the World's Wonder,' was king of Naples and Sicily; there was little chance of his being accepted as German king, and inevitably the German and Italian divisions of Henry's Empire fell apart at once. Constance set about ejecting the Germans, renewed the old allegiance of the crown to the Papacy, and, dying next year, left the guardianship of king and kingdom to Pope Innocent. Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia, hastened to Germany in the interest of his nephew for the German election.

But the old Welf-Weiblingen rivalry was alive again. Henry the Lion was dead, and his eldest son, Henry of Brunswick, was away; but Richard of England, now a prince of the Empire, put up the second son, Otto, his own favourite nephew, as a candidate. The election fell on Philip himself; the Welf faction elected Otto independently; there was practically continuous civil war till Philip was assassinated in 1208; and even then it promptly took on a new form, only to be finally ended by Otto's death in 1218,

which once more left a Hohenstaufen—the young Frederick II—sole and undisputed emperor. But for that prolonged struggle it would probably have been impossible for Innocent to achieve for the Papacy the unprecedented supremacy which it held in Europe at his death in the year 1216

INNOCENT, a scion of the noble Italian house of Conti, was not yet forty when he became pope. Not Gregory nor Urban nor Alexander had a loftier conception of the authority of S. Peter's successor than he. Quite definitely and from the outset he claimed that the pope was above all temporal princes, each of whom was nothing more than lord of his own land; the pope was God's vice-gerent over all Christendom, whereof they were all members, and consequently his subjects. By his authority emperors and kings could be made and unmade. In actual fact, when he died four European monarchs held their crowns as his liegemen, and he could claim that he had made two emperors and unmade two.

In 1198 Innocent became the guardian of the infant Frederick, king of Sicily, and the champion of the Italians against the

Germans who had been set over them. He discharged that office faithfully, though it was not till 1208 that the Sicily of the mainland, otherwise called Naples, was fully delivered from the German tyrants. Very soon he was called upon by both sides to arbitrate in the conflict between the rival German kings, Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick. Philip stood for the imperial ideas of the Hohenstaufen, and was, moreover, in alliance with his namesake, Philip II of France, who was the object of Innocent's sternest censure on account of his repudiation of his lawful wife, Ingeborg of Denmark; Otto was in alliance with his uncle King John of England (who had succeeded his brother



CHAMPION OF THE PAPAL TEMPORAL POWER

His effective assertion of the papal supremacy in temporal affairs the world over is the outstanding fact in the pontificate of Innocent III, 1198-1215. All the European monarchs felt and bowed to his power in turn, while in the Church itself his authority exceeded that of any of his predecessors.

Church of S. Speco, Subiaco; photo, Mascioni

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Richard in 1199), now the most dangerous adversary of the French king, and as yet on amicable terms with the Papacy.

In 1201 Innocent gave his decision in favour of Otto. As a matter of course, Philip of Swabia rejected the decision which had gone against him; the struggle went on, favourably to Philip; but in 1208 he was assassinated by Otto of Wittelsbach on account of a purely personal grudge, and Innocent's candidate was accepted and indeed formally re-elected as German king. In 1209 Otto was crowned emperor in Rome. The papal power had assumed alarming proportions. Sicily had always been nominally a papal fief; the first king of Portugal, Alfonso Henriques, had secured his title by receiving it as from the pope of the day, and the reigning king, Sancho, failed in attempting to repudiate the papal suzerainty. Peter of Aragon deliberately made himself the vassal of Innocent in 1204. Philip of France had been forced to acknowledge Ingeborg as his wife, though in his original repudiation of her he could claim to have acted on the authority of the French clergy. Otto, while he was fighting Philip of Swabia, had conceded practically all Innocent's claims to secure his support, and had confirmed his concessions before his coronation at Rome. John of England was now in the thick of a conflict with Innocent over the appointment to the primacy in England, in which the prospect pointed to the king's defeat—which was completed in 1213, when John surrendered his crown to the pope and received it back as his vassal.

NEVERTHELESS, when Otto found himself emperor he also found himself attracted to the Hohenstaufen imperial policy; having been crowned as a papalist, he became as anti-papal as his predecessors. The decisive step was his revival of the imperial claim to Sicily. Innocent's young ward Frederick, born of a Sicilian mother and bred a Sicilian despite his Hohen-



WORST OF THE ENGLISH KINGS

Succeeding his brother Richard in 1199, John lost Normandy and Anjou to Philip of France, under duress surrendered England and Ireland to the supremacy of the pope, and finally entered upon civil war with the English barons. He died at Newark, October 19, 1216, and is buried in Worcester Cathedral.

Photo, E. J. Horner

staufen ancestry, was now the representative of the Italian, the Welf emperor Otto IV of the German claim; the union of Sicily with the Empire was the last thing a pope could approve; and Innocent appealed to all the interests, foreign or domestic, which were antagonistic to Otto, whom incidentally he excommunicated.

The result was not quite what Innocent would have desired. The German opposition united on Frederick as their candidate (1212), and Innocent was forced to accept him, though only on condition of his doing homage again for Sicily. His own quarrel with John drove him into the arms of his former antagonist, Philip of France, whereby he was greatly embarrassed when John made his submission without withdrawing his support from his nephew. It was, in fact, Philip who won the victory, and the main fruits of it, by shattering the forces of Otto and his allies in the decisive battle of Bouvines (1214), though Otto still maintained a desultory resistance till his death in 1218. Bouvines made Frederick emperor; it also made Philip of France the most powerful monarch in Europe.

Philip's ancestors had been kings of France in unbroken succession for two centuries, but it was he who in fact created the power of the French monarchy. When he came to the throne in 1180 at the age of fifteen, the domains of the crown were less than those of at least one great feudatory who was almost the equal

—apart from his English kingdom—of all the rest put together.

Most of his reign was spent in the conflicts with Richard and then with John which transferred to the French crown some half of the Plantagenet possessions in France, including Normandy and Anjou; a process which ultimately proved of much benefit to England because it Anglicised the Norman baronage there

and gradually consolidated English nationalism, always hitherto in danger of being overridden by the interests of both king and barons in their French dominions. Also it consolidated France by the immensely increased strength it gave to the central government. The result, as we shall presently see, was that both France and England by the end of the thirteenth century reached a pitch of power

and prosperity to which neither could otherwise have attained.

Philip, bold, astute, determined and perfectly unscrupulous, overcame all his enemies; and, being like Henry II of England a born organizer, he—again like Henry—used his power when he won it to develop the organization of France. England owed not a little to the reigns of both Richard and John; but, paradoxically, owed



[Facsimile of a portion of the Magna Carta, showing the text in Latin script.]

MAGNA CARTA: THE PALLADIUM OF ENGLISH LIBERTIES

Magna Carta was at once a grant of liberties made by the king and a treaty between king and subjects. It declared the fundamental principles of government in accordance with established law and custom. bound all parties to observe those laws, and sanctioned armed resistance to any attempt to override or change them without consent. Above is a facsimile of some of the articles, together with (top) a fragment of the original document sealed by King John at Runnymede, June 15, 1215.

British Museum

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it not to the remarkable abilities possessed by both, but to Richard's happy preference for absenting himself from his kingdom and leaving it in the charge of capable and public-spirited lieutenants (justiciars), and to the personal vices and failures of his brother, which drove the baronage, the Church and the commons to recognize the community of their interests to an unprecedented degree and to extort from the would-be tyrant in 1215 the Great Charter—Magna Carta—which was not in itself a piece of revolutionary legislation, but embodied the basic principle of English political progress, that neither king, barons, churchmen nor commons may override or ignore the law of the land.

Enlightened Reforms of Innocent III

INNOCENT by no means neglected the spiritual aspect of his office in his zeal to assert the universality of its supremacy. He denounced unsparingly the vices of monarchs, when a more complaisant diplomacy would have made them into useful allies, both Philip and John being cases in point. The decrees of the famous Fourth Lateran Council (1215) were rather an expression of ideals than a code of effective legislation, but their enlightenment is illustrated by their prohibition of trial by ordeal, especially of ordeal by battle. Innocent gave his countenance to the two most remarkable reformers of spiritual standards in the Middle Ages—not excepting even Bernard of Clairvaux—S. Francis and S. Dominic, sanctioning the rule and the orders of which they were the founders almost as his last acts.

He strove hard, too, and failed, to bring about a new crusade, though that project seemed on the verge of completion at the moment of his death. Certainly in Spain he helped to revive that spirit, which gained the one great success of his time in the conflict with Islam, the decisive victory of the united Spanish arms over the Moors at the battle of Las Navas-de Tolosa in 1212. Less creditable, if no less sincere, was the development of a crusade against not heathens but heretics, the Albigenses of southern France, whose tenets are not easy to elucidate,

but were represented as being not only unorthodox but desperately anti-social. However that may be, they were certainly subjected to a persecution of the most virulent type.

Iniquity of the 'Fourth Crusade'

BUT for the most monstrous perversion of the crusading idea Innocent was not personally responsible. This was the piece of unqualified brigandage which is more or less ironically known as the Fourth Crusade, of which the object was in plain terms the dismemberment of the Greek Empire for the benefit of Western adventurers and the profit of the Venetian Republic. The obstinate heresy of the Greeks and the treasonable intrigues of the reigning house of the Angeli were the excuse for the diversion of the arms of the Cross against a Christian power which, whatever its shortcomings, had for centuries bridled the advance of Islam against eastern Europe.

The crusade began very much on the lines of the First Crusade, as concerned the leading nobles who took part in it. The houses of Blois, Champagne and Flanders were prominently represented, but no monarchs. But the plan of attack was new; Egypt was to be the first objective. It was not till the crusaders were beginning to gather at Venice that the objective was again changed.

Isaac Angelus had incurred the wrath of Barbarossa in the first days of the Third Crusade by his obvious duplicity and bad faith. That emperor had reigned for some ten disastrous years, during which Bulgaria, after a long quiescence, had broken into rebellion and then practically established its independence. In 1195 Alexius III Angelus usurped his brother's throne, bringing no improvement. Anarchy prevailed at Constantinople and elsewhere. The Empire offered, in fact, an easy prey, when the Venetians, who were to provide the transport for the crusaders, very much to their own profit, suggested the attractive change of programme: a business proposition by which the men of war of the one part and the shipmen of the other part were to share the profits.

The unholy compact was successful so far as the breaking up of the Greek Empire was concerned. The Greeks were driven out in 1204, after a pretence of 'restoring' Isaac and his son, two self-styled Greek emperors setting themselves up at Nicaea and Trebizond respectively. The brigands proceeded to the division of the spoil after sacking Constantinople as ruthlessly as the Vandals of old had sacked Rome. Baldwin of Flanders was officially elected emperor of a feudal state modelled on the former Latin kingdom; but the feudatories were seeking only personal advancement. The astute Venetians secured whatever was of most value for their own share. The Western feudalism was wholly alien to the population accustomed for centuries to Eastern bureaucracy; the Franks despised the Greeks and the Greeks loathed the Franks; among themselves the Franks snatched and quarrelled. In due course and in no long time the Latin Empire of Romania perished as it deserved.

Dawn of a New Era in India

DURING this period the history of India was entering on a new stage. There had been no imperial power there since the Ghaznavid dominion of Mahmud was broken up by the advance of the Seljuks in the eleventh century. Mahomedan chiefs remained supreme in Afghanistan and the Ghaznavids had still a certain ascendancy in the Punjab, when in the latter half of the twelfth century a new era of Mahomedan conquest opened.

A blood feud having arisen between Bahram of Ghazni and Ala ud-Din, a Turk or Afghan chief, of Ghor in Afghanistan, the latter attacked and sacked Ghazni in 1150. The power of Ghor grew; in 1173 the sultan of Ghor annexed Ghazni and Kabul, and handed them over to his brother, who is variously known as Shahab ud-Din or Mohammed Ghori. Shahab ud-Din set out on a career of conquest. By 1187 he had obliterated the Ghaznavids and was master of the Punjab and Sindh, though he had been heavily repulsed in an invasion of Gujarat. Advancing eastward in 1191 he was again heavily defeated at Tarain, west of the

Jumna, by a great Hindu confederacy, but the verdict was reversed by the second battle of Tarain next year.

The command of his armies was then entrusted to his general, Kutb ud-Din, a slave captured in Turkistan who had risen to favour. In the next few years Kutb ud-Din and his subordinate, Mohammed Khilji, captured Delhi and conquered almost the whole Ganges basin, establishing the Mahomedan supremacy in the drastic fashion characteristic of the Turkish champions of Islam, but also organizing the dominion thus won.

On the death of Shahab ud-Din in 1206 the sultanate of the Indian conquests was assumed by the victorious Kutb ud-Din, first sultan of Delhi—thenceforth the centre of Mahomedan empires—and founder of the Slave dynasty. He died in 1211. The Mahomedan historians record with equal enthusiasm the might of his sword, the magnificence of his generosity and the vast multitudes of unbelievers whom he put to the slaughter. Within a few months of his death the son-in-law commonly called Altamsh had displaced his son and heir.

Storm Clouds gathering in Asia

EUROPE knew nothing and India knew nothing of the terrific storm-cloud which was gathering in the heart of Asia. About the time when Shahab ud-Din was beginning his conquests, a boy of thirteen named Temujin succeeded his father as chief of a tribe or confederation of tribes of the Mongols in the regions lying between the river Amur and the Great Wall of China. After a prolonged struggle with many rivals, Temujin consolidated a great power; in 1204 he crushed the strong confederacy of the Keraites, who became his subjects. Year by year he extended his sway over other Mongol or Turkish hordes, assuming in 1206 the title by which he is best known, Jenghiz Khan. The Mongols had long been subject to a tribute payable to the Chinese emperor; in 1211 Jenghiz Khan refused the tribute and began a series of raids into China, which may be taken as the opening of the flood-gates. The new Mongol deluge had burst its banks, fraught with destruction.

THE ITALY OF GUELPH AND Ghibelline

A Development of Republican City States in the
Cockpit of the Struggle between Papacy and Empire

By E. G. GARDNER

Professor of Italian, London University; Author of *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*, etc.

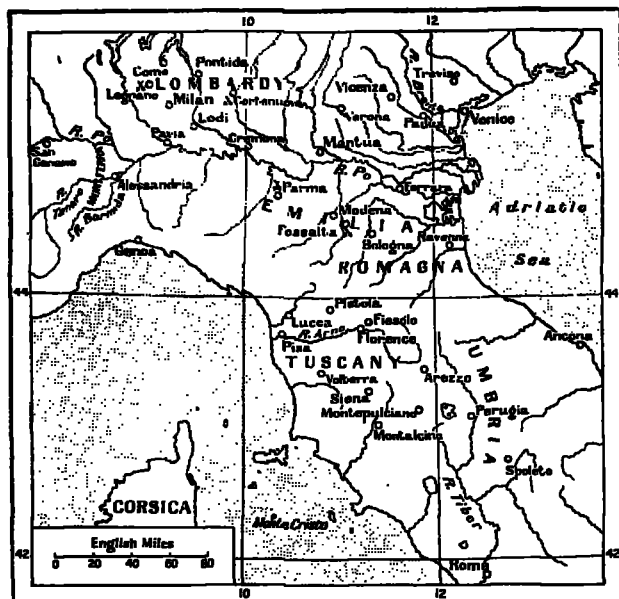
THE legend—familiar to readers of English poetry in *The Hill of Venus* of William Morris—that men awaited with dread the coming of the year 1000 as bringing with it the end of the world, and then awoke to fresh energy as though delivered from a terrible nightmare, has long been discarded by historians. Nevertheless, a new spirit of life begins to stir through Italy with the opening of the eleventh century. It is the epoch in which, to adopt a picturesque phrase of Gioacchino Volpe, there appears upon the background of geographical Italy the shadow of a moral Italy, 'the Italy of the Italian people'—the Italy of which the first political manifestation is the rise of the self-governing town, the city state, which became the commune.

That very year 1000 is a famous one in Italian annals; for it was then that the doge of Venice, Pietro Orseolo II, set sail with the fleet of the republic on that expedition which reunited Dalmatia to the Latin civilization and secured for Venice the hegemony of the Adriatic. But the history of Venice placed her somewhat apart from the rest of Italy, and in consequence the republic on the Adriatic receives separate treatment in another chapter (Chap. 118).

The end of the classical period had left Italy a political unity, though no longer the centre of the Roman Empire; but this political unity was destroyed by the Lombard invasion and settlement, which resulted in a Langobardic Italy with its capital at Pavia and a Byzantine Italy with its capital at Ravenna. But neither Langobardic Italy nor Byzantine Italy remained a single state. The Lombard kingdom was divided into duchies, and several of

the more important of these—like Friuli in the north-east, Spoleto in the centre, Benevento in the south—made themselves independent, the last-named duchy, that of Benevento (from which Capua and Salerno split off), maintaining its existence after Charlemagne captured Pavia. And similarly portions of Byzantine Italy broke away from Ravenna, and became virtually independent states. Such, about the middle of the eighth century, was the case with Rome and Naples. Rome, which had been a Byzantine duchy, became in theory the republic of the Roman people under the special protection of S. Peter, represented on earth by the pope as the visible head of the Church.

While giving an appearance of restored unity to western Christendom, the Frankish conquest and reconstitution of the Empire increased the disunity and divisions of Italy. In the former Lombard kingdom, Italy under Frankish rule now the 'regnum italicum' united to the Empire of the house of Charlemagne, there were subdivisions into duchies and counties, and marches were formed under marquesses; the Margravate of Friuli, the Margravate of Tuscany. In the anarchy that followed the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, these minor potentates—like the marquess of Friuli and the duke of Spoleto—naturally became independent sovereigns, even contending together for the crown of the Italian kingdom and the imperial dignity itself. Finally comes the reconstitution of the Empire under Otto the Great, whose coronation at Rome in 962 marks the passage of the imperial dignity to the Germans, the former Frankish Italian kingdom being united to the German crown.



ARENA OF GUELPH AND GIBELLINE STRUGGLES

Chapter 104 has given a picture of political development in South Italy, the Italy of the Norman feudal monarchy; the development of communes dealt with in this chapter was restricted to the Lombard plain and Tuscany. Here the cities indulged in perpetual feuds dictated by commercial rivalry:

In Lombardy and, probably to a less extent, in Tuscany the descendants of the Lombards and the inhabitants of Latin blood had by this time become fused, or perhaps it would be truer to say that the Latin had practically submerged his former conqueror. The great nobles were almost purely of Germanic race, whether Lombard or Frank or, in some cases, German followers of the Ottos. The minor nobility were mostly Langobardic in stock; indeed the term 'Lombard' or 'Langobard' in Tuscany was applied generally to the feudal aristocracy of the countryside. On the other hand, the rapidly advancing merchant class of the great cities was mainly Latin.

Even under the Lombards there had been a noteworthy development of civic life in great centres like Milan, and traces of the old Roman guild system survived in other cities. It has frequently been held that the Italian communes are a sign of the unbroken continuity of the Latin civilization which is the characteristic mark of Italy throughout the centuries; that they grew out of the remains of

the Roman municipalities, still surviving though apparently overwhelmed beneath successive torrents of barbarian or Teutonic invasion, and re-appearing when the dissolution of the Frankish empire, the anarchy that followed until Otto the Great 'set a form upon that indigest,' and then the conflict between the Papacy and the Empire of the German kings over the question of investitures, made it necessary for the citizens of the Italian towns to take measures for their own defence.

Unquestionably the commune drew inspiration, nomenclature and colour from the classical Roman tradition ever living in Italy, and it was from the history of Rome that the title was taken for the republican officials who replaced the counts and bishops as representatives and governors of the city state,

and whose appearance marks the constitution of the commune as a recognized part of the Italian polity: the consuls. But it cannot be regarded as representing exclusively the native Latin element uprising against the Germanic element superimposed by the invasions. As Volpe observes: 'If we will judge the commune from the ethnical point of view, it is not Roman more than it is Langobard. It is neither one thing nor the other; it is Italian, if we look at the people who give it form and colour.' Perhaps we may put this somewhat differently, and say that it was a triumph of the Italian genius that brought Lombard no less than Latin to collaborate in the building up of a state system under the invocation of the name of Rome.

The Italian communes arose out of the weakening and decay of the feudal system which had been introduced into northern and part of central Italy by the Frankish conquest, and were stimulated by the general increase of wealth and industry, together with the concentration of the population into definite centres, during

the eleventh century. It was the policy of the Ottos and their successors to augment the power of the bishops at the expense of the count or marquess whose authority in the city they gradually replaced, and at the same time to favour the lesser nobility and minor landowners against the great vassals of the crown; and this class, in both city and countryside, had largely increased in numbers.

Like the greater feudatories, they were in the main of Teutonic rather than Latin descent, but simultaneously the more purely Latin trader and merchant, the future typical Italian burgher whose figure dominates the latter part of the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance in Italy, was coming to the front, as a force to be reckoned with in political no less than in economic life. The increase of trade and the growth of manufacture, in however rudimentary a form, encouraged the immigration from the country to the city of peasants who were being, at least partially, liberated from the condition of serfdom; and the plebeians became a class capable of taking part in the political as well as the religious movements of the great cities.

It is probable that, long before the formation of the commune, there existed in these cities the rudiments of what became the arts or guilds, the trade unions of the later Middle Ages. Here, again, it can be argued that their existence is another sign of the unbroken continuity of the Latin civilization in Italy, and that they are the development of what remained of the 'collegia' or 'sodalitates' or 'scholae,' associations of artisans and workers that are traced back to the earliest period of Roman history, and had a wide sphere of activity in the latter days of the Roman Empire. Further, in the eleventh century, the jurisdiction of the towns was beginning to extend over the neighbouring countryside, the first step in the conquest of the 'contado' which will become more marked after the commune is established.

From Carolingian times there existed a general assembly—'contio' or 'arringum' (we notice that the one word is pure Latin,

the other of Germanic, probably Gothic, origin)—in the North Italian cities, which was a meeting in mass of the inhabitants within the walls. This may clearly be regarded as supplying the basis of the future commune, which originated in voluntary associations bound together by a 'conjuratio' or oath. It would seem that these associations began for the most part, perhaps already before the end of the tenth though more clearly discerned in the eleventh century, with the class of lesser feudal nobles in conflict with the great vassals of the Empire, the merchants becoming more gradually involved.

The organization thus slowly formed, the association of groups of citizens, with the general assembly behind it, drew into itself the various social grades of the city, and gradually absorbed the power and direction which hitherto had been in the hands of the count or bishop. As C. W. Previté-Orton sums it up, the commune is established when the 'arringum' or 'arengo' swears collectively to the league which was originally a private sworn association among certain classes or persons for the maintenance of peace and their common advantage.

We find the first emphatic expression of the communal spirit, though the commune itself is not yet formed, in Milan, where in 1039 the archbishop Ariberto summoned the people to arms against the German emperor Conrad, and there gathered round the 'carroccio,' the battle-car drawn by bullocks over which floated the standard of the city, 'all the inhabitants of the Ambrosian diocese, trained in arms, from the rustic to the knight, from the poor to the rich, that in so great an array they might defend their native land.' Thus Arnulphus of Milan, whose *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium* opens the series of the municipal chronicles of the Italian cities. But it was only for a brief epoch that the archbishop appeared as the leader of the national or civic cause; the struggles of the latter part of the century, in which the religious question associated with the reforms finally effected by Hildebrand profoundly stirred the consciousness of the Milanese as of the other northern Italians, and became



FLORENCE SEEN FROM ACROSS THE ARNO : A SECOND ATHENS ADORNED BY HER DEMOCRACY

Florence was the leading city of Tuscany, as Milan of the Lombard plain, but it attained its dominant position later because, unlike the latter, it had no memories of a time when it was an imperial capital. Like so many other of the cities, it dates its real independence from the days of countess Matilda, and the capture of Fiesole (1125) marked its growing power. Its constitution, however, was still largely in the hands of patrician magnates, until after the death of Frederick II (1250), when a thorough democracy was organized under a 'captain of the people.' Now began the first great period of Florentine architecture.

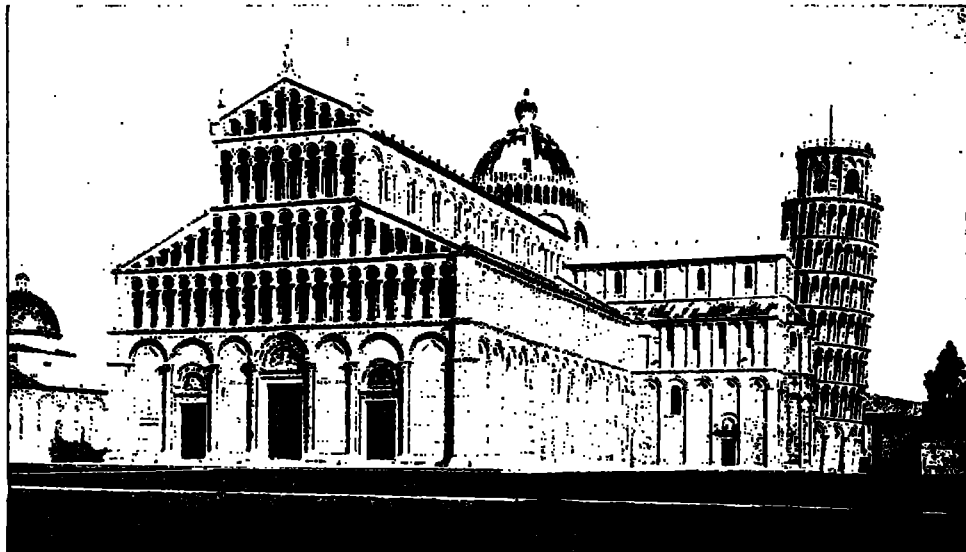
Photo, Donald McLeish

mingled with the more purely political issues, finally resulted in ending the archiepiscopal predominance. Before the end of the eleventh century the commune in Milan is firmly established. At Genoa, earlier than this, the union of nobles and people, for the protection of the city commerce and defence against the Saracens, had produced a 'compagna' which soon developed into a regular commune; and already the Genoese were becoming a power upon the sea, soon to be put to noble proof in the First Crusade.

The conditions of Tuscany—and hence the development of that commune which, next to Venice, became the most famous of Italian republics—differed considerably from those prevailing in Lombardy. Here, from the later Carolingian times, was the Margravate of Tuscany, with its capital at Lucca. In the reconstruction of the Empire under the Ottos it became a vast though not a homogeneous state, including a large portion of central Italy, and with cities so far north as Mantua, Modena and Ferrara. The creator of this state was the margrave Ugo (d. 1001), the 'great baron' extolled by Dante in the Paradiso,

whose tomb by Mino da Fiesole is still one of the chief ornaments of the Badia at Florence. In 1027 the Margravate passed to the house of Canossa, probably of Frankish origin, the last representative of which was the great countess Matilda, who succeeded in 1076 and, though ruling in the name of the Empire, was until her death in 1115 the most strenuous supporter of the policy of Gregory VII in the struggle against the imperial claims.

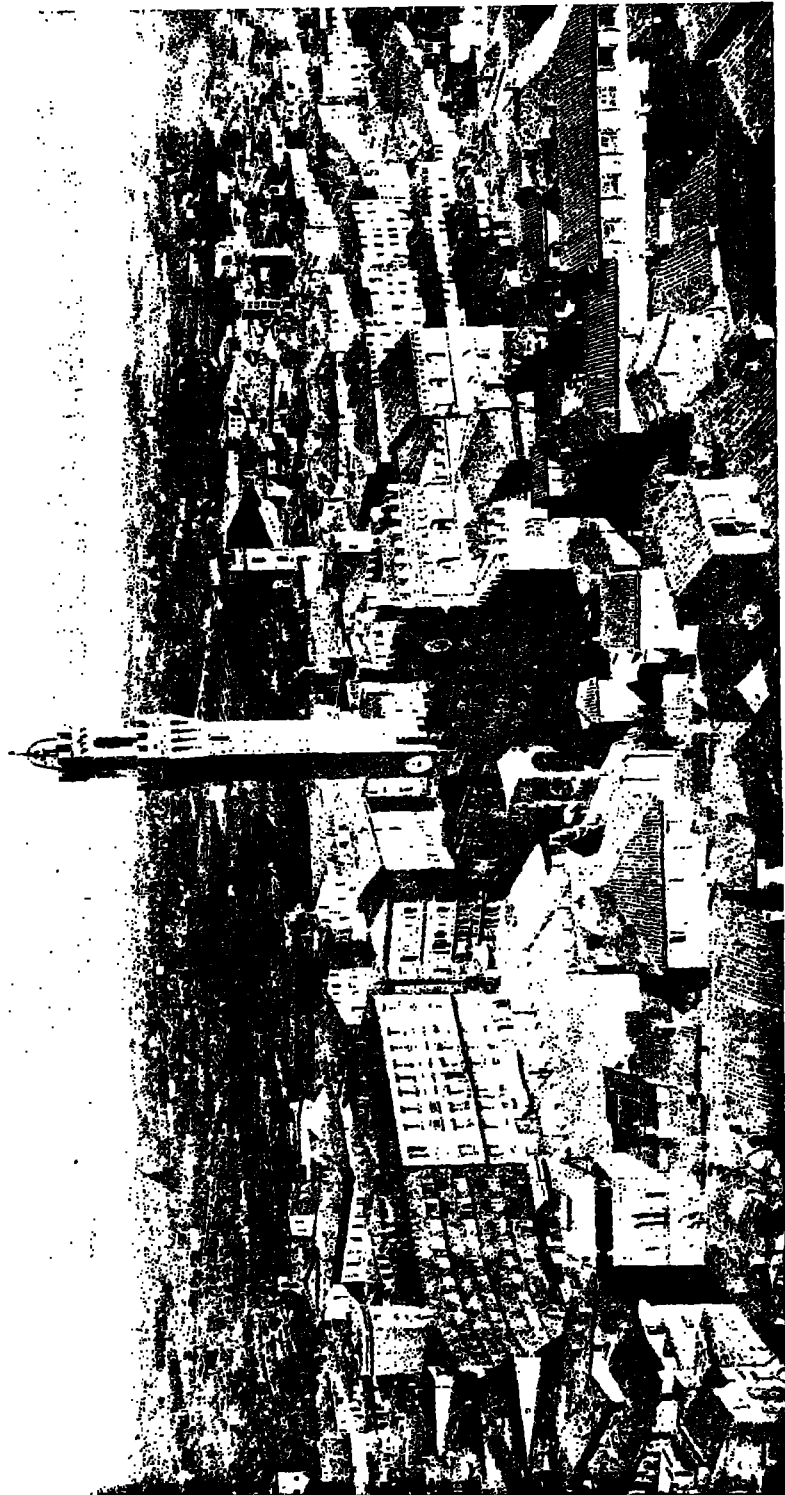
But already Pisa—'queen of the western waves'—had obtained virtual independence and emerged as the first Tuscan city state. With her rival Genoa she had initiated the European movement that was to culminate in the Crusades, by a series of enterprises against the Saracens in the western Mediterranean. Famous among these are the attack upon the harbour of Palermo in 1063, celebrated by the foundation of Pisa's magnificent cathedral, the capture of Mahdiah on the African coast in 1087, and the leading of the naval expedition against the Moorish occupiers of the Balearic Islands in 1113. These two latter events are celebrated in two contemporary Latin poems, the *Carmen*



PISA'S NOBLE MEMORIAL OF VICTORY OVER THE SARACENS

Her favourable position near the seaboard, enabling her to develop a flourishing commerce and a formidable fleet, hastened Pisa's rise to independence; the lovely marble cathedral here seen was begun as early as 1063 to commemorate a naval victory over the Saracens off Palermo. The Leaning Tower beyond dates from just over a century later. Her attitude to Florence, which she blocked from the sea, led to bitter hostilities that only ended with her conquest and incorporation in 1406.

Photo, Donald McLeish



VIEW OVER THE PROUD RIVAL OF FLORENCE : THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO IN SIENA .

It was perhaps Siena's attachment to the Ghibelline cause, in opposition to Florence, which led to the rather long continuance of patrician government. After the rule of the bishop had given way to that of 'consuls' some time before 1125, the nobles granted only gradual representation to the 'popular' party, and after a century the latter still occupied only half the magistracy. The end of the thirteenth century saw the triumph of the 'popolani'; but these were burghers of standing, and the struggles continued until the lowest class held the reins. The Palazzo Pubblico here seen was begun in 1288.

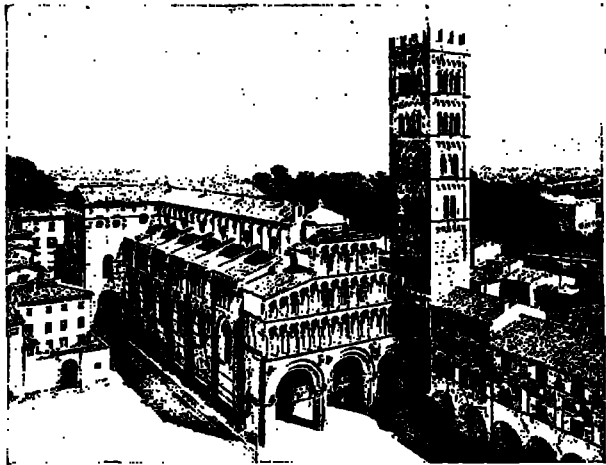
Photo, Anderson

in Victoriam Pisanorum and the Liber Maiolichinus, poems which associate these exploits of Pisa with the deeds of the ancient Romans, showing how this new life and activity of Italy were coloured by the ever-living Roman tradition, if not a conscious renovation of the spirit of ancient Rome. Simultaneously Pisa was contending with Genoa for predominance in the island of Sardinia, where the Byzantine officials had been replaced by independent native rulers known as judges, aristocratic Pisan families had obtained commercial and territorial concessions, and the bishop of Pisa—raised to the dignity of archbishop in 1092—had acquired metropolitan rights.

It is in connexion with the relations between Pisa and Sardinia that we find for the first time an explicit mention of consuls in a North Italian city. A diploma of the First mention judge of Logudoro (one of of 'Consuls' the districts into which Sardinia was divided), issued between 1080 and 1085, grants commercial privileges to the Pisans 'for honour of the bishop Gherardo and of the viscount Ugo and of all the consuls of Pisa.' We see here an intermediate stage between the feudalism of the past and the full development of the Italian commune which is coming. By the side of the bishop and the representative of the margraval or imperial authority is this new association, probably originating among certain aristocratic families of the city, which will soon assume the entire functions of the state.

Next in importance to Pisa, the city of the sea, was Lucca, the city of the Tuscan plain. Both these cities supported the emperor Henry IV against the countess Matilda, and both in 1081 received imperial diplomas, granting them commercial privileges and recognizing their citizen organization.

An independent political development in Florence was much more tardy. Devoted to the cause of Matilda and the



CATHEDRAL OF S. MARTIN AT LUCCA

Lucca stood between Pisa and Genoa, as Pisa between Florence and the sea, so that she and Florence were generally allies. Her dukes had once ruled Tuscany, but after 1106 the city appears as an independent commune. The campanile and façade of the cathedral were begun 1063 and 1204 respectively.

Photo, Alinari

Church, more directly depending upon the rule of the countess, the position of the city—in a valley surrounded by hills among which the feudal nobles had their castles and intercepted Florentine commerce—made her protection a necessity. The earliest petty wars of the Florentines were made in Matilda's name, and members of the noble families of the city acted as her officials and judges. But already there were the beginnings of associations within the city walls; the city nobles or 'milites' were grouped into what became known as the Societies of the Towers, the merchants and workers had probably in a rudimentary form something of the organizations that were to develop into the 'arts' or 'guilds.'

With the death of Matilda in 1115 the Margravate of Tuscany came to an end: Within a few years of her death Florence had become a commune. The other Tuscan cities, such as Siena, Arezzo and Pistoia, developed in a similar fashion, though in Siena and Arezzo (more particularly in the latter) the bishop somewhat overshadowed for a while the commune. Volterra, almost alone in Tuscany, continued to be ruled by an hereditary line of bishops as counts. Outside Tuscany the cities of Mantua,

Modena and Ferrara, which had formed part of Matilda's dominions, likewise established a communal government, but Ferrara had a great history of another kind before her, and her communal epoch was destined to be comparatively short.

Thus, with due allowance for different local conditions, and generally under the pressure either of class warfare or of dissensions among the

Spread of the Communal Idea nobles, communes similarly developed in the majority of the cities of northern and part of central Italy between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. And the outward sign of the definite establishment of the commune is the appearance of the magistracy of the consuls as the elected heads of the city state. We have already met them at Pisa. The first documentary evidence of the existence of consuls in Milan itself is in 1087 and in Genoa in 1089, but early in the twelfth century they appear in most of the chief cities of Lombardy and Tuscany. In Florence they are first expressly mentioned in 1138, but certainly existed before.

These consuls varied in number, usually from four to twelve, and in most cities held office for a year. In Milan, where at times their number rose to twenty, a proportion—though a small one—was elected from the people, or at least represented the non-aristocratic part of the inhabitants. But in general they were nobles, usually members of the families whose initial association had led to the formation of the commune. And, although in some degree the commune had arisen by the overthrow of the episcopal secular power, the bishops in general accepted the new regime, and were its allies and supporters. As we have seen at Pisa, a trace of the old feudal organization lingered on in the early part of the twelfth century in the presence of viscounts by the side of the consuls, but these gradually lost all political significance.

The primitive government of the commune conformed in the main to one general type. At the head were the consuls; then the council known as the *Credenza*, which in the course of the twelfth century, as it increased in numbers,

became two bodies, the Special Council and the Greater Council of the commune; and, finally, as the basis of the pyramid, the general assembly of the population of the city, the '*arengo*' or '*parlamento*.' In the latter part of the twelfth century this body met only on rare occasions, but, in theory, it was preserved in all Italian states that maintained a republican form of government right into the Renaissance, and acquired an evil reputation as the means for masking revolution or the setting up of tyranny under an aspect of legality. Indeed, Savonarola on one occasion was to declare that the only purpose of parliament was 'to snatch the sovereign power from the hands of the people.' This simple primitive constitution of the commune naturally became more complex before the twelfth century closed, and developed, more particularly at Florence, into that somewhat complicated constitution of many councils and diversity of functions amidst which Dante's political life was passed.

We have spoken so far of Lombardy and Tuscany, using the former term in a wider sense than that of modern geography. **Conditions east of the Apennines** In Romagna and Umbria and the former duchy

of Spoleto there was a more rudimentary and fluctuating growth of communal institutions in the cities, Perugia and Ancona being the only two that rose to power and importance. Ravenna had a rudimentary commune, but was under the direct rule of its archbishops. In Rome, with which Chapter 107 deals, there always existed in theory the Republic. It must further be borne in mind that, although before the middle of the twelfth century Italy—north of and in contrast with the Norman kingdom of Sicily—had thus become a parcel of city states, this does not comprise the whole Italian polity.

In Tuscany and elsewhere there remained the feudal nobles of the hills and countryside, only slowly and by degrees to be brought into the orbit of the commune: great houses, with various branches, like the Aldobrandeschi, counts of Santaflora in the Siennese Maremma, who ruled over what is practically the modern province of Grosseto, and the

Conti Guidi, more closely associated with the history of Florence, who bore the proud title of counts palatine of Tuscany, and were powerful also in Romagna. There likewise existed states in which communal institutions could naturally never attain political importance. Thus the marquesses of the house of Malaspina, extolled by troubadours, continued to rule in a corner of Tuscany, and in what is now Piedmont were the marquesses of Monferrato, famous in the annals of the Crusades, and a portion of the dominions of the counts of Savoy with their mighty destiny of the making of a great modern nation. It will be remembered that, with the exception of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and the republic of Venice, all Italy at least nominally acknowledged the authority of the Holy Roman Empire, and recognized the man whom the German electors chose to be 'king of the Romans' as their sovereign.

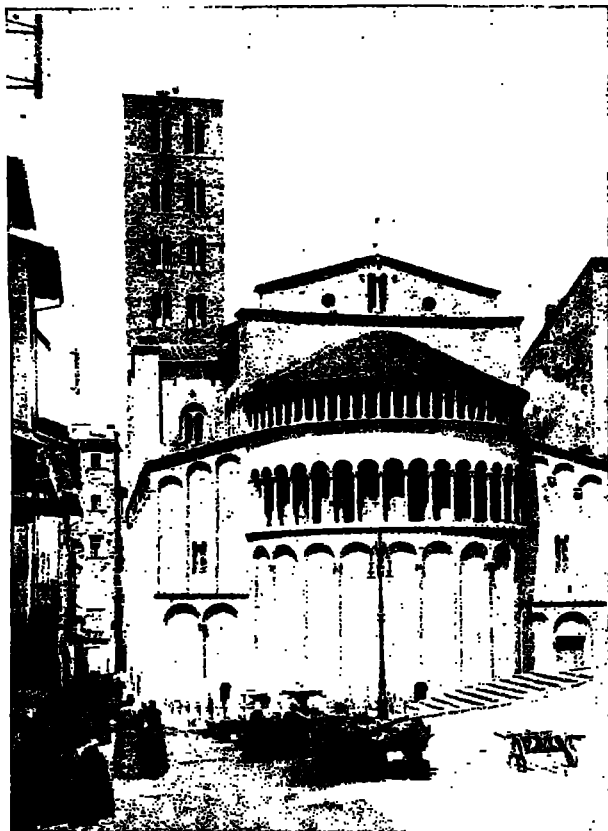
One of the first needs of the newly formed commune was expansion, to secure the food supply of the city, the safety of movement and the general security of civic life. Hence came the annexation of the 'contado' the annexation of the 'contado,' a process carried out at the expense both of smaller neighbouring communities and of the feudal nobles of the countryside. As early as 1125 Florence had absorbed Fiesole, thus beginning the series of petty wars which gradually cleared the nearer portions of the contado of the country nobles, whose castles were destroyed while they themselves were forced to enter the city and live within the walls for part of the year.

This extension of the contado soon brought Florence into conflict with Siena, which was engaged in a similar enterprise. Presently the possession of Montepulciano and Montalcino became a source of embittered hostility between the two greater communes. The same sort of thing went on elsewhere—the claims on the contado being often based on the old diocesan divisions which were uncertain and disputed. But larger interests were also involved in causing the interminable wars between commune and commune. As Previté-Orton well puts it: 'Commercial

competition for the protection of home industry or the possession of the carrying trade was the staple of these city wars. Each commune was anxious for trade outlets under its own control, the power of controlling the outlets of its neighbours, and for a wide subject territory.'

Florence found Siena and Arezzo commanding the roads that led to Rome, Pistoia lying across one of the ways northward to Bologna and Venice, Pisa barring the access of her commerce to the port at the mouth of the Arno and the sea. From the outset Florence and Siena were inevitably enemies and rivals, the hostility of the greater city towards Pisa developing later with the increase of her commerce. The geographical position of Lucca made her the enemy of Pisa, from whom she blocked the way by land to Genoa, and consequently she became the natural ally of Florence. It was due to considerations of this kind, rather than to any theoretical sympathy for pope or emperor, that, when the conflict between Papacy and Empire became the Guelph and Ghibelline struggle throughout northern and central Italy, Florence and Lucca were Guelph, Siena with Pisa and Pistoia and Arezzo normally Ghibelline. And Pisa had a no less formidable rival to the north in Genoa, with whom she was in constant conflict, not only over their respective claims in Sardinia and Corsica, but also beyond the Mediterranean in the trade with Constantinople and the East.

Clashing interests of the same or analogous kinds kept the Lombard and Emilian cities at enmity, or impelled them to unstable alliances among themselves and against their neighbours. Almost from the beginning of the communal era Milan, with her proud memories of the time when the Ambrosian city had been the seat of an imperial court, and her unique geographical and commercial position at the head of the Lombard plain where important trade routes met, seemed to aspire to a kind of hegemony in western Lombardy, and drew lesser communes into her orbit. She crushed Como and Lodi to obtain her way to the Alps and the Po, and at the river found her



ONE OF FLORENCE'S EARLIER CONQUESTS

Usually Ghibelline in its allegiances, Arezzo lay south of Guelph Florence blocking the roads to Rome; hence its history was one of continuous hostilities with Florence, under whose rule it passed in 1384. This is the 11th century apse of S. Maria della Pieve, the rest of the church being 13th century.

Photo, Rev. C. F. Fison

commerce hampered by the position of Cremona and Pavia, the old capital of the Lombard kingdom.

Bologna, the seat since the end of the eleventh century of the first modern university and the centre of the revival of the study of Roman law, found a rival to her expansion in Modena; Mantua to hers in Verona, which in her turn had Padua as a commercial and territorial competitor. Later, Verona and Padua had a special cause for enmity in the desire of each to annex the weaker commune of Vicenza. The commerce of Venice, her need of corn lands and of control of the rivers and roads to the Alps, had not yet drawn the great republic to acquire

possessions on the Italian mainland, though in 1142 she made war upon Padua for the purpose of keeping the river Brenta open. Venice hardly yet formed part of the general Italian polity, and it was as an external power, rather than as one having a national interest in the matter, that she was to support the Lombard communes in their struggle with Frederick Barbarossa.

The struggle with this greatest of the medieval German Caesars lasted from his first Italian expedition in 1154 to the peace of Constance in 1183, and marks the close of the consular period in the history of the Italian communes. In theory—and the theory was accepted even by those who withstood him—Frederick was the successor of Augustus and Trajan; but in actual fact he came to re-establish the power of the Empire in Italy in a German sense, to put an end to what seemed the usurpation of imperial prerogatives by the cities, and to restore the dying feudal system.

He found adherents to his cause not only in the feudal nobility, the great and small vassals of the crown whose feudal rights and territory

were daily waning before the victorious advance of the communes, but also in some of the communes themselves, which sought to be revenged upon a rival or protected against a too powerful neighbour. Particularly was this the case at the outset with cities like Pavia, Como, Lodi and Cremona, and, throughout the struggle, Milan was naturally the centre of the Lombard resistance to the emperor. Twice—in 1158 and 1162—Milan was compelled to surrender, and on the second occasion its walls and a large part of its buildings were ruthlessly destroyed and its population dispersed. But in 1164 Verona took the lead in forming the Veronese League, which in 1167—after

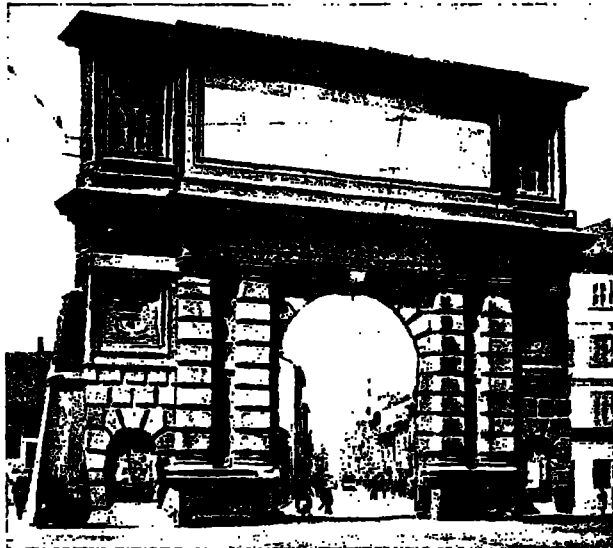
the meeting at Pontida, where the confederates swore to restore their fatherland to the Milanese—was merged into the famous Lombard League, which included the chief cities of northern Italy, even some that had hitherto been imperialist, though Pavia and Genoa still adhered to the emperor. It had Venice as an ally, and was supported by Pope Alexander III and the king of Sicily. Milan was rebuilt with amazing celerity, and at the juncture of the Bormida and the Tanaro was constructed a new city, Alessandria, which successfully held out against a prolonged siege from the end of October, 1174, to the beginning of April, 1175.

On May 29, 1176, the forces of the League completely defeated the emperor at the battle of Legnano.

Triumph of the Lombard League Although it is only in a limited sense that this epical struggle can be called a national one, yet it is clear that already some dim conception of a common Italian native land was in the minds of the combatants. Romualdus of Salerno was present, as ambassador of the king of Sicily, at the preliminary peace negotiations at Ferrara. He says that the representatives of the Lombard communes claimed to speak in the name of all Italy, 'universa Italia,' and to have fought 'for the honour and liberty of Italy.' They will receive peace from the emperor gladly, but only 'salvo Italiae honore.' 'We freely grant him what Italy owes him of old, and deny him not his ancient jurisdiction; but our liberty, which we have received by hereditary right from our forebears, we will never abandon, save with life itself; for we would rather meet a glorious death with liberty than preserve a wretched life in servitude.' The final peace was signed at Constance on June 25, 1183, Frederick showing his greatness of mind and true statesmanship in his frank acceptance of the situation.

'We, Frederick, Emperor of the Romans, and our son Henry, King of the Romans, grant to you, cities and places and persons of the League, the regalia and your customs both within and without the city.' Twenty-five cities are named, beginning with Milan, eight of them (including Pavia, Cremona and Genoa) being on the side of the emperor. All that these republics demanded and fought for had been won. Under the accepted supreme authority of the emperor, the commune was now invested with all the rights known collectively as 'regalia,' which implied complete autonomy and local sovereignty, within and without the city. But, about the same time, there came a definite change in its constitution.

With this full recognition of sovereign rights, crowning the continuous development of the commune during the twelfth century, the old central magistracy of the consuls, which had been largely a monopoly in certain groups of families, had become antiquated, and no longer corresponded to the increasingly democratic character of the city state. There now appears a single magistrate at the



RELIC OF MILAN'S RESURGENCE

Mistress of the Lombard plain and scene of the earliest movements towards civic independence, Milan was laid waste by Frederick Barbarossa in 1162. But on the formation of the Veronese League in 1167 the city rose again, this gate, the Porta Romana, being part of the walls then built.

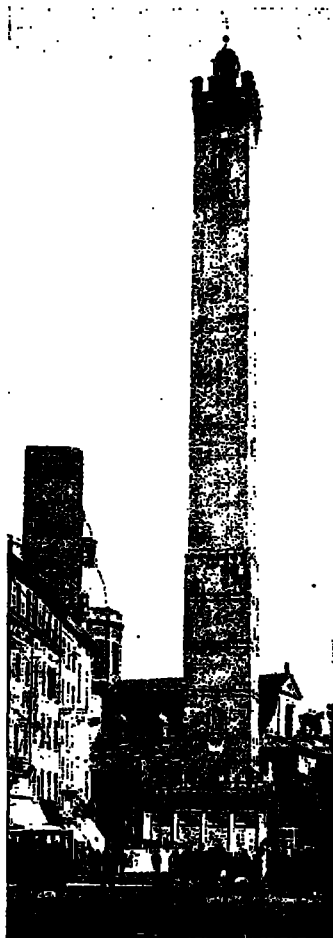
Photo, Herbert Felton

head of the commune: the 'podestà.' In some cities, such as Bologna and Lucca, this single ruler is found slightly earlier, and independently. In many cases the podestà was originally the official introduced into the Italian cities or districts after 1158, by the emperor, to exercise the imperial rights that he claimed (see page 2737); but, after the peace of Constance, the man who bears this title is the elected chief magistrate and the representative of the commune itself, the expression (as Volpe forcibly puts it) of its complete jurisdictional and territorial unity.

The institution of this office seems to correspond with the growing advance of the non-aristocratic class, the 'popolani' as they will presently be called, to share in the government of the commune, which in the hands of consuls was tending to become a mere oligarchy. It is noteworthy that, in 1193, when a podestà for the first time appears in the annals of Florence, we simultaneously hear, also for the first time, of the rectors of the seven arts

or guilds, which apparently form a kind of federation, playing a prominent part. In Florence and elsewhere until the early years of the thirteenth century, we find the podestà occasionally holding office at the same time as the consuls (though these are now in a minor position), or podestà and consular government alternating; but the office soon becomes a normal and accepted one in almost every Italian commune.

At the outset the podestà was chosen among the citizens; the first Florentine podestà of 1193, Gerardo de' Caponsacchi,



BOLOGNA'S LEANING TOWER

Bologna first became a republic in about 1123, and received a 'podestà' before the other North Italian communes. The leaning Torre Asinelli was erected in 1109.

Donald McLeish

though a noble, was not a member of any of the old Florentine houses, for we read in Dante of how his ancestor, Caponsacco, 'had come down into the market place from Fiesole.' But, to ensure greater impartiality and freedom from local faction, it became the general rule for the podestà to be normally a nobleman from some Italian city other than that which he was to govern. He brought with him a small household of knights and lawyers, and originally led the communal forces in war, as well as presiding over the administration of justice in the city and contado, but could not decide on questions of war or peace, make the laws, or administer the finances of the commune.

The office of podestà became a profession, honourable and lucrative, in many families of Italian nobles, and handbooks were compiled for his guidance. Professed rhetoricians supplied formulas or models for the speeches that he would be expected to deliver on various occasions, especially when entering or leaving office

(which he held normally for a year or six months); many of these orations are extant in the vernacular, and they are still good reading. In the later development of the Florentine constitution, the podestà became little more than a chief justice; in some other cities, where he was a native instead of a foreigner, he passed readily into the characteristic petty despot of the fourteenth century. This was particularly the case with the less organized and weaker communes of Romagna.

The Tuscan cities had taken no part in the Lombard League, and were thus

naturally not included in the triumphant peace of Constance. In spite of their mutual rivalry, the fleets of both Genoa and Pisa supported Barbarossa's son,

Henry VI, in his conquest of the kingdom of Sicily. But, with the death of Henry

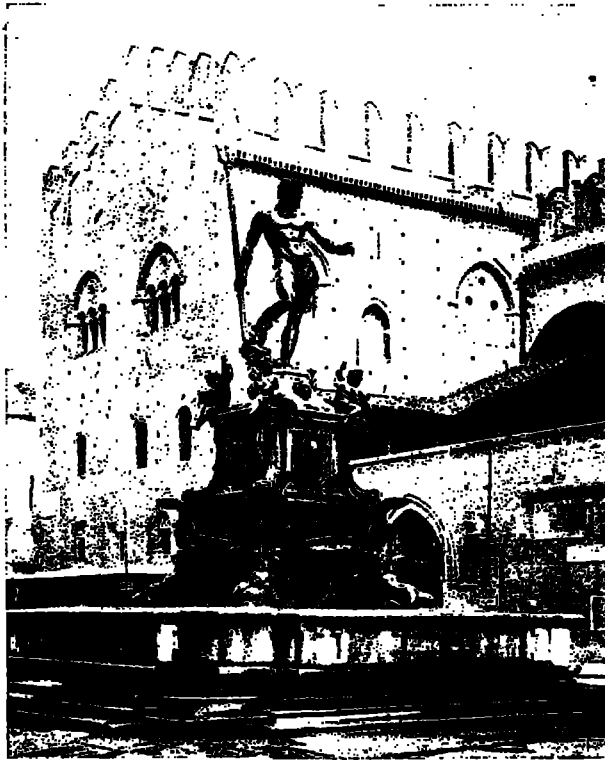
and the consequent dispute for the succession to the Empire, we now find the cities of central Italy in their turn rising against the imperial claims, and Florence beginning to play a part similar to that of Milan in leading the communal resistance.

In November, 1197, a peace and league of the Tuscan communes was sworn at San Genesio, in the presence of the papal legates. The chief participants were Florence, Lucca and Siena—though the last-named commune was ultimately to take the opposite side. Pisa

and Pistoia refused adherence, thus marking themselves irreconcilably imperialist. This 'Societas Tusciae,' as it called itself, was no doubt a small thing when compared with the Lombard League; but it 'served as a model for the many other leagues constituted in Tuscany during the thirteenth century, and marked the starting point of the hegemony of the Florentine commune over all the cities of Tuscany and central Italy' (Caggese). It was the model for those Guelph leagues of Tuscany which became the chief factor in the politics of central Italy, and of which Florence was the animating spirit.

It is in the early years of the thirteenth century that the struggles that convulsed Italy—the struggles between pope and emperor, between emperor and communes, between commune and commune, between class and class, association and association, within the commune and the city itself—become 'Guelph' and 'Ghibelline,' though the conditions were far older than

the two names associated with them. The names themselves, as far as Italy is concerned, came into use when the young Frederick II, 'Weibling' by house and already king of Sicily, was crowned king of the Romans at Aix in 1215, in opposition to Otto IV of Brunswick, the 'Welf' claimant, who had received the imperial crown in 1208 (see page 2747). By an irony of history it was the Ghibelline candidate whom the Papacy first supported in the hopes of finding an emperor subservient to the Church. The Florentine chronicler, Giovanni Villani, gives the traditional legend (immortalised by Dante) of the Guelph and Ghibelline feuds originating in his city among rival associations of nobles through the murder of Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti in 1215, who had deserted his affianced bride for



WHERE THE SON OF FREDERICK II LANGUISHED

Adjoining the palace of the podestà at Bologna, which was completed in 1245, is the building seen above where Enzo, son of Frederick II, was imprisoned when captured by the Bolognese, and consoled himself with Lucia da Viadagola. The Neptune Fountain is late Renaissance, by Giovanni da Bologna.

Photo, Donald McLeish

another; but he adds that such factions existed long before among the nobles 'because of the quarrels and questions between the Church and the Empire.'

Broadly, in Florence, as in other Italian cities, Guelphs and Ghibellines were local parties, taking advantage of the greater struggle to find a name and a banner. The same kind of considerations that made one city Guelph and another Ghibelline operated within the city itself; the names merely christened and intensified the bitterness of pre-existent or new enmities.

It is true that, while Frederick lived, a certain national and democratic halo invested the cause of the Guelphs. His

coronation as emperor in 1220 effectively united the crown of Sicily to that of the Empire, bringing the southern kingdom and the Italy of the communes nominally under a single ruler. But, when he strove to make his claim valid in the 'regnum italicum,' Frederick found an insurmountable obstacle in the increased power of the city states, whose spirit of independence had grown prouder and stronger after their victory over his grandfather. The Lombard League was renewed and repeated its former triumph. The forces of the northern Guelph communes were defeated at Cortenuova in 1237, when the imperialists captured the proud 'carrocio' of Milan, and the Pisan fleet shattered that of now Guelph and papal Genoa off Monte Cristo in 1241; but Frederick had his armies routed at Parma in 1248, and again at Fossalta in 1249, when his favourite son, Enzo, was taken prisoner by the Bolognese.

But, after the great emperor's death, it is only at rare intervals in Italian history that Guelphism will have anything left of national significance. It was perhaps in Florence alone that the Guelph tradition remained as something intimately and ineradicably associated with the life and energies of the commune, even to the end of the republic, while in the long adherence of Pisa to the Ghibelline cause there was at least a trace of romantic devotion to the imperial name. Here and there, too, we find noble families, like the Uberti of Florence, who seem to be persistently and

unshakenly imperialist in something of the spirit of the English Jacobites.

To a greater or less degree, in almost every city of northern and central Italy, excepting Venice, the people were gradually occupying the position in the state previously held by the nobles, and this was more particularly so in Tuscany. But the word 'people' must be understood in a sense different from that in which it is used to-day. It meant the increasingly organized burgher class, composed for the most part of merchants and manufacturers and well-to-do artisans, the 'professional' class in general; the mass of workers, whether in the city or on the countryside, being practically without political rights. The nobles, or 'milites,' were being gradually eliminated from the direct control of the government, and to a large extent absorbed into the middle class, and this whether the commune was ostensibly Ghibelline as at Siena and Pisa, or normally Guelph as at Florence.

Already at Siena, in 1233, the people obtained half the seats in the chief magistracy of twenty-four, elected annually by the General Council of the Commune. Popular struggles At Florence—where, from for power the beginning of the

century, the arts or guilds began to acquire a political predominance which they were never to attain in Siena—we find in 1224 the consuls of these guilds, together with other citizens, called in by the podestà to appoint what we should now call a special committee to investigate the conduct of the government. In the years immediately following the imperial victory at Cortenuova in 1237, the podestàs at Florence appear to have been nominated by the emperor, and the latter's son, Frederick of Antioch, assumed this office in 1246. The expulsion of the Guelph nobles in February, 1248, was the first of those passings of large bodies of citizens into exile, followed by war in the contado to win back their homes, which became characteristic of the Italian cities. The emperor was on his death-bed when in October, 1250, by what seems to have been a peaceful revolution, the 'Primo Popolo,' the first democratic constitution of Florence, was established.

This revolution in the constitution is a landmark in the history of Florence and of the Italian commune in general. The people was organized, for military and political purposes, into armed companies, each with its own banner, all under the supreme command of a new magistrate, the captain of the people. While the office of the podestà was preserved, and he still presided over the General Council and the Special Council of the Commune, the reality of executive power passed in an increasing degree to the captain, who, besides a special council and a general council, had with him a body of twelve 'ancients,' citizens of weight in the guilds, two from each 'sesto,' or division of the city, whose part somewhat resembled that of the Roman tribunes of old.

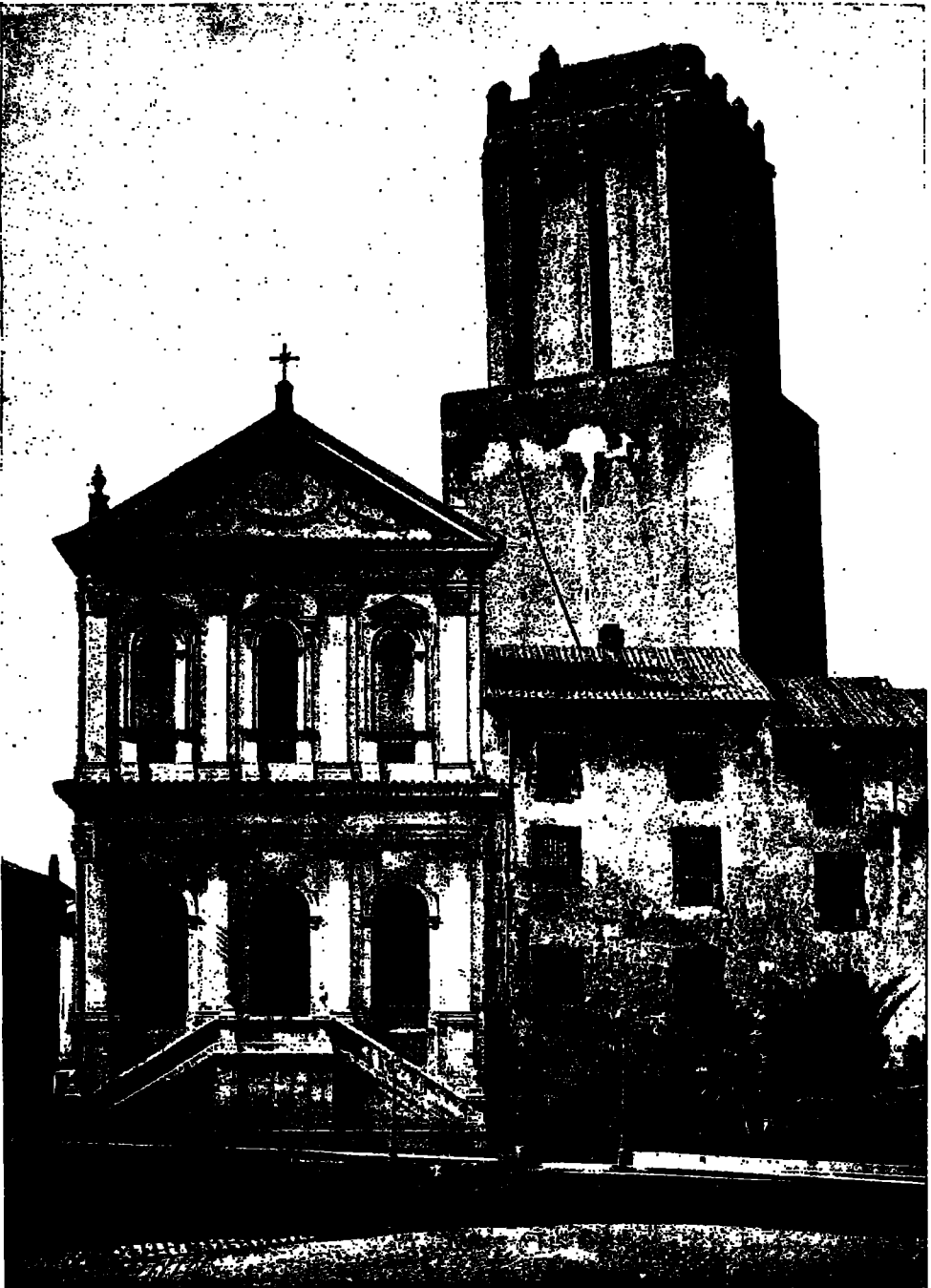
This two-fold organization of the state, the commune and the people, in which the nobles were included in the former alone, characterises the future course of Florentine history. In other Italian republics, in Milan, in Bologna, in Siena and elsewhere, a somewhat similar organization of the people within the commune was taking place, and the office of captain of the people, by the side of the podestà, was fairly general. In Florence and Siena the captain of the people, normally like the podestà a nobleman from some other Italian city, is the representative of the people and the expression of the popular will. But elsewhere, especially in cities where a local nobleman held the office, the institution, even more readily than that of the podestà, became a step to the rise of the tyrant.

In northern Italy we find already the beginning of that process of transformation by which the communal government will become gradually replaced in the city state by its concentration in the hands of a single man (the 'signore') or the supremacy of a single family. Ferrara was the first of the previously republican states to tread this path. This commune, in 1208, accepted the lordship of the marquis of Este, thus laying the foundations of what was ultimately to become the most typical despotism of the Renaissance. The house of Este was

strenuously Guelph, and the marquis held the state nominally as papal vicar—the popes regarding themselves as suzerains of Ferrara, in virtue of the legacy of the countess Matilda. But the first deliberate attempt to establish a tyranny in northern Italy came from the Ghibelline side. Ezzelino (Eccelin) da Romano, recognized as imperial vicar by Frederick II, from 1232 onwards made himself master of Verona, Treviso, Padua and other cities, which he united under an appalling despotism, and was even threatening Milan itself when he fell in 1259.

It is only after the middle of the century that the transformation of the communes in Lombardy into what, even where (as in Milan) an outward show of communal institutions remained, may broadly be called a tyranny became the normal condition; the process being effected in the main during what was, for Italians, the vacancy of the Empire, between the death of Frederick II in 1250 and the coming of Henry of Luxemburg in 1310. The tyranny arose out of the factions; it was in its origin a dictatorship imposed upon the commune by the prevailing faction, and accepted by the commune in the hope of securing internal peace and external leadership.

The first step was usually the conferment of the title of captain general, or captain of the people, for life upon the head of the house that prevailed over its rivals. Padua—with its terrible memories of Ezzelino—was the last of the Lombard cities to lose its ancient liberties. A similar process took place in the smaller cities of Romagna and Umbria. Bologna and Perugia—nominally papal, but in reality independent Guelph republics—were to preserve their liberties until a later epoch. Pisa and Lucca will for a while succumb during the fourteenth century, but, in the main, the rise of a tyrant represents only a temporary and occasional phenomenon in Tuscany. Florence and Siena, each in its own way, were destined to continue the mirrors of the Italian democracy for good and for evil, and to carry the spirit of the Italian communes into the Renaissance.



TOWER BUILT BY TURBULENT NOBLES OF MEDIEVAL ROME

The most conspicuous surviving monument of medieval Rome is the Torre delle Milizie, on the slope down from the Quirinal to the Forum of Trajan. The tower, which was once much higher than it is now, has massive brick-faced walls, and is characterised by fine simplicity of design. It was built about 1210, and in the second half of the thirteenth century belonged to the Annibaldi family, from whom it passed into the possession of the Gaetani.

Photo, Anderson

SOCIAL LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ROME

How the City of the Caesars fared when
Papal Court had replaced Imperial Palace

By Rt. Hon. Sir RENNELL RODD G.C.B. G.C.M.G.

Author of *Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, etc.*

THE stage of transition from medieval to Renaissance Rome may be regarded as commencing with the completion of Dante's great epic and as terminating in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It is less easy to indicate a definite period as parting the Middle Ages from those centuries of darkness and degradation which followed the dissolution of the Western Empire. The twelfth century may, however, be selected as an appropriate period at which to review social conditions in medieval Rome, inasmuch as the revolution of 1143, obscure as much of its history must remain through the lack of adequate records, marks the commencement of a new era.

At the same time every epoch of the city's crowded story has its own particular interest, and the sense of historic continuity has never been lost. It is therefore indispensable to cast a glance backwards across antecedent centuries, and briefly to examine the stages through which the capital of nations, whose thirteen miles of wall enclosed a monumental wealth of public buildings such as no city of past or present times has rivalled, degenerated into a desolate area of which only a small portion was populously inhabited, while the remainder gradually became a waste of mouldering ruin, half hidden under the invading growth of nature, dominated by the belfries of isolated churches or the towers of a semi-barbarous nobility.

The humiliation and depopulation of Rome probably reached its lowest point in the latter years of the sixth century. Even politically the city ranked as second to Ravenna, where, after the extinction of the Ostrogothic power, the maintenance of the seat of government under an exarch from Constantinople emphasised

the indifference of the Byzantine sovereigns towards the ancient seat of empire. During the long and devastating Gothic sieges the groves and orchards of the surrounding country had been felled to supply wood for fuel or the machines of war. The cutting of the aqueducts, whose escaping waters saturated a thin layer of soil but could not penetrate the underlying lava bed, rapidly reduced a region which the wealth and pride of imperial and senatorial families had covered with luxurious villas to an unproductive and infectious wilderness. The advancing wave of Lombard penetration intercepted communications, and outside the city gates personal liberty and even life were insecure.

The population of the capital had never been industrial. Flattered and corrupted by competing ambitions, sustained by disastrous doles, and later by ecclesiastical benevolence, ^{Inertia of} it had little recuperative ^{the populace} energy when thrown upon its own resources. The Senate in its ancient form was extinct, and if some shadow of municipal authority still rested in the prefect of the city, he could dispose of no public funds for maintenance. The ravages, therefore, of repeated inundations and earthquakes remained un-repaired. Ignorant and fanatical monks possessed themselves of many of the abandoned structures of antiquity, whose mutilation they welcomed as symbolising the triumph of the Church.

The neglected roads were as yet too unsafe to attract many pilgrims and few strangers visited the city, which even in her progressive decay still presented an imposing aspect of magnificence. When the emperor Constans II came to Rome in the second half of the seventh century, he still

found ample material to remove for the embellishment of Constantinople, besides the bronze tiles which he stripped from the dome of the Pantheon. A century later Charlemagne carried away columns and sculptured marbles for his new palace of Aix-la-Chapelle (see page 2426), and the rare material of venerable buildings was continually requisitioned or transferred to other cities by gift or purchase.

At the end of the sixth century, as we have seen in Chronicle XIV and Chapter 87, a remarkable man known to posterity as Gregory the Great, whose public activities and private benevolences had made him eminent in civil life before he entered the Church, was elected Gregory the Great to the pontifical chair.

His proselytising zeal, his vigorous personality and constructive energy succeeded in re-establishing as a spiritual influence the lost prestige of Rome. Through his efforts the conversion of the Lombards made rapid progress, and his missionaries brought Saxon Britain into the Christian fold. If his religious enthusiasm and antipathy to the culture of paganism were responsible for acts of vandalism against the monuments of antiquity, the elevation of his character restored honour to the seat of the Church and secured the basis of papal supremacy. With his accession the desperate condition of the city began to mend. The remnant of the population can never have been numerically quite so insignificant as the lamentations of contemporaries would suggest. In any case, its numbers recovered rapidly in the following centuries and the citizens repeatedly proved themselves capable of asserting their rights and defending their menaced freedom. A long recurrence of revolutionary risings, whether against the temporal authority of the popes or the prepotency of a new order of nobles, makes it clear that the traditions of civic liberty were not extinguished.

Some afterglow of the lustre with which Gregory had endowed the apostolic throne sustained the influence of a long series of insignificant popes. The rapacity of the savage Lombards, resentment against the interference of the exarch at Ravenna, and

finally the attempt of the emperor Leo III to suppress the worship of images and pictures, aroused the popular indignation of which the second and third Gregorys were the eloquent mouthpieces. It was, however, the bold and able Stephen II who, finding Constantinople deaf to his appeal after the Lombards had taken Ravenna and were marching on Rome, addressed himself with the approval of the people to Pepin, the usurper of the Frankish crown (see page 2416).

The defeat of the Lombards by the Franks and the transfer of Ravenna and other cities of the exarchate to the Republic of Rome, the complete severance of the connexion with Constantinople and the crowning of Charlemagne as emperor of the West are events which belong rather to political than to social history. As such they are dealt with in Chapter 95. At the same time their direct influence on the internal conditions in Rome cannot be ignored, inasmuch as they established the temporal sovereignty of the popes and, for a while at any rate, greatly enhanced the authority of the pontiff, Adrian I, who was not less zealous to advance the welfare of the Romans than he had been to extend the ecclesiastical state. He restored the walls and several of the aqueducts, endeavouring also to redeem the desolate Campagna. He embellished the city and encouraged artists and craftsmen. On the other hand the co-existence of an empire which was really an ideal conception with a church which not only asserted a spiritual authority but henceforth rested on a material basis divided the Romans into two camps, and the claims of the temporal power inevitably became the occasion for recurrent conflict between pope and people, until the middle of the fifteenth century saw the final acquiescence of the popular element in an ecclesiastical supremacy.

The elaborate ceremonial, maintained with certain opportune modifications through subsequent centuries, which took its precedent from the coronation of Charlemagne, profoundly impressed the sentiment of a superstitious age. Records of more than one 'ordo coronationis'

assist the imagination to reconstruct those glowing scenes of the early Middle Ages, in which the pomp and circumstance of ecclesiastical pageantry and the martial display of a semi-barbarous royal progress contrasted vividly with the decaying magnificence of the city. On the approach of the emperor designate the prefect, the primates, dukes, consuls and counts, the captains of the civic regiments, the bishops and abbots, the picturesque monastic corporations with masses of the people bearing their regional emblems and banners would stream out to meet him, generally at the Mulvian bridge if he arrived from the north by the Flaminian road. The foreign troopers with their unfamiliar arms, the nobles and knights of the retinue and the future emperor, a fair-haired giant from the north, were escorted, not without some restrained emotion of awe, past the broken tombs bordering the neglected roads. On nearing the city, the emperor elect swore to respect the customs of the Romans.

Such an oath was repeated on the day fixed for the coronation, when the emperor entered through the Porta Collina and advanced, distributing largess,

The ceremonial of Coronation to the basilica of S. Peter. There the pontiff awaited him seated on a platform above the steps. He kissed the pope's foot, receiving in return the kiss of peace from the head of the Church. Within the doors of the cathedral, whither he was conducted by the count of the Lateran Palace, he knelt, after listening to an episcopal allocution, side by side with the pontiff and made his profession of faith. Then, after a second allocution, he entered the sacristy to receive the status of a cleric from the pope himself. Thence he was led, robed in his coronation dress, to the altar of S. Maurice, where the empress, if she had accompanied him, stood at his side while he was anointed on the right arm. Here a third sermon or address was pronounced. Solemn chants and intoned prayers preceded and followed every incident, until at last the emperor advanced to the high altar on which the imperial crown rested. The ring of authority was placed on his finger, and he was girded with the sword which sym-

bolised his obligation to resist all the enemies of the Church. Then the pontiff placed the crown on the emperor's head in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, while the triumphant outburst of the Gloria echoed through the rafters of the high-pitched roof, and a thunder of applause saluted the Sovereign of the West. Resuming his clerical character, the emperor ministered to the pope in the celebration of the mass, and the final act in the ceremony, evidently borrowed from Byzantium, was the assumption of the red imperial buskins, to which the spurs of S. Maurice were attached.

The Frankish conquerors of the Lombards left their work uncompleted, and the vigour of the Carolingian dynasty declined rapidly. While the French

and German nations were forming themselves into distinct and powerful

Chronic ferment in the capital

entities, Italy remained the victim of family quarrels between dukes and marquises, of southern birth but for the most part of northern origin, disputing the precarious tenure of an Italian crown. In Rome Lombard, Tuscan or Spoletan factions kept the city in chronic ferment. The period of anarchical confusion and shifting authority which characterised the independent Kingdom of Italy was only terminated when the most profligate of popes, John XII, invited the Saxon Otto to be crowned as emperor in 962.

The century and a half which elapsed between the death of Charlemagne and the coronation of Otto is pregnant with matter of extraordinary interest in the social life of Rome. It witnessed the establishment of a permanent opposition to the temporal power and the division of the Roman people into two groups identifiable with those known at a later epoch as Guelphs and Ghibellines. It saw two notorious women, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, exercising supreme power in the city. The influence of great ladies is indeed conspicuous throughout the ninth and tenth centuries in Italy, and legend has even enthroned on the pontifical chair in succession to Leo IV a woman reputed to have been of Anglo-Saxon origin, and to have acquired great learning in the schools of England and

Athens. This epoch was also responsible for the rise of a new nobility, which contested the disposition of the apostolic throne as a means for the advancement of their rival houses. It revealed the Papacy at its lowest depth as a centre of intrigue and scandalous living.

Intellectually and culturally during this grim time Rome stood far behind the rest of the world. The monasteries of Britain, Ireland, France and Germany could claim

an erudition wholly lacking in the mother of nations. **Intellectual and cultural decay** Art was extinct; even the craft of the mosaic worker, which the first Adrian had encouraged, had fallen into disuse. In northern and central Italy a reviving architectural instinct initiated the creative movement which was to produce the masterpieces of the Romanesque, but in Rome building was restricted to reconstruction with ready-made material. The wisdom of the ancients was erased from parchments palimpsested with hagiologies in barbarous Latin. The pursuits which did honour to the first Benedictines, who had drafted a civil code, maintained schools and given a chaotic world the example of sane and ordered life, had fallen into abeyance, and some of their well-dowered foundations were discredited by scandalous abuses. If the clerics of Italy generally were less cultured than those of the rising nations of the West, it was in Rome itself that their intellectual destitution was most conspicuous. When in the last year of the tenth century the insistence of the emperor Otto III caused a man of learning, the Burgundian monk Gerbert, to be raised to the apostolic throne as Sylvester II (see page 2503), the Romans only regarded his astronomical researches as evidence that the supreme pontiff was in league with the powers of evil.

The notorious Synod of the Dead is a revelation of the ecclesiastical mind at the end of the ninth century. Italy was then distracted by the rival pretensions to the imperial title of Berengar of Friuli and Guido (Wido) II of Spoleto (see page 2495). On the death of Guido, who had been supported by his predecessor, Pope Formosus invited the German king

Arnulf, the bastard son of Carloman, to assume the imperium. The indignant Spoletan partisans confined the pope in the Castle of S. Angelo, whence he was not released until the Germans had captured the Leonine suburb which surrounds S. Peter's. Formosus only survived the coronation a few weeks, and after the withdrawal of Arnulf the Spoletans again became omnipotent.

The first pope whom they imposed died a fortnight after his election. The reign of his successor, Stephen IV, remains memorable for perhaps the most macabre scene in history. Formosus, who had been buried some nine months, was summoned to appear in person before an ecclesiastical synod. The grave was opened. The decomposing body was dragged out by the feet, arrayed in robe and mitre and propped up on a throne. Stephen himself, anticipating the advocate of the Curia, addressed the hideous thing, stridently demanding to know why Formosus, being bishop of Portus, had usurped the apostolic chair. The translation of bishops from one city to another had been excluded by former councils, but there was ample precedent for exceptions. The advocate appointed for the defence of a pontiff who had been distinguished for his piety and justice advanced no plea. **Macabre trial of a defunct Pope** Formosus was found guilty and retrospectively deposed. The fingers which had bestowed the benediction were cut off and the corpse, despoiled of its vestments, was dragged like a malefactor's through the streets and flung into the Tiber.

During these scandalous proceedings the ancient Lateran Palace subsided into a pile of ruin, an omen of sinister import to the superstitious Romans. A reaction ensued, and the German party, hereafter a constant factor in the city, gained adherents. Stephen IV was thrown into prison by the populace and strangled.

It was in the first half of the following century that Theodora and Marozia fascinated and dominated Rome. The former was the wife of a certain Theophylactus, who, as chief of the civic militia, became the leader of the primates. Her influence eclipsed that of her husband, and she

assumed or received the title of *Senatrix* of the Romans, a distinction which apparently became hereditary among the ladies of her family. She was reported by a contemporary to have numbered among her lovers the archbishop of Ravenna, whom she was instrumental in placing on the papal throne as John X. Marozia, who inherited the beauty, the capacity and the temperament of her mother, was similarly credited with having been the mistress of his predecessor, Sergius III, the rebuilder of the Lateran.

The Roman annals during the third and fourth decades of the tenth century are monopolised by the amours and intrigues of this ambitious woman, who by securing the tiara for the son she had borne to Sergius succeeded for a while in controlling the spiritual as well as the temporal power in the city. By the irony of fate her career was terminated by another son, the child of her first marriage to a Lombard soldier of fortune, who became the most remarkable embodiment of the Roman spirit which the turbulent years produced. At the wedding feast of Marozia and Hugo of Provence, the nominal king of Italy, Alberic, who bore his father's name, in order to avenge a blow from his step-father organized a revolt for which the populace was ripe, drove the foreign prince out of Rome, and placed his mother in close confinement.

He was proclaimed 'Prince and Senator of all the Romans,' a title which indicated the intention of the dominant oligarchy to remove the temporal power from the popes, and his subsequent career amply justified his selection as leader. He kept his half-brother, John XI, an honourable captive in the Lateran, restricting his functions to those proper to his office. The Benedictine who succeeded as Leo VII tacitly accepted a similar position and, in spite of the occasional emergence of a more vigorous personality, the twilight of the Papacy continued until the middle of the eleventh century. The climax of demoralisation was reached when the degenerate Tusculan, Benedict IX, openly sold the chair of S. Peter for a life annuity to John Gratian, who, as Gregory VI, to some

extent redeemed his simony by recognizing the conspicuous merits of a monk of Cluny, named Hildebrand, whom he appointed to be his chaplain.

Meanwhile Alberic, wisely restricting his activities to Rome and its immediate neighbourhood, ruled as a dictator for twenty years. His reforming zeal did not confine itself to municipal and civil establishments, but he invoked the aid of the famous abbot, Odo of Cluny, to restore decency and discipline in the monasteries. He was inevitably destined to be attacked by Hugo of Provence, who coveted the imperial crown, and, as Alberic's authority depended on the precarious allegiance of an aristocratic party, his first care was to reorganize and strengthen the militia. The loyalty of the civic army, divided into twelve regiments, each following the standard of one of the city regions, enabled him to repel a series of attacks from the king of Italy, who was compelled to renounce all his pretensions. Hugo, finding himself deserted by the majority of his partisans, withdrew to Provence, and after the death in 950 of his son Lothair, who inherited the shadowy title of king, Italy relapsed into anarchy.

Pope Agapitus II, a Roman, abandoning the submissive attitude of his four predecessors, invited the Saxon Otto, the most powerful sovereign of the day, to restore order. Alberic may have been privy to the invitation, but he firmly refused the German king access to Rome. The dictator's last public act revealed a weakness common to many remarkable men. His paternal ambition exacted from the nobles a solemn oath that they would place his son Octavian, a boy of fifteen, on the papal throne. Alberic died in 957 and Agapitus in the following year. The Romans respected their oath. But the boy-pope John XII, who inherited the licentious temperament of his grandmother, disgraced his office with unparalleled debaucheries and could only maintain his position by invoking the protection of the Saxon king. In accepting the imperial crown Otto I made it evident that he intended to be master and to reserve to

the emperors the nomination of future pontiffs even though some form of local election were maintained. A permanent cleavage thus grew up in the city between the imperial party and those Romans who were legitimately anxious to recover the freedom of election by the clergy, army and people. The visits of German emperors thereafter led to hostile outbreaks and sanguinary repressions.

The ensuing century witnessed a revival of the ecclesiastical power; but the struggle between Gregory VII (Hildebrand) and Henry IV was responsible for the most destructive of all the calamities which devastated the city. The havoc wrought by his Norman allies has often been overlooked in reviewing the great achievement of Hildebrand, who restored prestige to the Papacy which had for centuries been regarded only as a profitable perquisite of rival patrician houses.

The origin and composition of that medieval nobility which dominated the internal life of Rome may now be briefly examined. Most of the old senatorial families had disappeared in the ruin of the Western Empire. The Anicii and the Massimi might lay claim to a Roman origin. If the Crescentii asserted a similar pretension, it was only in the tenth century at a synod inaugurated by Otto I that the name of Crescentius reappears, and the family to which the capable rule of the 'patricius' John did honour lost importance after his death in 1012.

When the city emerged once more from the anarchy of dissolution two groups of optimates appear composed, the one of dignitaries of the Church, the other of the military element. Both were known as 'judices,' either 'de clero' or 'de militia,' an appellation which cannot be rendered by 'judges,' though justices, ecclesiastical and lay, were included in both categories. The Senate as a body had long disappeared, but the title of senator was preserved to indicate the primacy of the nobles and the presidency of the civic tribunal. The title of consul, dissociated from any administrative functions, had become an hereditary dignity, often in conjunction with that of 'dux.'

Once the popes had acquired a temporal power they appointed officials both in the city of which they were rectors and in the region formerly governed by the Byzantine exarch. Public office with its opportunities for patronage, the inheritance of a fortune derived from office or the family tenure of feudal estates established the new aristocracy. There were seven ministers of state at the papal court bearing titles such as 'protoscriniarius,' obviously borrowed from Constantinople. But these, being clerics, could not create an hereditary caste. The 'judices de militia,' on the other hand, promoted family ambitions or issued from the patriciate, while military feudatories, settled on the estates which accumulated in the domain of the Church, acquired similar consideration.

The new patricians bore names some of which suggest a Byzantine origin while others, Latin in form, disguised the descendants of Goths who had served in the imperial armies. Franks who followed sovereigns to Italy had been rewarded with estates, as later were the ancestors of the Normanni and the Saraceni. But the Lombards, who had appropriated towns or villages in the central and southern regions of Italy which remained unaffected by the fall of the northern kingdom, contributed the largest foreign element to the feudal aristocracy in Rome, where they were represented by Annibaldi, Astaldi, Sinibaldi, Tebaldi, and other ancient clans. The powerful counts of Tusculum, whose impregnable stronghold was long a menace to Rome, were descended, it would seem, from Theophylactus and Theodora.

The illustrious house of Colonna, which came into prominence early in the twelfth century, derived its name from a castle in the Latin mountains only five miles from Tusculum, which could only have been held by a branch of the Tusculan family. The Colonnas are therefore probably also of Lombard descent. The constancy of the Frangipani to the imperial or German party justifies the presumption of Teutonic ancestry, and the names borne by members of the house of Conti leave no doubt as to their Lombard origin. The Conti,

like the Savelli and the Orsini, owed their influence to the popes. The last named, who furnished conspicuous leaders to the Guelph party, claimed descent from Ursus, a nephew of Celestine II. The Caetani, originally feudatories in the southern Lombard duchy, owed to Boniface VIII the acquisition of extensive areas in the Roman domain.

The suburb beyond the Tiber had its own aristocracy, the Franceschini, Brazati, Muti and others. But the most remarkable family emanating from Trastevere was that of Pierleone, which long disputed supremacy in the city with the Frangipani. The founder was a Jew who had important financial relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and was eventually baptised under the name of Benedict. His son Leo, a zealous supporter of Hildebrand, and his grandson Peter married into the patriciate and acquired a preponderating influence by their wealth, ability and friendship with the popes. His great-grandson, also called Peter, who studied under Abélard at Paris, where he acquired a culture quite unusual in Italy at that time, entered the Church and eventually became pope as Anacletus II.

When, at the end of 1046, the German king Henry III arrived in Rome at the invitation of the citizens, who were weary of the anarchy prevailing

General anarchy in the Church in the state of the Church, he found no fewer than three popes

in being—Sylvester III, who had been expelled by the Tuscans in favour of the unspeakable Benedict IX, and Gregory VI to whom Benedict had sold the tiara with every intention of resuming it at a favourable opportunity. All three were deposed by a synod held under the aegis of Henry, and the bishop of Bamberg, elected pope as Clement II, crowned him emperor amid general rejoicing. Nine months later Clement died and the anti-German party recalled Benedict, who maintained himself precariously until a reaction compelled him once more to take refuge in Tusculum. His successor, Damasus II, succumbed within a few weeks to malaria or poison.

Henry III then nominated another German, Bruno of Eggenheim, who, as

Leo IX, endeavoured to purge the ecclesiastical state of the abuses which had reduced the Papacy to acute financial embarrassment. As his archdeacon and chief adviser he selected Hildebrand, already a man of mark, whose influence was to guide the policy of successive pontiffs until he should himself assume the tiara as Gregory VII. The ideals and scope of that policy, the reforms that Hildebrand effected during the pontificate of Nicholas II (1059), the political genius manifested in his dealings with foreign affairs

Hildebrand's policy and reforms

and, after his own elevation to the apostolic chair in 1073, his triumphant assertion of the supremacy of the Church over the Empire, have been unfolded in Chapter 95. More directly pertinent to the present subject was the donation to the Church, brought about through his influence, of the vast estates of Countess Matilda of Tuscany, which would, if such an alienation of imperial fiefs could have been realized, have united the greater part of Italy under the dominion of the popes. But it remained only a source of future discord. Hildebrand's ambition to achieve through the spiritual arm results which others have sought to accomplish by conquest outstripped the limits of human capacity.

Three times was Rome besieged by Henry IV, and after his capture of the Leonine suburb, while Hildebrand still held the impregnable S. Angelo, the citizens entered into a composition with the emperor, who then withdrew. But they were weary of the protracted struggle, and it was at their invitation that he returned and entered the city in March, 1084. Such fortresses as remained faithful to the pope were invested and both the Capitol and the Palatine suffered irremediable damage. Henry retired before the advancing Normans and Saracens who responded to the summons of Gregory. The abandoned Romans made a gallant defence, but the irresistible Robert Guiscard captured the city. Driven to desperation by the savagery of the Saracens the citizens rose and attacked their oppressors. The Normans, relatively few in number, were hard pressed

pending the arrival of reinforcements, and Robert set fire to the city. A vast and populous region between the Lateran and the Colosseum was consumed by the flames, and the area thus devastated remained a forsaken wilderness which was eventually transformed into parks and vegetable gardens. The abandonment of the Caelian and the Aventine also began after this catastrophe.

The Norman invasion was probably more effective in destroying monuments of antiquity than any of the earlier barbarian visitations. The quarter of the Campus Martius had also suffered. But it was there that the work of restoration was initiated, and that the new Rome of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance arose. Notwithstanding a chronic war of factions the city in its more restricted area recovered rapidly after the Norman invasion. The Jews, indispensable as bankers and credited with valuable knowledge of medicine and surgery, had, as a rule, been treated with humanity in medieval Rome, and the revival was no doubt largely assisted by their co-operation and advances which they were able to secure from their correspondents in other cities.

The war of investitures was not terminated by the death of Hildebrand as a refugee among his faithful Normans, nor, indeed, by that of Henry IV twenty-one years later. It continued to react on the internal state of Rome where the Frangipani were generally supreme, driving the duly elected popes into exile in favour of imperial antipopes. The Concordat of Worms, in 1122, established a precarious peace between the Empire and the Church, which was able to claim the more solid advantage. But the civic struggle was renewed by the disputed papal election of 1130, when the Frangipani induced a small minority of the sacred college to proclaim their candidate as Innocent II, while their bitterest enemy, Peter Pierleone, was canonically elected as Anacletus II. The descendant of the Jew of Trastevere held the contested throne for some eight years, but after his death the influence of S. Bernard secured the reversion for his rival. Like Leo IX,

Innocent II took the field to restrain the aggression of Roger the Norman, and, like his predecessor, became the captive of the king of Sicily. Innocent, treated by his captor with no less deference than Leo, confirmed Roger in his possession of Sicily and all the Norman annexations in southern Italy except Benevento.

Meanwhile, half a century of conflict had left its permanent effect on social life, and, during the devastating struggle which had engaged the partisanship of every class, new currents of thought had stirred the minds of simple men to rise above the dull stagnation of the darker ages. The dawning conception of civic liberty which inspired the communes (see Chap. 106) to assert their independence became also perceptible in Rome. As in the period preceding the emergence of Hildebrand there had been a religious revivalism, so now the social philosopher found fertile ground to sow with new ideas. Arnold of Brescia,

himself a canon of the Church, assuming the character of a tribune of the people, attacked the worldliness of the clergy, the temporal power and the monopolies of the nobles. The quarrel between Church and State had revealed the vulnerability of both the ecclesiastical and the oligarchical authority. Not only had circumstances tended to weaken the link with the Empire, but the rule of the popes, sustained by a group of nobles, had become intolerable to an awakening burgher class towards which gravitated some of the minor nobility who could not compete with the great consular houses.

A local war between Rome and Tivoli and the veto of Innocent II on the vengeance which the Romans sought to exact for a first repulse provided the spark which fired the train of insurrection against the pope. If Arnold of Brescia was not actually present during the rising, it was his teaching that stimulated the spirit of revolt. Innocent died during the struggle which, in 1143, re-established the republic of Rome. After a suspension of some six hundred years the Senate was reconstituted on the Capitol.

From this body the nobles were theoretically excluded. Nevertheless, the

brother of Anacletus II, Giordano Pierleone, who had embraced the popular side, was appointed 'patricius.' The successor of Innocent, Lucius II, who appealed to arms in defence of his temporal authority, was wounded in the head by a stone and died apparently from the effects. Eugenius III, who replaced him, after some hesitation came to terms with the republic. Four senators were to be elected from each of the fourteen regions into which the reconstituted city was divided, and to receive investiture from the pope. The pontifical authority thus obtained recognition while the Romans secured political autonomy.

Peace, however, was not destined to endure, and while continual disputes with the new order compelled Eugenius to take refuge in France, Arnold of Brescia was adopted as the councillor of the republic. The pope then proclaimed a holy war against the Romans, who appealed to Conrad of Hohenstaufen. The German king was already in negotiation with Eugenius, but he died in 1152 before his plans had matured, and his son Frederick Barbarossa, who had to choose between the two competitors for his support, decided in favour of the pope.

Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman who ever wore the tiara, on his election as Adrian IV in December, 1154, refused to recognize the

Betrayal of Senate. The Romans
Arnold of Brescia on their part declined to expel Arnold of Brescia, and secretly approached the king of Sicily. The uncompromising Adrian did not hesitate to employ the most dreaded weapon of a superstitious age, and laid Rome under an interdict which was only removed after the banishment of the great reformer. The penitent citizens then conducted the pope to the Lateran. Meanwhile he was watching, not without preoccupation, the victorious advance of the German king through northern Italy towards his ultimate goal, the overthrow of the Normans in the South. Frederick's anxiety to conclude the protracted negotiations for his coronation induced him to procure the arrest of Arnold, who was surrendered to the pope to die unrepentant as a martyr of liberty.

The two masterful princes, spiritual and temporal, had their first encounter in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the unyielding Englishman, though abandoned by the timid cardinals, refused the kiss of peace until the haughty Frederick had consented to hold his stirrup. The Romans, who were unsuccessful in extracting guarantees from the emperor elect, after an exchange of bombastic messages, closed their gates. During the banquet which followed the coronation, they attacked the German camp, and a battle raged round the bridge of S. Angelo, from which they withdrew with heavy losses behind the city walls.

The ensuing period of struggle between Frederick and the successors of Hildebrand encouraged the northern communes to vindicate their rights, and hereafter the names **Struggle between Papacy and Empire** of Guelph and Ghibelline were employed to

distinguish the partisans of the Papacy or the Empire. The Romans gravitated from one side to the other, but Adrian remained absent through the greater part of his reign, and Alexander III, an equally determined upholder of ecclesiastical supremacy, at one time took refuge in France. Frederick, who was hated for his cruelty, was reconciled to the Church after his crushing defeat at Legnano in 1176, and the signature of the 'Perpetual Peace of Constance.' But he sought by the marriage of his son Henry to Constance, the heiress of the Norman kings of Sicily, to establish a counterpoise to the Papacy, which, in alliance with the democratic communes, now overshadowed the imperial authority.

The Roman Republic, absorbed in local interests and deprived of the support of the Empire which time and circumstance had enfeebled, fell once more under the influence of the Church. The nobles, originally excluded from the Senate, had regained admission, and were only prevented from reconstituting an oligarchy by a revolution, which substituted a single senator for the elected body. Frederick Barbarossa disappeared in Asia Minor on his way to join the Third Crusade. His heir, the ambitious Henry VI, died in 1197, and hardly a year later the widowed

Constance followed him, leaving their infant son, Frederick, under the guardianship of Innocent III, the scion of a feudal house of German origin, who had been elected to the papal throne in 1198.

The greatest of medieval popes assumed the tiara at a propitious moment. He induced the Romans to place the nomination of the senator in his hands, and received the oath of investiture from the prefect who had represented the imperial authority. But, with the accession of Innocent, the shattering effects of the Fourth Crusade and the beginning of the long struggle between the Papacy and the house of Hohenstaufen, a new chapter in history opens (see Chap. 110). It only remains here to consider the internal conditions prevailing in Rome in the second half of the twelfth century.

Our knowledge of the topography of the city in the latter days of the Roman

Empire is mainly dependent on two registers, the **Twelfth-century** **city registers** *Curiosum Urbis* and the

Notitia, the former anterior to, the latter contemporary with, the younger Theodosius. For medieval Rome we must refer to two documents of the twelfth century, both drawn from older and perhaps the same sources. After foreign religious communities had settled there and founded hospices to which pilgrims flocked from every country, catalogues of the monuments with notices of ceremonials and legends were prepared for their instruction. Such are the *Graphia Aureae Urbis Romae* and the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, both of them much disfigured by ignorant copyists.

As early as the tenth century there were in the city some forty monasteries or convents of monks, as many of nuns, and sixty chapters of canons or colleges of priests, many of those who thus enjoyed the privileges of clerical status being foreigners. By the twelfth century nobles and abbots had converted into defensible precincts all the chief remaining structures of antiquity. External archways of ancient buildings, when not walled up to complete the outworks of a stronghold, had been appropriated by the artisan class to instal looms or forges. The tunnelled vaults of the Flaminian Circus, fitted with

marble counters for petty trade, gave its present name to the Street of the Dark Shops. Each art or craft had its own particular quarter.

The old triumphal arches heightened with battlements served as keeps, and every bridge-head was dominated by some defensive work. During civic strife, which was chronic for centuries, towers were rapidly improvised and as rapidly overthrown. The senator Brancaleoni in 1257 condemned no fewer than 140, which were demolished by a populace resentful of the tyranny they symbolised. With these, no doubt portions of ancient monuments on which they were based subsided into rubbish heaps obstructing communications. It has been calculated that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some 300 such towers were standing, to which must be added the 360 of the city walls and not less than 200 belfries. Rome must have appeared like a forest of turrets. It is, in fact, so represented in a fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli at San Gimignano.

The famous columns of Trajan and Antoninus were happily preserved from incorporation in military works by being granted in possession to religious orders which derived a substantial revenue from visitors. Special measures for their conservation were, moreover, taken by the resuscitated Senate.

The Frangipani fortified the Circus Maximus and made a stronghold on the Palatine dominated by the *Turris Cartularia*, so named because it served the great nobles for a time as a storehouse for papal archives. The arches of Constantine, Titus and Janus Quadrifrons were outposts of their domain. They also contested the possession of the Colosseum with the Annibaldi, who advanced from the region of the Lateran. The Pierleoni held Tiber island and the theatre of Marcellus as well as posts in Trastevere, where the Normanni, the Romani and the Stefaneschi were entrenched.

The theatre of Pompey was the first stronghold of the Orsini, who also obtained possession of Monte Giordano, commanding the bridge of S. Angelo and the approach to S. Peter's. The Crescentii occupied the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal, and

later the region of the Pantheon. In the new city of the Campus Martius arose the towers of the Sanguigni and the Millini, still conspicuous in the streets of seventeenth-century Rome. The Mausoleum of Augustus became one of the castles of the Colonna, whose headquarters were on the Quirinal. It was not till after the accession of Innocent III that the most formidable of all the city fortresses, the Tor

dei Conti, was built by his brother Richard. Its great rival, the Torre delle Milizie, which had belonged to the Annibaldi and passed in the reign of Boniface VIII to his nephew Peter Gaetani, still stands where the Quirinal slope descends towards the Forum of Trajan, the most important surviving monument of medieval Rome. The ancient Via Sacra of the triumphs had been replaced by a new 'via sancta,'



MEDIEVAL ROME'S FOREST OF TURRETS AND SPIRES

In the church of S. Agostino at San Gimignano in Tuscany is a famous series of seventeen frescoes painted by Benozzo Gozzoli between 1463 and 1467, depicting scenes from the life of S. Augustine. The one here reproduced shows the forest of turrets and spires that Rome still resembled in the fifteenth century, the great families having erected hundreds of such towers. Thirteen similar turrets still stand at San Gimignano itself, which remains in appearance a thoroughly medieval town.

Photo, courtesy of Sir Robert Will

along which ceremonial processions threaded a circuitous and often obstructed way through a labyrinth of ruins, pausing to ascend the Capitol between S. Peter's and the Lateran.

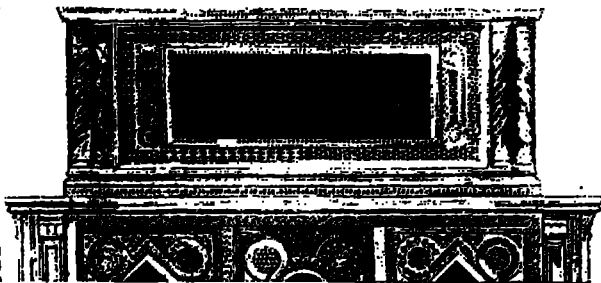
For the majority, life in the towns of the Middle Ages was grey and joyless. A picturesqueness of survival tempts us to forget the unscavenged squalor of the narrow streets and the unrelieved darkness which succeeded the winter sunset, when there was little light even within the comfortable houses. Its grimmest feature was perhaps the monotony of existence, diversified only by religious ceremonies, or the unwelcome passage of lawless men-at-arms. From the former evils Rome was not more exempt than lesser medieval towns; indeed, its heritage of ruin, with vast spaces denuded of inhabitants, must have emphasised the city's sombre aspect. But there was certainly no monotony, and the vehemence of life which characterised the Middle Ages was nowhere so urgent as in the ecclesiastical state, where the upholders of the temporal power and the partisans of autonomy were in perpetual conflict, where the visits of postulants for the imperial crown were repeatedly the occasion of sanguinary encounters.

Pilgrims and missions were continually arriving with news of the world outside. There was abundance of ceremonial and pageant. The rigid formalism which governed society north of the Alps was unknown, but the contrast was as vivid between the lives of the powerful and the

obscure, and there was no middle way. Wealth accumulated in the hands of the Church, and large revenues passed to the clerical members of the dominant oligarchy. The teaching of S. Francis, who was born in 1182, was a protest against the meretricious luxury and corruption of his age. In Rome, as throughout Italy, life was Cruelty in intense, individualistic and social life cruel, and for the most part unredeemed by the virtues of the spirit of chivalry, which had its origin in medieval France and spread to England and Germany. Courage and the martial spirit were not lacking, but they were rarely ennobled by the lust of honour or the knightly canons of love and sacrifice. The attachment of loyalty was only to family or clan.

With the restoration of the city and the return of prosperity, and especially after the revolution of 1143 had brought to the front a new class whose instincts were less piratical and monopolistic, a greater desire for culture and a certain revival of the creative spirit in art and architecture manifested itself. The craft of the stonemason began to flourish and continued actively productive until the migration of the popes to Avignon. The immense quantities of marble collected in imperial Rome, which littered the sites of ancient buildings or still lay on the river wharf under the Aventine, offered a free quarry to sculptors, many of whom, not necessarily of Roman birth, established workshops and enriched the

churches with tabernacles and monuments. A delicate and beautiful art, combining sculpture with mosaic, was initiated towards the end of the twelfth century by the Cosmati, father and sons, and was practised by several generations of their descendants. A member of the family, mentioned in the records as Peter the Roman, was summoned to England to decorate the Plantagenet tombs in Westminster Abbey. But their work is otherwise only found in Rome and in a restricted area of central Italy.



COSMATI MOSAICS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Henry III's altar-tomb and pedestal are of Purbeck marble with Italian marble inlay and marble and glass mosaic by Peter the Roman, a member of the Cosmati family. On the north face of the tomb, here reproduced, enough of his work remains to give a good idea of its beauty and delicacy.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments

THE EMPIRE OF THE SELJUK TURKS

How rough Chieftains from Central Asia united the Divisions and arrested the Decline of Islam

By Sir E. DENISON ROSS C.I.E. Ph.D.

Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution ; Professor of Persian in the University of London ; Author of *History of the Moguls of Central Asia*, etc.

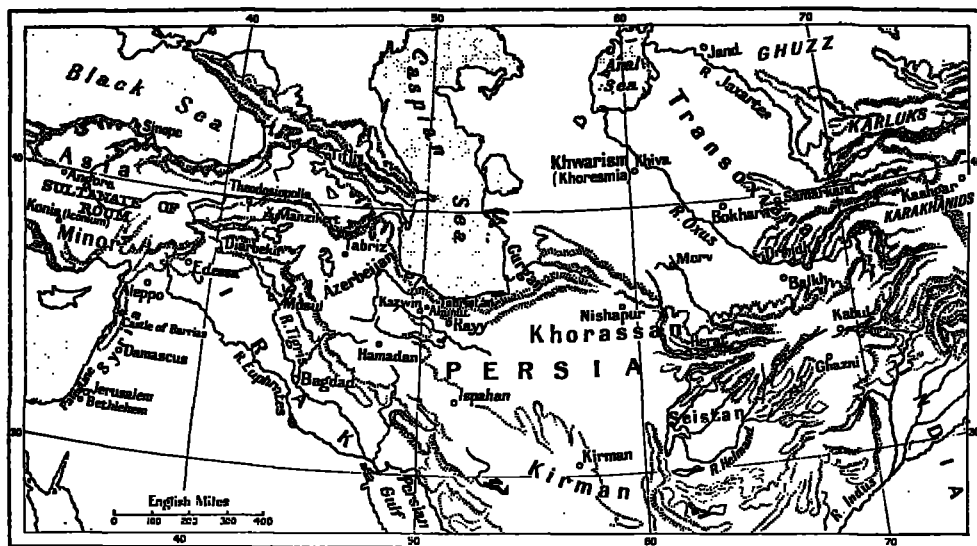
THE Seljuks were Turks, and we first hear of them at the end of the tenth century in Transoxiana. Their presence in that country and their subsequent progress cannot be understood without some knowledge of the previous migrations of the Turks and some acquaintance with the political conditions prevailing in central Asia at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

As early as the sixth century of our era, a Turkish khan had united all the Turks of central Asia, and had exchanged missions with the court of Byzantium with a view to an alliance which they had hoped might result in the overthrow of the Sassanid Empire. Nothing came of these negotiations, and shortly afterwards the Turks split into two kingdoms, the Eastern and the Western, never again to unite. Towards the end of the eighth century we find two Turkish hordes on the frontier of Transoxiana ; the Karluks on the upper reaches of the Jaxartes and the Oghuz or Ghuzz on the lower reaches. In and around Kashgar was a powerful branch of the Turks called the Karakhanids, who are said to have been converted to Islam in the middle of the tenth century ; but of their precise origin we have no information. Their kings were called 'ilaks.' In the last decade of the tenth century the Islamic countries in Asia were distributed among various rulers in the following way :

Transoxiana, the country between the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers, with its main towns Samarkand and Bokhara ; Khorassan, which was bounded on the east by the Oxus, and included at this time the towns of Herat and Merv ; the

country of the Afghans, with its capital Ghazni ; and finally Khorasmia (Khiva), between the Caspian and the Sea of Aral—all these constituted the kingdom of the Persian dynasty known as the Samanids, who for years had enjoyed real independence, while outwardly acknowledging the supreme authority of the khalif at Bagdad. They were now rapidly approaching the end of their power, thanks mainly to the behaviour of Sabuktagin, their Turkish governor in Ghazni. The khalif of Bagdad, Kaim, was a mere puppet in the hands of the Buwayhids (Bouids), a Shiah family who held various principalities in Persia and Irak. In the north of Persia and Azerbaijan there were a number of petty local kingdoms. The Shiah dynasty of Fatimid anti-khalifs was ruling over Egypt and Syria. The Byzantine Empire extended to the borders of Syria and Palestine.

Sabuktagin was among the number of infidel Turks taken prisoner by the Samanids. He had been purchased as a slave and taken by his master to Ghazni, where he so greatly distinguished himself that in A.D. 977 he was proclaimed emir of Ghazni ; and for the next twenty years he made himself indispensable to the Samanid ruler, Nuh. During this period the Karakhanids had made several invasions into Transoxiana, and in 996 Nuh was obliged to appeal for aid to Sabuktagin, who entered Transoxiana with a force so much stronger than that of his nominal master that he was able to conclude a separate peace with the ilak of the Karakhanids. Sabuktagin had already made himself the virtual master of Khorassan, so that when in 998 his



STAGE ON WHICH THE LEADERS OF TURKISH HORDES BUILT THEIR POWER

The Turks had been known in the Middle East since the sixth century, and Turkish mercenaries had sapped the strength of the Bagdad khalifate by the tenth; but the real power in that century was the Persian Samanid dynasty ruling from Khorassan to Afghanistan. Their slave general, Sabuktigin, emir of Ghazni, established the first Turkish kingdom, dividing the Samanid realm with the Karakhanids. Karakhanids and Ghaznavids were threatened by the Ghuzz, of whom the Seljuks were a tribe; and by 1059 the Seljuk Tughril had mastered all Ghaznavid territory west of Ghazni itself.

famous son Mahmud came to be emir of Ghazni he found himself in complete control of all the Samanid provinces south and west of the Oxus.

In A.D. 999 the Karakhanid ilak occupied Bokhara without opposition and seized the Samanid treasury; and thus this Persian dynasty came to an end and the kingdom was divided between the Ghaznavid and the Karakhanid Turks. The next twenty-five years witness constant disputes and hostilities between these rivals; but Mahmud was far too busily employed with campaigns in Persia, and with his annual raids into India, to devote himself seriously to crushing the Karakhanids. In 1017, however, he found time to invade Khoresmia, and set up one of his generals, Altuntash, as Khwarazmshah—a high-sounding title which from early times had been assumed by the governors of this province.

In A.D. 1026 Mahmud received letters patent from the Abbasid khalif Kadir, in which he was recognized as the legitimate successor to the Samanids and as supreme ruler of the eastern territories of Islam. Mahmud, by means of good

generalship and amazing physical activity, had managed to hold together the heterogeneous kingdom he had conquered, including the Hindu states of northern India; but the task proved too much for his less active son, Mas'ud, who succeeded to the throne of Ghazni in 1030. Ultimately he was obliged to choose between India and Persia, and it was his decision to hold India at all costs that weakened his hold on Khorassan and facilitated the progress of the Seljuks. The Ghuzz Turks had by this time arrived in vast hordes in Transoxiana; and already in the Samanid period many of them had settled round Samarkand and Bokhara. The Ghuzz, like the Turcomans, belonged to the Western Turks, and on arrival in Moslem territory soon adopted the religion of the Arabian prophet, and always became rigidly orthodox Sunnis, a circumstance which had very far-reaching influence on the history of Islam.

Among the Ghuzz who arrived from Turkistan at the end of the Samanid period was a group who settled for a time

Realm of the
Ghaznavids

in the district of Jand on the Jaxartes, to the east of Khorasmia, who were known by the name of their chieftain, Seljuk. We first hear of them as helping the Samanids to repel the invasions of the Karakhanids. A story is also related that Mahmud of Ghazni in the last year of his reign seized one of the sons of Seljuk and allowed him to die in captivity in an Indian fort. Of this man's grandson we shall hear later.

The Ghuzz of this time were arriving in Khorassan from both sides of the Oxus, and were being driven out again by the Ghaznavids, and scattered westwards as far as Hamadan and Mosul, robbing and pillaging as they went, and making good government impossible for the lesser princes of Persia and Irak. Thus, gradually, the whole of northern Persia was overrun by Turks, who formed a valuable nucleus of partisans for the more or less organized hordes which were soon to arrive in Persia under the leadership of the indomitable Seljuks.

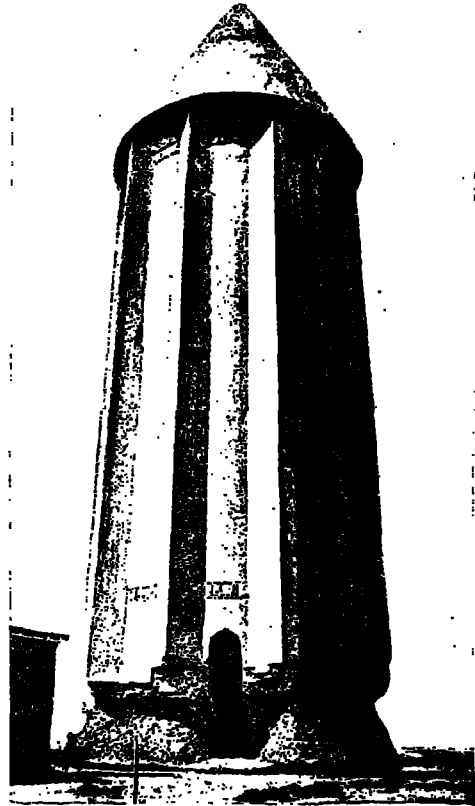
One naturally asks what particular quality it was that differentiated the Seljuks from the numerous other hordes which were continually passing into Khorassan and beyond. August Müller, one of the few modern historians to write on the Seljuks, says:

One can easily imagine that the one or two thousand men who entered Khorassan under the Seljuk brothers in A.D. 1035 must have increased tenfold by A.D. 1040. In any case the far-reaching conquests of the next twenty years presuppose a considerable military force, and the masses of Turks we soon after find in Azerbaijan, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor justify the theory that we have to deal with a real world-migration.

The sudden rise of the Seljuks may possibly have been due solely to the personal factor. Really capable men like Tughril and his brother Chaghri by sheer individual prestige attracted to their banners Turks of any horde that was in their neighbourhood, just as Jenghiz Khan, though actually a Mongol, attracted to his side countless Turks. That we know so little of the rest of the Ghuzz is no doubt due to the fact that, as they found no great leader, the

name of their tribe or tribes was ignored by native historians; and having reached the end of their wanderings they either became merged in the local population, or attached themselves to some new chieftain who might be moving farther afield.

We next hear of the Seljuks—under the two brothers, Tughril Beg and Chaghri Beg, the grandsons of Seljuk—forming an alliance in 1034 with the Ghaznavid governor of Khorasmia, who had revolted against his masters. In the following year, dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the Khwarazmshah, they decided to follow the example of other Ghuzz and cross the Oxus into Khorassan, where they managed to make themselves



TOMB OF A SAMANID

The Samanids were the native dynasty in Persia who preceded the Ghaznavid, Karakhanid and Seljuk Turks. This is the tomb of a Samanid emir, Shams el-Ma'ali, at Gumbed-i-Kabus in Astarabad; it was completed in 997.

From Glück and Dietz, 'Die Kunst des Islam'

masters of the important towns of Nasa, Merv and Nishapur. A battle at Dandangan in A.D. 1040 finally put an end to Ghaznavid rule in Khorassan. Mas'ud of Ghazni, who had been during this time mainly engaged with the affairs of India, now, too late, awoke to the gravity of the situation in the north, and made several attempts to drive the Seljuks out of Khorassan; as did also his son Maudud, who succeeded him in 1042. The actual possession of this great province continued a question of dispute down to 1059, when by a treaty it was definitely ceded to the Seljuks, together with Balkh, Herat and Seistan.

While Chaghri Beg was left to consolidate the power of the Seljuks in Khorassan,

Absorption of Persia Tughril Beg was pursuing a career of conquest in the west, and parcelling out his newly acquired territories among his numerous brothers and nephews. These early conquests included Irak, Kirman, Azerbaijan, Hamadan and Gurgan. He selected Rayy as his first capital.

Persia was at this time split up into a number of independent principalities, which had nothing in common but their nominal recognition of the khalif; and there could be no question of any combined effort on their part to show a united front to the advancing armies of Tughril. The once powerful Buwayhids, who since the middle of the tenth century had exercised complete control over the khalifs of Bagdad, owing to family feuds had lost much of their former power and influence; and although they were able by obstinate bravery to delay Tughril's progress through southern Persia—notably at Kirman in 1047 and at Ispahan in 1051, which only surrendered after being completely starved out—they were obliged in 1055 to recognize defeat.

In A.D. 1054 Tughril determined on a final coup, and after securing his flank by a successful raid into Azerbaijan, marched direct on Bagdad. Here the political situation was all in his favour. The Shiah Buwayhids had placed the affairs of the orthodox khalif under the control of a certain Basasiri, whose position had been much weakened by the hostility of the Beduin chiefs of Irak. Bagdad was more-

over the scene of constant disputes between the Sunnis and Shiahs of the city. The arrival of the orthodox Tughril in the neighbourhood must have inspired new hope in the heart of the khalif Kaim—who was even suspected of having invited the redoubtable Turk to come and deliver him from his Shiah guardians.

In December, 1055, Tughril entered Bagdad in state, and was loaded with favours by the khalif, who seated him on a throne and clothed him with a robe of honour. The conversation they now held was interpreted by Tughril's famous wazir Kunduri. Tughril probably only spoke Turkish, for none of the Seljuks were educated men, and we have it on good authority that even Sanjar, the last of the great Seljuks, was illiterate. They left learning and the encouragement of learning to their Persian ministers. We may recall that the great Akbar of Delhi is said to have been illiterate, but no one could accuse him of a lack of culture.

On the approach of Tughril, Basasiri had fled, and although no opposition was raised against the Seljuk's entry into Bagdad, the presence of the nomad hordes was by no means welcome to the inhabitants. In order to avoid possible disturbances, which might minimise the political advantages he had gained, Tughril shortly afterwards left Bagdad, but not before giving his niece, the daughter of Chaghri Beg, in marriage to the khalif, thus cementing the good understanding arrived at between the first Arab in the land and the self-made Turk. During the following twelve months Tughril and his generals subdued Mosul and Diarbekir.

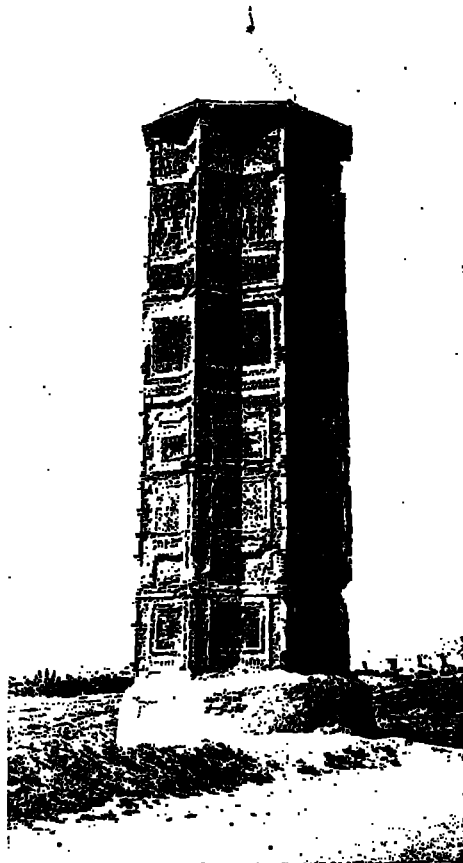
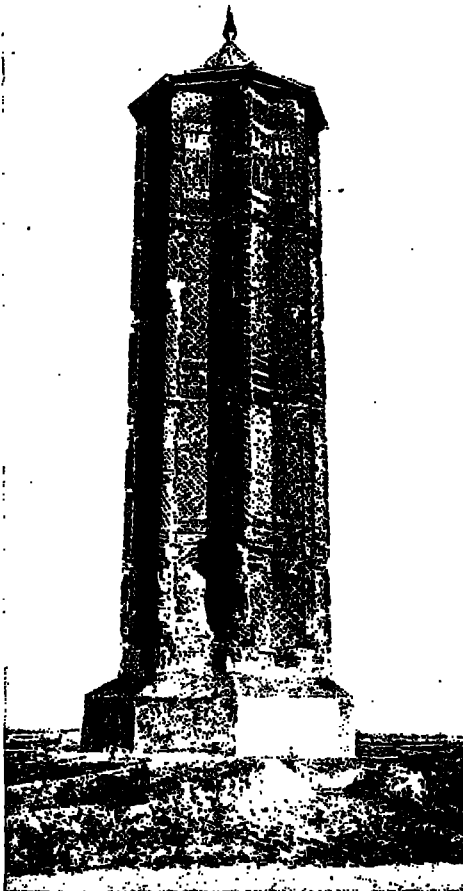
Marriage alliance with Khalifate

Meanwhile, Basasiri was planning revenge. He gathered round him many of the Iraki Beduin chiefs, intrigued with the Fatimids of Cairo, and even stirred up dissension among the Seljuks themselves, by inducing Ibrahim ibn Inal, a cousin of Tughril's who had been made governor of Hamadan, to revolt. It must here be noted that the Turks always retained the idea of the family, and though they recognized the head of the clan they did not aim at sole and individual rule by one chief, but bestowed

newly conquered territories on their immediate kinsmen, giving them almost independent powers. The same characteristic is equally notable in the case of the Mongols at a later period, when Jenghiz divided his vast empire among his sons. This was a very different policy from that pursued by other Oriental dynasties, whose kings on acceding to the throne were in the habit of putting to death or, at best, blinding all potential rivals, especially their brothers. The subsequent history of the great Seljuks goes to show how dangerous this policy might become

when the nomads began to settle in a strange land. The revolt of Ibrahim ibn Inal was a case in point; and the situation was only saved by the prompt action of Tughril who sent three of his nephews to punish the rebel, and having captured him caused him to be strangled with the string of his own bow.

Tughril next turned his attention to Basasiri and his Beduin chiefs, who had in the interval reoccupied the residency in Bagdad; and in a fierce engagement which ensued Basasiri, deserted by his new allies, fell into Tughril's hands and



TOWERS OF VICTORY THAT COMMEMORATE THE GHAZNAVID TURKS

Sabuktigin's son was Mahmud of Ghazni (reigned 998-1030), who conquered and held the north of India. There his ideas were enlarged by Hindu magnificence, and Ghazni became a splendour of brick and marble. Only two of probably many towers of victory remain, that of Mahmud himself (left) and of his great-grandson Mas'ud III, who reigned 1099-1144, after the west was lost to the Seljuks. The caps are modern, for preservation; originally there was another, slenderer stage.

From Godard, 'Ghazni'

was beheaded. This was in A.D. 1059, and after this success the founder of the Seljuk state refrained from all further aggression and set about the consolidation of his empire.

Chaghri Beg had just died, and his son, Alp Arslan, was given the governorship of the eastern provinces. Chaghri's widow, who was his second wife and the mother of his son Sulayman, was now married to Tughril. Although Tughril seems to have grown weary of campaigning, his ambitions were not altogether satisfied; in spite of his old age he had made up his mind to ally himself yet more closely with the khalif, and sent his wazir,

Negotiations with Bagdad Kunduri, to ask for the hand of the khalif's daughter. But in spite of the deep obligations of the khalif towards the man who had released him from Shiah tutelage, and in spite of the fact that Tughril could at any moment dethrone him, his aristocratic Arab blood revolted against an alliance with this crude Turkish chieftain who was devoid of all the elegancies and nearly seventy years of age, and he at first refused. Some writers have also suggested that the initial refusal was prompted by a desire to make the price as high as possible, and indeed one of the conditions imposed was the immediate restoration of the khalif's sovereignty over Bagdad.

Not before the end of A.D. 1062 was Kunduri able to report a successful termination to the long drawn out negotiations, and at the beginning of the following year preparations were made for the marriage, which was to take place in Tughril's capital, Rayy. The princess on reaching Tabriz learnt—we may imagine to her great relief—that the bridegroom had died after a short illness. Thus was the great Tughril cheated of the fulfilment of his last ambition.

In less than twenty-five years, from their first successes in Khorassan in 1037 down to the death of Tughril in 1063, these two brothers had conquered the whole of Persia proper, and what is perhaps equally remarkable had introduced orderly government into a country which for nearly two hundred years had been the scene of discord and civil war. But

it was not only Persia that was resuscitated by the conquering Seljuks: Islam itself seemed on the eve of disruption; neither the Sunni nor the Shiah khalifs were able to give it anything approaching its earlier homogeneity; there was no really paramount Mahomedan power in Asia. It was Tughril who revived the waning prestige of Islam, who postponed for nearly two hundred years the extermination of the Bagdad khalifate; and it was his conquests which paved the way for the foundation of the last great Mahomedan empire, that of the Ottomans of Turkey. The failure of the crusaders to make a lasting impression in Asia may also be largely accounted for by the existence of this strong central empire.

It is one thing to conquer, and another to hold, and we must not forget that the Turks, though great soldiers, were very seldom administrators; but, like the early khalifs of Bagdad, they entrusted the highest civil offices to the Persians. And if the Seljuks were fortunate in their leaders they were equally fortunate in the great Persian ministers whom they attached to their service; without whom it is unlikely that they would have been so clearly distinguished from the many hordes of Turks who swept across Asia.

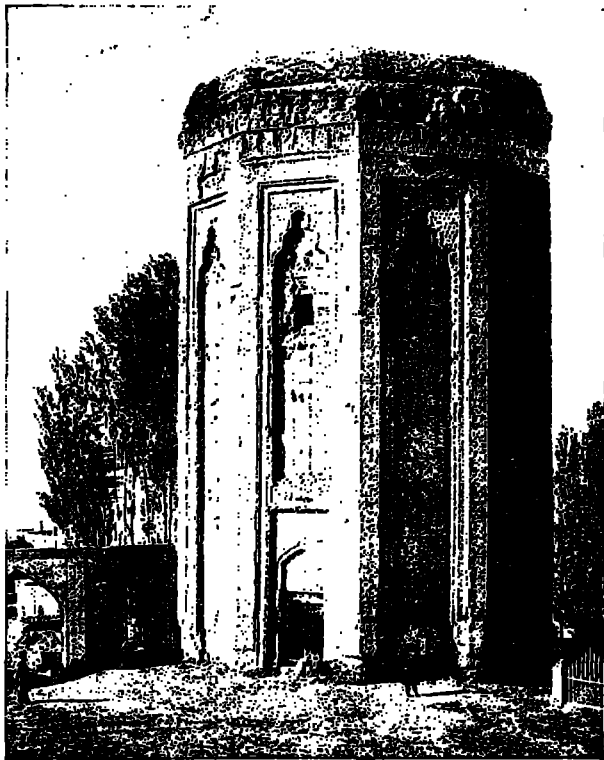
It was, however, a grave misfortune for the Oriental world that the race which contributed most to the strength and continuance of Islam should have been illiterate and uncultured barbarians. **Culture of the Turks** These epithets do not, of course, apply to all the Turks. Long before the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, who, at any rate, attracted to his court the first men of letters of his day, there were branches of the Turks, notably the Uighurs, who had taken to a settled life and had developed a literature of their own.

The nomad Turk, however, had no predilection for letters or art, and, in spite of the generous patronage which men like the wazir Nizam ul-Mulk gave to literature and science, the triumph of the Turk over the Arab gave a permanent set-back to that appreciation of Western thought and science which the Arabs had displayed immediately after their emergence from the desert. For the Arabs, who brought

nothing with them but their rich language and its fine poetry, at once showed an eagerness to benefit by their intercourse with both Byzantium and Persia, and from the treasure house of Greek science laid the foundations of a vast literature comprising philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences, which though it owed its origin to Greek or Syriac originals soon took on a character of its own and gave rise to various native schools of thought; but the subject of Arab culture is fully considered in Chapter 97.

The Turks, who brought nothing with them, cared for none of these things, and it was only thanks to their cultured Persian advisers that Arabic learning and Persian literature survived. It is true the Seljuks did not, as did the Mongols two hundred years later, set out to destroy the monuments of Mahomedan literature, and this must be reckoned to their credit; for the Mongols, like the Seljuks, had in their service such men as Rashid ed-Din and Juwaini the historians, who were the intellectual equals of Kunduri and Nizam ul-Mulk but were powerless to stay the wholesale destruction of the libraries of Bagdad wrought by Hulagu. It should also be borne in mind that although the mass of warriors who composed the Turkish hordes were quite rough, their leaders often showed themselves susceptible to refined influences. A Mahomedan geographer of the Middle Ages observes of the Turks: 'Their princes are warlike, provident, firm and just; they are distinguished by admirable qualities; the nation is cruel, wild, coarse and ignorant.'

It is difficult for us to judge whether the peaceful merchant or cultivator was able to notice the difference between the raids of the Ghuzz and the invasion of the Seljuks; both were probably more alarming than the constant wars between the



SELJUK TOMB IN AZERBEIJAN

Azerbaijan fell early under Seljuk dominance, passing eventually to the Seljuks of Roum. This is the mausoleum, dated 1186, at Nakhjiwan of Mumina Khatun, a queen and a Turk as her title 'khatun' implies; it is faced with bricks coated in coloured glaze and elaborately ornamented.

From Gluck and Dietz, 'Die Kunst des Islam'

Ghaznavids and the local Persian princes. In these last it was mainly the regular soldiery which were engaged, under trained generals, whereas the Ghuzz, who were solely bent on loot and pillage, were allowed to practise without restraint every kind of depredation. The military adventures of the princes and their generals often make good reading, and their prowess fills us with admiration; but we are apt to feel the aimlessness of it all, to be disgusted by the wanton waste of human life, and to regret the absence of all cultural interest outside the field of religious fanaticism. A thick mist of battle, murder and rebellion seems to lie like a shroud over every page of Islamic history and leaves one with the impression that the average man spent his days in either apprehension or terror.

Yet we know that, in spite of constant wars and rebellions, the system of administration under the Samanids and the Seljuks was elaborate and sound in theory, and that on the whole justice was well administered. Moreover, in the midst of all this rivalry of warring chiefs and the burnings and pillagings of towns, the student in his cell, the astronomer in his tower, the poet at court and the preacher in the mosque still exist; but as they are for the most part ignored by the chronicler of the day we must discover their existence by piecing together the broken mosaics which may be found in the rare books of travel, and in those rare passages in Persian poetry which contain personal allusions or references to passing events.

At the moment of Tughril's death, Chaghri Beg's second wife, whom he had married after his brother's death, was present in Rayy with her son Sulayman, who was Tughril's nephew and stepson. Alp Arslan, Chaghri

Events after
Tughril's death

Beg's eldest son by a former wife, was at his headquarters in Khorassan with the wazir Hasan ibn Ali, who is better known by his title of Nizam ul-Mulk. Tughril's wazir Kunduri, who had served his master so long and so faithfully, was anxious to set the child Sulayman on the throne, seeing in such an arrangement his best chance of continuing in power. He declared this to have been the wish expressed by the dying sultan.

It is surprising that a man of Kunduri's experience should have made such a mistake; for he must have known that Alp Arslan, with his prior claims and his already great reputation as a governor and as a soldier, would not tolerate the succession of this mere boy. It was only when he found that Tughril's generals were equally opposed to the arrangement that Kunduri changed his policy, and all too late tried to curry favour with Alp Arslan, who marched into Rayy as sultan and caused Kunduri to be arrested and sent to Merv. After a year's captivity Kunduri was put to death in the most cold-blooded manner by the orders of Alp Arslan, instigated probably by Nizam ul-Mulk, who now occupied Kunduri's post as first minister to the Seljuk sultan.

Kunduri was only forty years of age when he was killed, and though he ceded his high office to an even better man than himself, his faithful services to Alp Arslan's uncle might reasonably have saved him from a humiliating death. The manner in which he met his end shows him to have been a man of fine spirit. The two men sent to kill him had orders to strangle him, but he persuaded them to use the sword, and binding his own eyes with two strips torn from his sleeve awaited the death stroke. To the sultan and Nizam ul-Mulk he sent the following spirited messages:

Say to the King: 'Lo! a fortunate service has your service been to me: for your uncle gave me the world to rule over, whilst you, in giving me the martyr's portion, have given me the other world; so by your service have I gained this world and the next!' And to the Wazir say: 'An evil innovation and an ugly practice have you introduced into the world by putting to death dismissed ministers! I pray you may experience the same in your own person and in the persons of your descendants.'

No one reading the history of the Seljuks can fail to regret that Nizam ul-Mulk, who is really the central figure of the period, should have made his first appearance on the stage in such unpleasant circumstances. It must, however, be recognized that there was not room for two such men as Kunduri and Nizam ul-Mulk in one state. As the poet Sa'di says: 'Ten dervishes can sleep on one carpet, but a whole empire will not hold two kings.' There can be no question that Nizam ul-Mulk was the more capable man, and but for him it is unlikely that the Seljuk epoch would have attained such great brilliance.

Alp Arslan, who succeeded to the throne of his uncle Tughril in 1063, was during a reign of less than ten years mainly occupied in consolidating his empire. The most notable change in policy was a certain relaxation of the religious prescriptions of the previous reign. The new sultan undertook a few highly successful campaigns, the most notable of which was that conducted against the Byzantine emperor Diogenes Romanus, whom he defeated in 1071 at the battle of

Triumph of
Nizam ul-Mulk

Malazgird (or Manzikert; see page 2514). The emperor fought most bravely in his efforts to stem defeat, and was eventually taken prisoner in a hand-to-hand fight. In the hour of his triumph Alp Arslan displayed great moderation; he treated the captive emperor with every consideration and granted his freedom at the conclusion of a treaty of peace that had among its conditions the restoration of all Mahomedan prisoners and the payment of an enormous sum of gold.

Alp Arslan also recovered Aleppo and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the anti-khalifs of Egypt. Although he did not follow up his success against the Byzantines, the victory not only paved the way for the Seljuk dynasty of Roum, which was established by Sulayman ibn Kutulmish in 1077, but also deprived the Byzantine army of its best recruits.

Alp Arslan in the following year turned his attention to his eastern possessions, one of his objects being to confirm the submission of the khan of Jand—that country from which the race of Seljuk had withdrawn thirty years before. He set out from Nishapur for Bokhara with an army of 20,000 men. He crossed the Oxus over a specially constructed bridge; as he encamped on the other side, the commander of a newly captured fort forced his way into the sultan's tent, and an angry dispute ensued. The sultan ordered him to be impaled; and when the unfortunate man broke into curses the

sultan grasped his bow and shot at him. Alp Arslan had always been proud of his wonderful marksmanship, but on this occasion, it is said, for the first time in his life he failed to hit his mark, and the prisoner, who had naturally been released by his guards, sprang upon the sultan and dealt him a mortal wound with his dagger, of which he died four days later (1072). August Müller says:

Alp Arslan is a good example of those princes who in spite of their want of consideration for others, and the possession of many savage qualities of the real Turk, yet had high principles and a keen sense of justice. His attitude towards the Greek emperor was the same as that he showed towards Nizam ul-Mulk. It seemed that one day some jealous person had secretly left a paper in the sultan's private prayer-room in which certain complaints were lodged against the wazir of having enriched himself in an illegal manner. Alp Arslan rebuked the wazir in the following terms: 'There is your paper: if the writers of it, of whom you complain, are in the right, then mend your manners and behave as you should: but if they are lying, then excuse them their manners and give them something to do, so that they may be better employed than in slandering others.'

Since 1064, Malik Shah, then a mere child, had been nominally governor of Khorassan, and it may be taken for granted that during that time he had been in close touch with Nizam ul-Mulk. The affection which he bore the great minister is shown by the fact that after he became



DEFEAT OF A BYZANTINE GOVERNOR BY SELJUK TROOPS

Even before the Seljuks had absorbed the Bagdad khalifate they were engaged in conflict with the Byzantine power, in which they were aided by the recent destruction of the Armenian buffer kingdom by Basil II. This miniature in the History of Skylitzes shows the defeat (1048) of Stephanus Likhoudes, 'catapan' of an Armenian province, by Kutulmish in a battle near Lake Van. It was the son of this same Kutulmish, Sulayman, who later established the sultanate of Roum in Asia Minor.

G. Millet, *Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne*

sultan he continued to address him as Khwaja Hasan—Master Hasan—and not by his title of Nizam ul-Mulk. Alp Arslan had taken the rare precaution before his death of summoning a general assembly of his provincial governors and announcing to them that he had chosen his son Malik Shah as his successor. As there was no prominent rival in the field Nizam ul-Mulk was naturally retained in the office of grand wazir. Malik Shah was only eighteen years of age when he came to the throne: and so great was the prestige now enjoyed by the Seljuks that the khalif invested the new sultan with the title of Emir ul-Mu'minin, or Commander of the Faithful, a title they had hitherto reserved for themselves only.

Soon after his accession Malik Shah was called upon to deal with the revolt of his uncle Kawurd, the king of Kirman. This was quickly suppressed, and the king was taken prisoner. It is, however, interesting to note in connexion with the strong family sentiment among the Seljuks, that when Malik Shah advised that Kawurd should be put to death, as the only guarantee of peace, though the order was carried out, it was publicly announced that Kawurd had committed suicide. Tughril, as we have seen, had

been compelled to take a similar drastic step in the case of Ibrahim ibn Inal, but it was perhaps because this man did not belong to the direct branch that no attempt was made to disguise the truth.

In the following year Malik Shah undertook a punitive expedition against Altagin the Tamghaj, khan of Samarkand, who, on hearing of Alp Arslan's death, occupied the important town of Tirmidh which, though it lay on the right bank of the Oxus, really belonged to the Seljuks by agreement. The expedition was successful, and after the conclusion of the peace Malik Shah married the daughter of the khan, the redoubtable Turkan Khatun, who was later to exercise a baneful influence on the house of Seljuk. In 1089 Malik Shah again crossed the Oxus and actually occupied Samarkand and Bokhara.

But the military exploits of Malik Shah were completely overshadowed by the activities of the sultan and his wazir in raising the general standard of well-being and culture in their newly consolidated empire. Nizam ul-Mulk, who served two Seljuk sultans, stands out as one of the greatest figures in Mahomedan history, and none has left a more enduring name behind him. The Persian historians



RUINS OF ZAHIDAN, A SELJUK VASSAL STATE IN SEISTAN

Seistan (classical Drangiana or Sakastene) under the later Samanids had enjoyed virtual independence, and its prince, Khalaf, struck his own coinage and built a capital at Zahidan; but coming into conflict with Mahmud of Ghazni was deposed. Under Alp Arslan, however, Tahir, a great-grandson of Khalaf, was reinstated (1067–1087) as vassal of the Seljuks. He restored Zahidan and probably built the great fortified palace here seen; it was eventually sacked and destroyed by Timur in 1384.

From Tate, 'Seistan,' Indian Govt. Survey



are loud in the praises of his administrative ability, and a hundred authors acknowledge their obligations to the founder of the Nizamiyya colleges in Bagdad and Nishapur.

One of the chief dangers to the Seljuk state was the growing strength of the heretical sect of the Assassins, the name given to the Persian branch of the Ismaili Shiahs, who held that the succession of the descendants of the prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Ali, ended with the seventh Imam whose name was Ismail. The political importance of this sect dates from the establishment in the tenth century of the Fatimid dynasty of North Africa and Egypt, so-called after Fatima, the daughter of the prophet and the wife of Ali. These Fatimids organized the most active propaganda throughout the Islamic realms, and in A.D. 1090 their chief missionary in Persia, the famous Hasan-i-Sabbah, having got possession of several mountain strongholds, of which the most important was Alamut, set up a quasi-independent branch of Ismailis, best known to us by the name of Assassins, a word derived from 'Hashishi' (consumer of 'hashish,' or Indian hemp).

The 'Old Men of the Mountains,' as Hasan and his successors were called, carried on a relentless propaganda of their religious tenets, and did not hesitate to employ violence if they felt that some particular individual was better off of their way. They had ready to hand a

trained band of devotees who would unhesitatingly perform whatever mission was set them by the Grand Master of the Order. The method of initiation and the preparation for deeds of sacrifice have often been described and by no one more vividly than by Marco Polo. It was the Syrian branch, established after the seizure of the castle of Barrias



HASAN I-SABBABH AND HIS FOLLOWERS

It was under the Seljuks that the Ismailis in Persia, known as Assassins from the hashish or Indian hemp that they drank to nerve them for their murders (top), became dangerous under Hasan-i-Sabbah (the 'Old Man of the Mountains,' lower); the drawings are from the late fourteenth-century copy of the *Livres des Merveilles* made for Philip the Bold.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

at the beginning of the twelfth century, which made the order famous in Europe.

Professor E. G. Browne tells us that the devotees, though unlearned in the esoteric mysteries of their religion, were carefully trained not only in the use of arms, the endurance of fatigue and the arts of disguise, but also, in some cases at any rate, in foreign and even European languages; those deputed to assassinate Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, for example, were sufficiently conversant with the Frankish language and customs to pass as Christian monks during the six months which they spent in the crusader's camp awaiting the opportunity for the accomplishment of their deadly errand. It was seldom, of course, that they survived their victims, especially as they were fond of doing their work in the most dramatic style, striking

down the Mahomedan emir on a Friday in the mosque, and the Christian prince or duke on a Sunday in the church, in sight of the assembled congregation. Yet so honourable a death and so sure a way to future happiness was it deemed by the followers of Hasan-i-Sabbah to die on the 'Old One's' quests, that we read of mothers of devotees who wept to see their sons return alive.

It may well be imagined how the existence of such an organization as this hampered the rulers of the country, and what risks attended any attempt to crush the movement. It was at the hands of one of these devotees that Nizam ul-Mulk perished, though curiously enough this took place after the old wazir had been superseded in his office. Nizam ul-Mulk's fall from favour was due to the intrigues of Malik Shah's Turkish

Nizam ul-Mulk wife, Turkan Khatun, who
'Assassinated' desired the recognition of
her son Mahmud as heir-

apparent, whereas Nizam ul-Mulk strongly supported the claims of the sultan's eldest son Barkiyaruk. Turkan Khatun, therefore, used all her wiles and intrigues to secure the removal of her enemy, but the Assassins no doubt felt that even out of office the influence of Nizam ul-Mulk would still make itself felt, and for this reason ordered his murder. Malik Shah died shortly afterwards while on a visit to the khalif in Bagdad (1092).

Thanks to the preservation of Nizam ul-Mulk's Book of Government, of which more will be said later, we have very precise information regarding his system of administration. As has already been mentioned, in the eyes of the Turkish nomads the empire was the property of the whole family of the khan; and not only were whole provinces given over to uncles, brothers and sons, who ruled them in their own name, but there was further introduced a system of territorial fiefs ('iktas') which were distributed to distinguished soldiers in lieu of payments of grants or in part payment. Nizam ul-Mulk himself tells us that this was an innovation, and that in the Ghaznavid Empire troops were paid in money only. Fief holders were only entitled to demand a specific sum from the inhabitants and had

no rights over the persons, property, wives or children of the population.

The great wazir also describes the difficulties that were encountered in training nomad chiefs to adopt a sedentary life and to submit to the same administration as the settled population. Under former Persian rulers there had been a strong force of guards composed of bought slaves and mercenaries, and some means had now to be found whereby the nomad invaders might be brought under the same system. In the Book of Government Nizam ul-Mulk gives a most interesting account of the measures he adopted for training large numbers of young Turcomans to become servants of the court, without interfering with the interests of the settled population. He was also strongly opposed to the holding of more than one post by any individual, as this tended to increase the number of unemployed in the official class, who were always an element of unrest.

Turning to the literature of the early Seljuk period, that is from Tughril to Malik Shah, among a host of writers we may refer to three poets and three prose writers. As all students of Persian literature know, the age was exceedingly prolific in literature. The poet whose name is probably more familiar to the general reader than that of anyone else mentioned in this chapter, namely Omar Khayyam, until recent times enjoyed little

celebrity in his own country. **Literature of Seljuk Period**
Indeed it may be claimed that Europe introduced him

to his own people. Among his contemporaries he was best known as an astronomer and a mathematician. He was among the scientists appointed by Malik Shah to reform the calendar and to compute the new Jalali era—so called from the sultan's name Jalal ud-Din—which dates from new year's day (March 15), A.D. 1097. Omar also wrote a number of scientific treatises, of which two have survived to the present day. Omar's fame in England is mainly, if not entirely, due to Fitzgerald's marvellous rendering of the Quatrains; and it should not be forgotten that it is thanks to Fitzgerald's historical introduction to his translation that the names of several high personages of this period

are not quite unfamiliar to the English reader. The story that Omar had for school-fellows Nizam ul-Mulk and Hasan-i-Sabbah offers certain chronological difficulties, and, like so many good anecdotes, may have been transferred from less famous personages. It makes, however, a good central episode for the early Seljuk period, as the three men represent three characteristic types of their day.

Another great poet, Abu Said ibn Abu'l Khayr, also wrote quatrains and was the first to employ this verse form as a medium for religious, mystic and theosophic thought. He may be said to have laid the foundations of Persian mystic poetry. Baba Tahir of Hamadan also wrote quatrains, but in his own native dialect. They have great simplicity and are more lyrical than introspective.

One of the most remarkable men of this period was Nazir-i-Khrusraw, who wrote both prose and verse. His writings throw a flood of light on the political and social conditions of his time. He was incidentally an Ismaili propagandist and a great traveller. His best known prose work was the *Safar Nama* or *Narrative of Travel*, which describes how in A.D. 1047 at the age of forty he set out on his travels, prompted thereto by a dream. Proceeding via Merv, Nishapur, Kazwin, Tabriz, Aleppo, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca, and at the end of 1047 arrived at Cairo, where he was initiated into the esoteric doctrines of the Ismailis and received the commission to carry on their propaganda and to be their 'proof' or agent in Khorassan. He finally returned to Merv after an absence of seven years.

The greatest prose work of the period, however, is the *Siyasat Nama* or *Book of Government*, composed by Nizam ul-Mulk.

Nizam ul-Mulk's Book of Government In this invaluable work the wazir describes the whole system of the Seljuk administration in the simplest language, interspersing his political theories with suitable anecdotes from earlier and contemporary Persian history.

Another prose work belonging to this period which deserves special mention is the *Kabus Nama*, which was composed by

a ruling prince of Tabaristan called Kay-Kaus. It is a book of moral precepts and rules of conduct, and, like the *Siyasat Nama*, contains a number of anecdotes, largely drawn from personal recollections, by way of illustration. It throws much light on the manners and customs of the period, and is especially interesting because the author belonged to a minor dynasty in northern Persia which managed to survive the invasions of both the Ghaznavids and the Seljuks.

There is another prose writer of the period of whom something may fittingly be said, seeing that he was one of the most influential thinkers of his day, namely the imam Ghazali. He wrote both in Arabic and Persian; his most famous work in Arabic, *The Revivification of the Sciences*, he himself epitomised in Persian under the title of *The Alchemy of Happiness*, which is perhaps the most popular work of philosophy in that language. So great were his wisdom and his piety that a Mahomedan writer says: 'Could there be another Prophet after Mahomet surely it would have been al-Ghazali.'

After the deaths of Malik Shah and his distinguished wazir it looked as if the great empire which had been built up by Tughril and his successors might suddenly dissolve. That

Troubles of Malik Shah's successors

it retained its integrity for another sixty years was mainly due to Malik Shah's last son, Sanjar, who after governing Khorassan for twenty years was called to the throne in 1117, and contrived during forty years to hold together the many subordinate kingships to which the family system had given birth; for the period which intervened between the death of Malik Shah and Sanjar's accession witnessed a series of family feuds and intrigues, which had hitherto been of rare occurrence among the Seljuks.

The root of the mischief was probably Turkan Khatun, the widow of Malik Shah, who was at Bagdad with her infant son, Mahmud, when her husband died. Barkiyaruk, the eldest son (aged twelve), whose mother belonged to the house of Seljuk, was at Ispahan. Barkiyaruk, however, managed to escape to Rayy, where his partisans, including some of the sons of

Nizam ul-Mulk, proclaimed him sultan. Turkan Khatun nevertheless continued her intrigues, and not till two years later, in 1094, was Barkiyaruk formally accepted as sultan in Bagdad. Soon afterwards, however, one of his paternal uncles, Tutush, rose in rebellion and took Barkiyaruk prisoner, bringing him to Ispahan with the intention of disqualifying him from further rule by putting out his eyes. Ere this could be done the child Mahmud sickened of smallpox and died, whereupon the emirs again placed Barkiyaruk upon the throne. Although Turkan Khatun and Tutush had both been put to death, Barkiyaruk's troubles were not at an end, and he was engaged in conflicts with various members of his family until he died, aged twenty-five, in 1103.

His little son, Malik Shah, after a nominal rule of a few weeks was deposed and blinded, and the throne of the Seljuks was occupied for ten uneventful years by Muhammad, another son of Malik Shah. He was succeeded by his son, a boy of fourteen, but he was defeated in battle by his uncle Sanjar, the ruler of Khorassan, whom he had had the temerity to attack. We may now pass on to the accession in 1119 of the last and perhaps the greatest of the Seljuk monarchs, Sanjar the son of Malik Shah.

Sanjar, having spent twenty years as virtual ruler of Khorassan, was destined to spend forty years as master of the whole empire. His reign was distinguished by great successes and great reverses. Among the former were his conquests of Ghazni, Samarkand and Seistan. Among the latter was his defeat at the hands of Kara-Khitais, which deserves special notice on account of its curious repercussion in Europe. Mahmud Khan, king of Transoxiana, had invoked Sanjar's help against the Karluk Turks who had invaded his country; the Karluks in their turn appealed for aid to the Gur-Khan, or 'Universal Lord,' of another group of Turks known as the Kara-Khitais. Negotiations for a peaceful settlement having broken down, mainly owing to the haughty attitude adopted by Sanjar, a sanguinary battle was fought in the

Katwan Steppe in September, 1141, in which the Seljuk army was totally defeated and Sanjar fled leaving half his forces dead or wounded. The Kara-Khitais in the same year occupied Bokhara.

The reports of this defeat, which reached Europe shortly after, led to the belief that the Seljuks had been defeated by a Christian prince on their eastern frontier, and hopes were cherished that a new Christian ally had suddenly appeared who would simplify the crusaders' task by attacking the Seljuks in the rear. It was actually this rumour which led to the belief in Christian lands of Prester John in central Asia; and there was this much of justification for the report in that among the Turkish tribes fighting for the Gur-Khan some professed Christianity.

The main cause of anxiety to Sultan Sanjar during most of his reign was Atsiz the Khwarazmshah, who succeeded to the governorship of Khoresmia in 1128. Although when he died in 1156 he was still the vassal of the Seljuk sultan, he must be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty of independent Khwarazmshahs, who in the thirteenth century were the last bulwark between Persia and the invading Mongols. The story of the constant revolts of Atsiz and the repeated expeditions in Khoresmia by Sanjar make wearisome reading, but certainly hastened the break-up of the Seljuk Empire.

It was, however, his near kinsmen the Ghuzz nomads in Khorassan who finally brought Sanjar's rule to an end. In 1153 the leaders of these Ghuzz, enraged at the Seljuk power sultan's attempt to make overthrown them submit to the rule of Persian officials and tax-collectors, rose in revolt and not only destroyed his army but took the sultan himself prisoner. He remained in their hands until 1156, when some of his faithful retainers managed to obtain his release by bribing his custodians. He was brought safely to Merv, and began to collect a new army, but grief at the ruin and desolation of his country combined with old age—he was then seventy-two—caused his death a few months later. In these tragic circumstances did the empire of the Great Seljuks come to an end in 1157.

To the age of Sultan Sanjar belong many famous poets, notably Anwari, Khakani and Nizami of Ganja. Anwari during Sultan Sanjar's captivity wrote his famous *Tears of Khorassan*, which has been twice rendered into English verse, the best known translation being that included in E. H. Palmer's *Song of the Reed*. This poem gives a graphic description of the desolation spread throughout the flourishing province of Khorassan by the barbarous Ghuzz, and refers specially to the destruction of the mosques and other public buildings in large cities like Nishapur. To quote from Palmer's version :

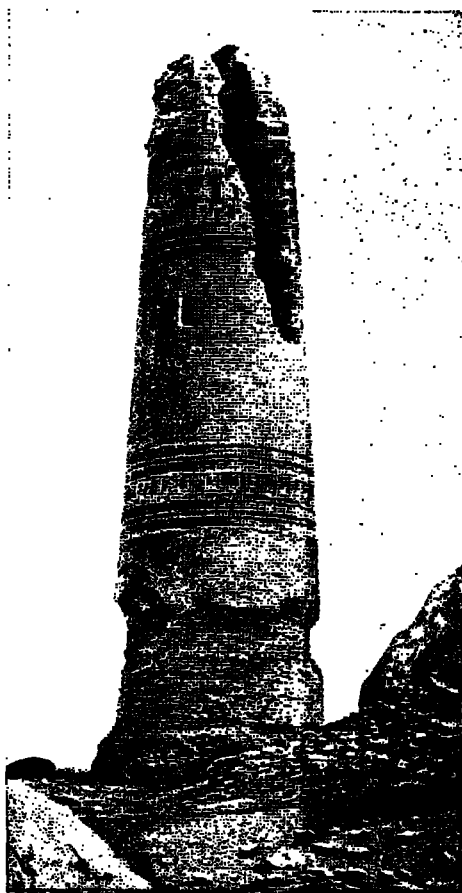
In every town the mosque and house of
prayer
—To give their horses and their cattle
room—
Is left all roofless, desolate and bare.
'Prayer for the Tartar rulers' there is none
In all Khorassan, it is true, for where—
Where are the preachers and the pulpits
gone ?

Khakani was a past master in the composition of panegyric odes, but his style is so full of intentional obscurities and subtle allusions as to make his poems a task rather than a pleasure to read. His best known poem is *The Gift of the Two Iraks*, in which he describes his pilgrimage to Mecca.

Nizami of Ganja is the acknowledged master of the romantic epic. His collected works, known as the *Khamasa* or *Quintette*, contain five long poems dealing with such romantic subjects as the loves of Khusraw (Khusru Parviz) and Shirin, and of Layla and Majnun, and the adventure of Alexander the Great. This last poem comprises 10,000 verses.

Among the prose writers in Persian of this age—and it must be realized that it was still the fashion among

Prose writers in Persian the Persians to employ Arabic for prose compositions—the most interesting is Nizami Aruzi, of whose *Four Discourses* Professor E. G. Browne, who published an English translation, says : ' It throws a far better light than any other book with which I am acquainted on the intimate life of Persian and Central Asian courts in the twelfth century of our era.'



A SEISTANI MINARET

Near Zahidan stands the ruined minaret known as the *Mil-i-Kasamabad*, begun by Taj ud-Din probably after an access of independence caused by the death of Sanjar, and completed by his great-grandson Taj ud-Din Harab.

From Tale, 'Seistan,' Indian Govt. Survey

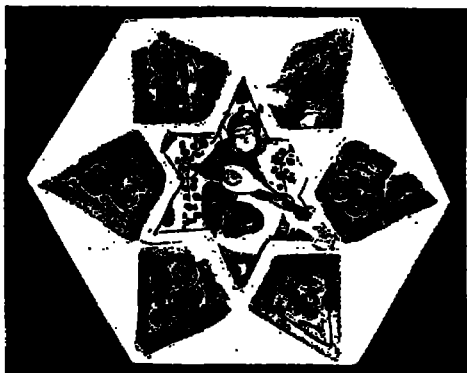
In spite of the tragic fate of Sanjar it must not be imagined that the central empire came to an end as the result of any hostile movement from without or of any violent rupture within. It was, rather, the gradual and natural outcome of the Seljuk policy of distributing provinces and petty states among members of the family and, at a later stage, of the system of appointing 'atabegs,' or guardians to these princes. These atabegs were usually subordinate officials—often men who had been slaves—who were raised to the highest position in the state because, depending as they did solely on their own

merits, and not on noble birth or family connexions, they could be more safely counted on to remember their allegiance to their masters.

Nor, because their empire was at an end, did the Seljuks cease to be a factor of international importance. For a century and a half after Sanjar's death one branch that remained in the Near East bulked even more largely in Mediterranean politics than the vanished empire. The main dynasties were those of Kirman, Syria, Irak and Roum (Asia Minor). In the Far East there was no further question of Seljuk rule. Khorassan became a bone of contention among the Khwarazmshahs, the Kara-Khitais, who now possessed Transoxiana, and the newly founded dynasty of Ghorids who had supplanted

the Ghaznavids. In addition to these we find a number of petty kingdoms in Syria and Asia Minor which played an important rôle during the Crusades. Although as we have seen Alp Arslan did not follow up the successes he had gained in Asia Minor in 1072, the governor who was left there was able in 1077 to found a separate dynasty which came to be known as that of the Seljuks of Roum. This governor was Sulayman the son of Kutulmish, who was the grandson of Israil the son of Seljuk, who had been imprisoned by Mahmud of Ghazni. He belonged therefore to a collateral branch of the imperial family, and the dynasty that he founded lasted down to 1300, thus immediately preceding the Ottoman Turks.

It was Sulayman's son, Kilij Arslan, who earliest came into conflict with the crusaders. His first capital was Nicaea, and when this was taken from him by Godfrey de Bouillon he moved to Iconium. There had also sprung up in Cappadocia another minor Seljuk kingdom founded by a certain Muhammad, son of Gumish-tagin, and it was this prince who defeated and captured Bohemund in 1099. The religious motive of the Crusade seems already to have been lost sight of by the Christian princes, and men like Bohemund and Baldwin were solely occupied in carving out principalities for themselves.



EXAMPLES OF SELJUK DECORATIVE ART FROM KONIA

Most of our knowledge of Seljuk art (or at least of the art of the Near East under Seljuk dominance) is derived from Konia (Iconium), which succeeded Nicaea as capital of the quasi-independent Seljuk kingdom set up in Asia Minor by Sulayman ibn Kutulmish and known as the sultanate of Roum—i.e. 'Rome,' as the Moslems called the Eastern Empire. Top, lute player on a painted tile; lower left, winged genius in relief; right, battle between mounted warriors in stucco relief.

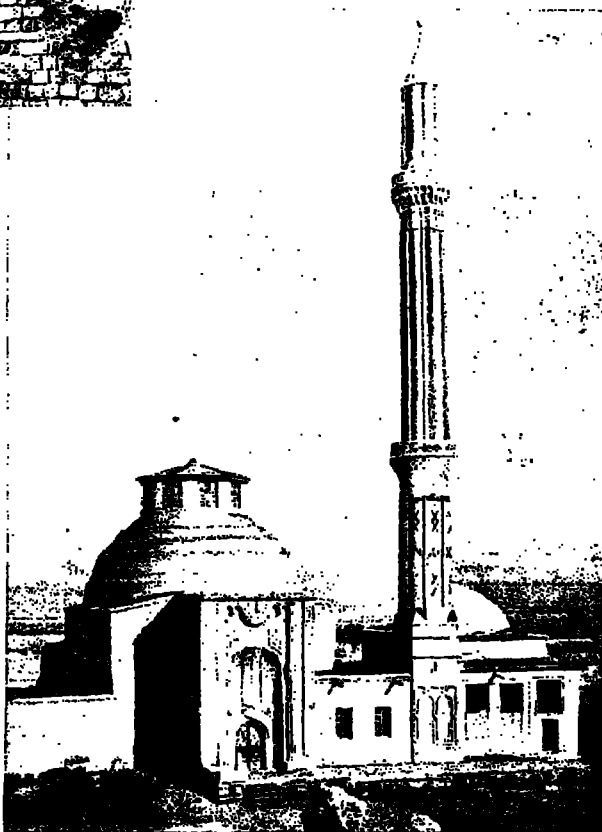
Konia Museum (left); remainder, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; from Friedrich Sarre, 'Seldschukische Kleinplastik';



The capture of Jerusalem by Tutush, son of Alp Arslan, and the cruel fate of its Christian inhabitants and of the pilgrims to the Holy Places were among the prime causes of the First Crusade, and had it not been for the internal rivalries and dissensions among the Christian princes and nobles, the Seljuks might quite possibly have been driven out of Asia Minor and Palestine. For at the outset the Turks did not realize the danger which threatened their western possessions, and it was only the constant arrival of fresh bands of crusaders that brought about that union among the Mahomedans which at first seemed so impossible of attainment. It was Imad ud-Din Zangi, a Seljuk officer, who in 1144 turned the tide of victory against the Franks by the capture of Edessa. The great Saladin was the son of one of Imad's generals.

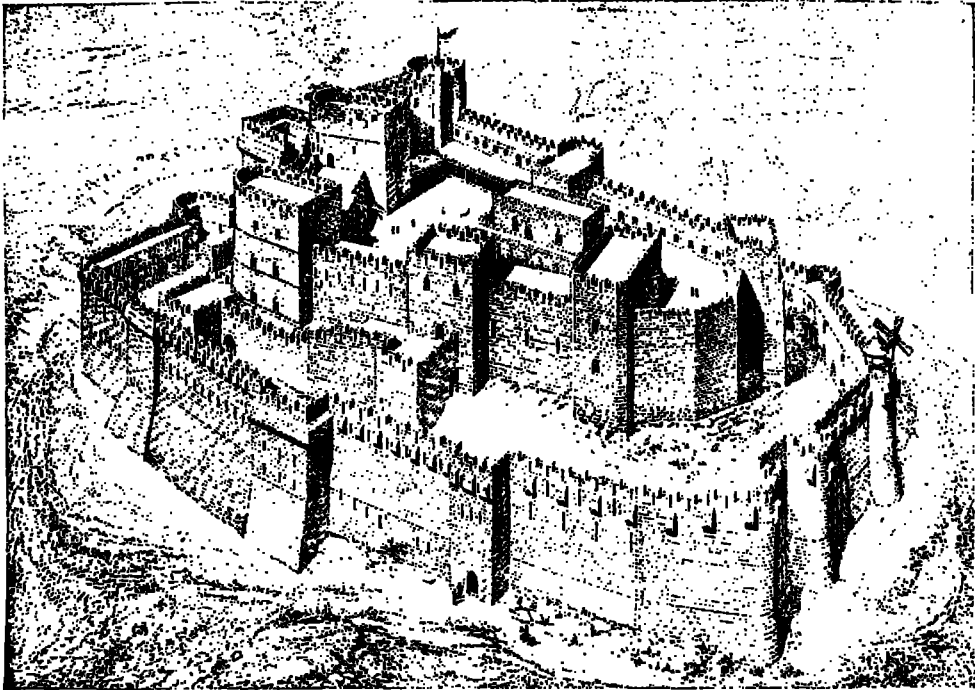
Thus we see that for over one hundred years the de-

scendants of a rough Turkish chief held practically undisputed sway over the whole of the Middle East and by wise administration were able to keep peace and order in countries inhabited by races with whom they had nothing in common, notably the Persians, who could boast of an ancient culture and a history stretching back a thousand years. Much as they owed to their wisdom in making use of Persian officials and to their good fortune in finding men of the calibre of Kunduri and Nizam ul-Mulk, their continued success was also due to the fact that, as in the case of the Great Moguls of Delhi, who were also of Turkish descent, one family succeeded in producing a succession of really brilliant men.



RELICS OF SELJUK MAGNIFICENCE

Fine buildings of Seljuk date are crumbling at Konia. The mosque above ('of the Indje Minaret'), with its elaborately carved entrance, has been ruined by storm since the photograph; while human agency caused the dilapidation of the Palace of the Sultans whose tower is shown at the top of the page.



Hisn el-Akrad (' the castle of the Kurds ') on the borders of what later became the county of Tripolis was captured by Tancred of Antioch in 1109. Rebuilt by the crusaders and called Kerak des Chevaliers, it was held by the Knights Hospitallers from 1142 till its capture by Sultan Baibars in 1271. This bird's-eye reconstruction is looking in the reverse direction from the photograph below.

From Rey, 'L'architecture militaire des Croisés'



The Hospitallers existed as a charitable order in Jerusalem before the First Crusade and always retained much of their original character. From about 1137 onwards they also became an important military order like the Knights Templars and shared with them the defence of the border castles of the crusading states. Of these, Kerak des Chevaliers, shown above in reconstruction and as it is to-day, was among the most important, and is the best extant example of medieval fortification.

FRONING RAMPARTS OF A CRUSADER'S FORTRESS IN SYRIA

Photo, the Times

THE SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES

Results of the Intercourse between Christian
and Infidel in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

By W. B. STEVENSON D.Litt.

Professor of Semitic Languages, Glasgow University; Author of *The
Crusaders in the East*

THE Crusades are an amazing spectacle of failure and triumph, of conflicting purposes and mixed motives, of allies vowed to the same great military cause, yet frequently at war with one another. The movement began, in large part, as an enterprise for the defence of the Eastern Empire against its Moslem foes, and yet finally it shattered that empire into fragments. It began also, and succeeded, as the greatest manifestation of the pilgrim spirit of the Middle Ages, yet it failed because the pilgrim spirit was essentially something less than the devotion of a lifetime. Genoa and Pisa and Venice, in the interests of their trade and commerce, gave the movement its most solid and permanent support; but these merchants of the sea, who always preferred lucrative trade to the hazards of war, therefore also served only fitfully and incidentally as soldiers of the Cross. Besides, and above all, the Crusades depended for success upon the maintenance of a 'concert of Europe' that was never at peace within itself and so could never accomplish the common purpose which it professed.

The appeal of the emperor Alexius for help against the Turks, made to western Europe in the spring of 1095, was directed to Pope Urban II, and this pope officially called the crusading movement into being at the Council of Clermont on November 27 (see page 2651). The purpose of the crusade, as preached by the pope, was the deliverance of the Christians of the East from Moslem domination and the rescue of the Holy Land from Moslem bondage. As so planned it was intended, in part, to realize the emperor's purpose.

Armenia, it should be noted, as well as Palestine, and the Christians of Antioch as well as those of Jerusalem, were included amongst those for whom the sympathy and help of France and of western Europe were invited. It is a serious error to regard the crusading movement as exclusively directed to Palestine. Its goal was Asia Minor and Euphratesia (Armenia) and all Syria. But the preachers of the Crusade inevitably dwelt most on the claims of the holy places of Palestine and upon the duty and right of Christendom to occupy 'God's own land.'

By this means the enthusiasm of the masses was aroused. It was to conquer Palestine from 'God's enemies,' and to make it a Christian land that they left their homes and hazarded their lives. The appeal to
mass enthusiasm They were easily persuaded that God required this service of them and that he would grant to every crusader an everlasting reward. Many were attracted also by the prospect of visiting the Holy Land as pilgrims. Every crusader, indeed, was treated by the Church as a pilgrim to Palestine. Even kings and nobles received at starting a pilgrim's scrip and staff, in token of their mission, from the hands of some high ecclesiastic or of some honoured friend who was a priest. Hence a crusade was generally regarded as involving only temporary absence from home and crusading vows were satisfied by a brief period of military service and visitation of the usual places of pilgrimage.

But the Crusades were of necessity more than a kind of military pilgrimage. Their



THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

This map brings out the extreme tenuity of the gains effected in Palestine by the crusaders, and the precarious position in which they were at once placed when their enemies combined. The Latin Kingdom was a narrow coastwise strip that did not even at first include possession of the ports.

purpose was to conquer Syria and to establish there a military power strong enough to hold the country against all attack. This purpose could not be accomplished unless a sufficient number of crusaders treated their vows as a life-long obligation. At the end of the First Crusade Godfrey was left in Palestine in possession of Jerusalem and its seaport, Jaffa, and with a force of possibly 3,000 fighting men. In the following years a stream of crusading expeditions poured into Syria and extended and maintained the success of the First Crusade. The common practice of speaking of the crusade of 1148 as the 'Second Crusade' ignores and obscures this important fact. Still, the Latin conquest of Syria was never completed and its permanent army of occupation was always insufficient.

The military orders, the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of S. John, were the best recruiting agents for continuous service in Palestine. They really did provide, so far, what was required, a brotherhood of soldiers sworn to life-long service on behalf of the Latin

states against their Moslem enemies. Perhaps they were sufficiently numerous, or might have become sufficiently numerous, to garrison the Latin states in ordinary times. But they did not subordinate themselves to the authority or policy of the Latin princes. They obeyed only their own Masters, they even waged bitter war with one another and they scattered their great resources in men and money over all Europe, instead of concentrating them in Syria. Neither pilgrim crusaders nor military brotherhoods supplied the armed forces that were necessary for the defence of the crusading states.

A majority of the leaders of the First Crusade left home with the intention of settling permanently in the East. They were of several different nationalities, and no one was of sufficient rank or influence

to exercise authority over the others. It was understood that a new Latin state, or possibly several, would be established in Syria, but no agreement was made regarding the division or the future government of the conquered lands. A Provençal noble like Raymond of Toulouse, a Burgundian like Godfrey of Bouillon or a Norman like Bohemund of Taranto would not willingly become the subject or vassal of any one of the others. No one in their position would accept less than what had been his rank at home, and some were determined to stand higher. Thus within the common enterprise there ran a competition between the national leaders for the territories each hoped to rule.

The result was that four small states or princedoms were established. Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, afterwards first king of Jerusalem, secured Edessa in Euphratesia. In population it was more an Armenian than a Latin state. Baldwin and his successor, and other Latin knights, married Armenian wives and at first showed a certain readiness to become orientalised. These good relations be-



HOSPITALLER AND TEMPLAR

Above: Hospitallers wore over their armour a black mantle bearing a white cross, Templars a white mantle with a red cross. Right: A seal of the Templars—the two men on one horse probably symbolise knightly charity.

From *Fairholt, 'Costumes in England,'* and (right) Bayliss, *'The Temple Church'*



tween the Latins and the Armenians, important at the beginning, did not last. Yet they prepared the way for the establishment of an Armenian kingdom in which, after Zangi's capture of Edessa (1144), that much tried people enjoyed a long period of comparative prosperity.

Antioch was another of the new Latin states. It co-operated little with Edessa, its neighbour, and sometimes even waged war against it. In the twelfth century the Greek emperors exercised at times a nominal overlordship in Antioch, and during the several unfortunate minorities of its princes the kings of Jerusalem were its regents. In the thirteenth century, during the last struggle with the Moslems, Jerusalem and Antioch stood almost entirely apart from one another. A striking indication of the extent to which the Latins of Edessa and Antioch continued the tradition of the Greek Empire in the territories they ruled is supplied by the fact that their silver and copper coins from the first were struck in imitation of Greek models and used Greek letters. Tripolis, the third of the Latin states, possessed only a small territory and a partial independence. In the twelfth century it was controlled by the kings of Jerusalem, in the thirteenth century by the princes of Antioch.

After the capture of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen to be 'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.' This was in accordance with the ecclesiastical view that 'a king should not be chosen (to rule) where God suffered and was crowned.' Godfrey was also entitled duke ('dux') and prince ('princeps'), but never king. The ecclesiastical veto was not maintained; Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, was crowned as his successor and as king of Jerusalem (1100). The territory ultimately included in the kingdom, at its fullest extent, was western Palestine, Lebanon as far as Beirut, with the adjoining coast, some lands to the east of Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee) and a strip of territory to the east and south of the Dead Sea. Two members of Godfrey's family were the first kings. Then came five kings of the house

of Anjou, in other words of the Plantagenet family that ruled England at this same period. Fulk, the first of these kings, was the distinguished count of Anjou for twenty years before he settled in Palestine. Baldwin III (1143-1162) and Almeric I (1162-1174), his sons, were uncles of Henry II of England (1154-



BURIED IN HOLY SOIL

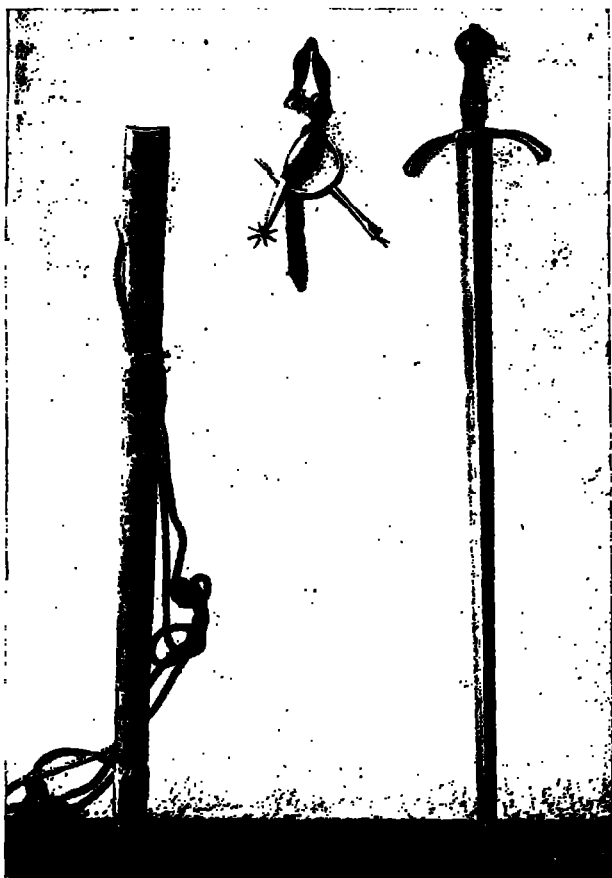
The tombstone of Philip d'Aubigny, an English crusader of the time of Henry III, lies near the porch of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Since the taking of this photograph it has been moved and protected with a grating.

Photo, American Colony in Jerusalem

1189), and Baldwin IV (1174-1185), the leper king, was Henry's full cousin. This family relationship was thought at the time to give the kingdom of Jerusalem, in the greatest crisis of its history, a strong claim for help from Henry II, count of Anjou, ruler of half France and king of England. The crusade of Henry's son, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, may be said to have discharged an obligation which his father formally recognized but never put into practical effect. In extenuation, however, Richard's own expedition (see page 2745) proved how dangerous it was in those days for a monarch to leave his kingdom on crusade.

The towns of Syria conquered by the Latins nearly all lay upon the coast. The conquest of these coast towns, mostly in the years 1100-1110—Tyre in 1124, Ascalon in 1153—was made possible by the co-operation of Italian fleets. These fleets and the First Crusade played the chief parts in the Latin conquest of Syria. Ascalon was the only important coast town captured without the help of an Italian fleet. The Venetians held aloof in the years 1100-1110, when they were allies of Alexius. But they shared in the siege of Sidon (1110) and above all in the capture of Tyre (1124). Commercial privileges, a share of the revenues of the captured town, a street, a market-place, a warehouse and a church (all free of taxes) were the usual recompense earned for the mother state by an Italian fleet which successfully shared in the capture of a Moslem town. Colonies of Italian merchants were quickly planted in each town after its capture and numerous Italian ships began to sail regularly between Italy and Syria.

The naval power and the commercial enterprise of the Italian republics thus gave an important element of security and stability to the crusading movement. The Italians transported provisions, munitions of war and crusading armies to Syria. They provided valuable banking facilities and at least offered cool counsel to the Latins in difficult situations. On the other hand they were themselves disunited and so added fresh dissensions to quarrels that were already complicated. As merchants, too, they never gave much for nothing and they were quite ready to trade in a friendly way with Moslem countries where there was a good prospect of gain. Early in the twelfth century they already conducted



SWORD AND SPURS OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON

The first prince of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was Godfrey of Bouillon, but the jealousy of his rivals and the claims of the Church deprived him of the title of king; he was called 'advocate' or 'defender.' His sword and spurs are preserved in the Latin Sacristy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Photo, American Colony in Jerusalem

a prosperous trade with Egypt and later they all made commercial treaties with Saladin (1170-80). There were Italian colonies in the chief ports of Egypt, Alexandria and Damietta. In 1187 there were thirty-eight Italian ships lying together in the port of Alexandria. In 1216 the European population of the same port, chiefly Italians, numbered about 3,000.

The devotion of the Italian merchants to the crusading cause had, therefore, its limitations. The Moslem sultans of Egypt and Syria fully recognized the advantages of the foreign trade with Italy and encouraged and allowed it under conditions that disposed the Italians to peace with them. The ecclesiastical denunciations of this traffic produced small effect. The Crusades immensely increased the maritime commerce of Italy, but the continued existence of a Christian Syria could not be considered essential to its maintenance.

The Crusades were essentially military expeditions aiming first at conquest and then at the support of the Latin states of Syria during their long struggle with Moslems. It is not likely that the princes and peoples of western Europe would have combined, even as far as they did, in

**Varied inducements
to take the Cross**

commencing and carrying on these enterprises but for the impulse given by the Church and the appeal which it made to the religious instincts of Christendom. Yet, once the movement had begun, the inducements to share in it were not all purely religious, and those who became crusaders might or might not be deeply in sympathy with the religious purposes which they served. Wealth and power and fame attracted some, the hazard and novelty of adventure beckoned others.

After the establishment of the military orders there was no safer career open to a young knight than in the ranks of these wealthy and powerful corporations. The crusader of the rank and file received regular pay and, although exposed to grave risks of travel and war and pestilence, might easily enjoy better conditions of life than those of his native village. In the time of the so-called 'Third Crusade' great social and ecclesiastical



THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM

Of the holy places that the Crusades were directed to recovering, most holy was the reputed tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (see page 2652). It is hidden to-day by a mass of decorative accretions.

Photo, American Colony in Jerusalem

pressure was exerted in France to gain recruits (1187-1190). Criminals and evil-doers were permitted and encouraged to expiate their sins by joining the crusade. Some took their vow in order to escape the taxation that was levied on those who remained at home. Others, in high places, gathered money for the crusade and then spent it on other purposes.

Still, neither these abuses nor the fact that men acted then, as now, from many mixed motives should hinder us from recognizing freely the central religious motive of the movement. At the beginning, in the twelfth century, and even in the seemingly decadent thirteenth century, the eternal religious impulse, which ebbs and flows incessantly in human history, swelled up high in western Europe. It showed itself in strange fervours and mystic passions, and gave

men power to endure hardships and to meet death joyfully. Its influence is seen plainly in the popular uprisings that are a feature of the period. Yet the Crusades were not merely or chiefly impulsive incoherent movements of the masses. They were generally organized under the leadership of responsible and experienced feudal lords and great city captains. The ordinary crusader was a soldier trained to war or had been accepted as a fit recruit by competent judges. These also shared fervently in the conception of the crusade as a religious duty and were chiefly moved

to take part in it by religious motives. Proof of this is to be found in the scattered crusading songs which still survive in the castles and abbeys and libraries of France and elsewhere, and which have now been fully collected and published.

They were written in Old French by crusaders of the knightly class, sometimes in the camps of Syria, most often at home on the eve of parting. They preserve authentically a record of the hopes and fears and aspirations of those who engaged in the Great War of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were composed by



KNIGHTS TEMPLARS WHOSE EFFIGIES LIE IN LONDON'S TEMPLE CHURCH

The Knights Templars were founded in 1119 to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land. After being recognized at the Council of Troyes (1128) their numbers increased and a 'province' was established in most European countries. That in England had its headquarters at the Temple Church, London (see page 2812), where effigies of members preserve a record of crusading armour; above, the two William Mareschels, earls of Pembroke, and (left) Sir Geoffrey de Magnaville, earl of Essex.

Courtesy of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple

secular poets whose usual themes were those of love and chivalry. In nearly all the religious spirit strongly predominates. It is expressed in words in three main forms. Christians, these poets say, should all be ready to suffer and die and abandon everything for the sake of Christ, who suffered and died and gave Himself for them. Again, Palestine belongs to God (it is His chosen land); the Turks have taken it from Him; Christians, therefore, are in honour bound to restore it to Him and to avenge Him on His enemies. Once more, every crusader who fulfils his vow is assured of salvation in the world to come; he will be acquitted in the day of judgement and welcomed into Paradise.

Such are the chief motives which the writers of these songs themselves profess and which they press upon others to induce them to become crusaders. The privilege of visiting the land 'where God was crucified,' the duty of maintaining

Hopes and Fears of the Poets a family tradition, the honour enjoyed by crusaders who perform their vows and return safely home, are sometimes, but seldom, mentioned. One poet declares that only poverty, age or sickness excuse a man from enrolling himself; another that only cowards stay at home. Nothing emerges more clearly from these songs than the poets' sense of the sacrifice they are about to make and the great uncertainty of their return. A favourite theme is their sorrow at leaving those near and dear to them, combined with the thought that God's call to service is imperative and must be obeyed. The chief ornament in the diction of this poetry is a complicated rhyme, which cannot be retained in translation. Two stanzas, from a poem containing five, are given here as specimens, in a freely translated and shortened form, and then a third stanza, from another poem of three stanzas, in a fairly close translation, but without much rhythm and without any attempt at rhyme:

I rue the hour, I rue the day,
That calls me from thy side away.
It turns my every joy to grief,
And gives me pain beyond relief.

'Tis in God's way I seek to go,
For Him I'm armed against the foe,

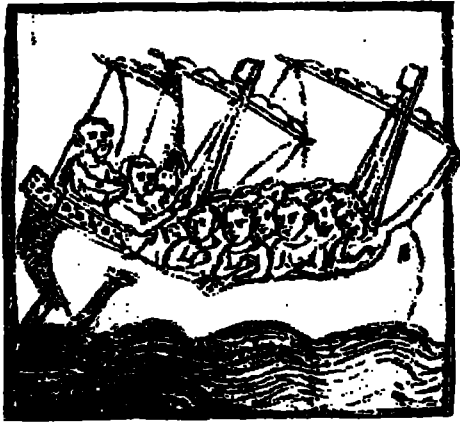
From Him I'll get my guerdon due,
For He keeps faith, and He is true.

I shall marvel greatly if I'm not distraught,
Bidding 'Adieu, until we meet again'
To my Lady, who has done so much for me
That one tenth of it I cannot call to mind.
Yet none can do too much for God.
When I remember that He died for me,
I have such sorrow and such faith
That nothing I surrender gives me pain.

In these and similar verses love of home and religious privilege and duty are the two simply-joined themes, and devotion to God is the clear overmastering motive of the crusader's hard decision.

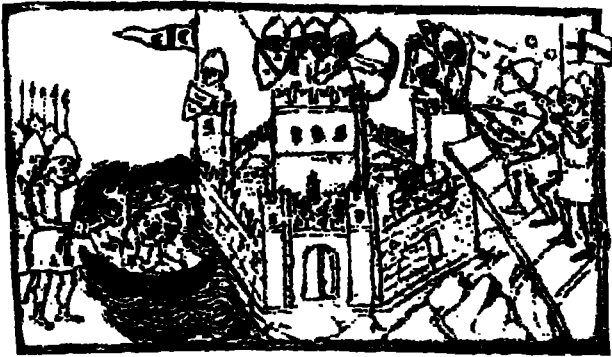
For the causes of the First Crusade we have to look not only at the religious and other motives that induced men to join it, but also at the international situation which really produced it. The crusades, viewed in connexion with earlier and later events, are plainly part of a long struggle between Islam and Christianity, which with varying fortunes has been fought sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia. In the eighth to tenth centuries western Europe was triumphantly assailed by Moslem invaders. Spain and Sicily were conquered and settlements established in the south of France and on the western shores of Italy. Christendom then fought in self-defence in Europe against the attacks of Islam.

Towards the end of the tenth century, and still more in the eleventh, the tide turned in favour of Christendom. In the later phases of the struggle Normans and southern French and the maritime republics of Italy were the champions of the West. In the First Crusade these same peoples carried the contest into another continent and met and conquered the Turks, who were then advancing the borders of Islam in Asia Minor at the expense of the Eastern Empire. For a moment the Eastern Empire and Western Christendom were united against the common enemy. The first suggestion of this alliance seems to have been made by the Greek emperor Michael VII (1073). It was repeated by the emperor Alexius I (1095) and cordially received and carried into effect by Pope Urban II. Such was the political origin of the First Crusade.



The legend of Peter the Hermit still serves too often in popular histories as a simple and romantic substitute for this remote political history. Probably no reader needs to be reminded that Peter is represented as having been a pilgrim to Palestine, where his experiences and dreams so stirred him that he returned to France to preach the deliverance of the Holy Land from its cruel oppressors. His success was immense. His eloquence and his heaven-sent message moved Pope Urban and the peoples of the West to engage in the First Crusade. Such is the legend. The real Peter was a successful preacher of Urban's crusade in some districts of France. He gathered a personal following which went with him as far as Constantinople and Asia Minor, where it seems finally to have melted away. Afterwards Peter still enjoyed a certain prestige amongst the poorer classes, to whom he served sometimes as almoner and master of ceremonies (or marshal of processions). His adventures and those of his followers attracted the notice of song writers, by whom his name and fame were immortalised and pushed into a prominence far beyond their merits. Peter had no connexion whatsoever with the pope's decision to initiate the First Crusade, and the rabble which he led was rather a hindrance than a help to its serious work.

It has already been pointed out that the goal of the First Crusade was not merely Palestine but also, broadly, the Moslem East and, in particular, Asia Minor, Euphratesia and Syria. As time went on Egypt also became, quite properly, an objective of crusading expeditions. After the fall of Ascalon (1153) the manifest weakness of Egypt induced the Normans of Sicily and, later, the Latins of Jerusalem, in temporary alliance with the Greek Empire, to attempt its conquest. The danger to which it was thus exposed drove it into the arms of one of the emirs of Nour ed-Din (Noureddin), sultan of Aleppo



CRUSADERS AT THE SIEGE OF NICAËA

An important objective of the First Crusade was Asia Minor; it was largely recovered for the Greek Empire by the crusaders. Two illustrations in the *De Passagiis* (see opposite page) show them crossing over to Nicaea by ship (top left), and (above) the siege and successful assault on the city.

From Kùgler, 'Geschichte der Kreuzzüge'

and Damascus (1169). From this time onwards the Moslems of Syria and Egypt were at last united under one ruler. Egypt shared actively in the war with the Latins of Syria and was chosen by crusading leaders as the best point for their counter-attacks. The great crusade of 1202-04, which was diverted to the conquest of the Greek Empire, was planned as an expedition against Egypt. The next crusading expedition on a large scale (1217-1221) actually attempted its conquest, and so did the first of the crusades of Louis IX (1248-50). In fact, the main objective of the eastern crusades of the thirteenth century was Egypt. Pope Urban's plan and purpose were still, however, legitimately promoted thereby.

A different judgement must be passed upon certain other extensions of the

crusading movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The expedition of Louis IX against Tunis (1270) is generally included in the list of regular crusades, but was really a part of the war with Islam in the West which continued to be waged throughout the whole crusading period, especially in Portugal and Spain. The disastrous perversion of the crusade of 1202-04 to the capture of Constantinople sprang directly from the original movement and yet drained away from it much of its still remaining strength. Quite separate and distinct, although belonging to the same period and allowed by the Church to have the same merit, were the crusades against the heathen Slavs on the shores of the Baltic Sea and the ruinous crusades against the heretical



Albigenses of southern France. Still more remote and undeserving of the name were some enterprises in Europe, which received from the popes the designation and privileges of a crusade because they were directed against formidable (Christian!) enemies of the Papacy. In them the popes followed a sadly mistaken policy and were themselves, unconsciously, disloyal to the spirit of the crusading movement.

A clear measure of the success and failure of the European attack on the Moslem East may be obtained from a survey of the situation in Syria. In spite of the political and racial divisions of that country, it was never completely conquered by the crusaders.

The great inland towns of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo maintained their independence against repeated invasions and attacks. When, finally, they were united under the rule of Nour ed-Din Mahmud (1154) and when that great sultan annexed Egypt also (1169), the Latin states were faced by an enemy far more powerful than themselves. Salah ed-Din Yusuf, Nour ed-Din's successor, the Sultan Saladin of Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman*, nearly put an end to the Latin occupation of Syria. From his time onwards, save for an interval of fifteen years (1229-44), Jerusalem was again a Latin town and the other Christian holy places, such as Bethlehem and Nazareth, remained under the Moslems.

The survival of the crusading states for a hundred years after the time of Saladin was due merely to the indifference and military weakness of Saladin's successors. It was not until the sultanate of Rukn ed-Din Baibars (1260-77) that the Moslems seriously resumed 'the holy war.' By this time the interest of Europe in the crusading movement and in the fate of the Latin states was faint and flickering. Prince Edward of England, afterwards King Edward I, was one of the last to bring substantial reinforcements (1,000 men) from Europe to Syria (1271). The final steps in the reconquest of the Latin



TRAVELLING TO THE HOLY LAND

The Crusades were responsible for a flood of literature, historical and descriptive. One manuscript, the *De Passagiis in Terram Sanctam*, a Venetian work produced in the thirteenth century just after the crusading age was over, gives admirable pictures of crusaders accompanied by pilgrims and ecclesiastics en route for the Holy Land.

From Kügler, 'Geschichte der Kreuzzüge'

towns were planned and nearly completed by the sultan Saif ed-Din Kalawun (1279-90). He made a treaty with the kings of Aragon and Sicily, who were brothers, by which he actually bound them to assist him against any new crusade from Europe. In the year after his death the last strongholds of the Latins were reduced and 'the coast which had so long resounded to the world's debate' lay silent.

The main causes of the ultimate failure of the crusading movement are simple and easily stated. The Latins never established in Syria a power sufficient to stand alone against the combined resources of Egypt and Moslem Syria. The permanent Latin population was too small, even if it had been united. Renewed and repeated help from Europe was always necessary. Then, secondly, the help that did come, repeatedly and abundantly, was never wholly successful, and often disastrously a failure, because of its utter want of cohesion and its lack of a single directing power.

In every crusade of importance men of several nationalities were combined, unfamiliar with one another, distrustful of one another, divided by conflicting interests and accustomed at home to be at war with one another. The wars and politics of Europe did not stand still during the crusading period. It was impossible for the nations to co-operate heartily and effectively about one matter in the East while they continued to contend and dispute about a dozen matters in the West. At Akka (Acre) in 1191 it was recognized that the English and French in combination accomplished less than either of them would have accomplished separately. No real attempt was made to remedy this fundamental weakness of the first 'concert of Europe.' Probably nothing effective could have been done. Even a united France, which might have undertaken the sole military responsibility for the maintenance of the Latin states, did not yet exist.

It is, accordingly, not surprising that zeal for the crusading cause grew weaker and weaker and finally evaporated altogether. It was seen that nothing great was accomplished by the vast expenditure

of men and money that had been lavished on it for so many years. Practical statesmen preferred to use their national resources for other purposes. Many came back from Palestine quite certain that those for whom they fought there, the Syrian Latins, were unworthy. Besides, pilgrims could visit the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem and Nazareth quite freely, although the Moslems were guardians of the holy places. Had God really apportioned Palestine to be a Christian possession? The answer became dubious and more and more uncertain.

The contact between East and West in Syria during the period of the Crusades was not merely that of enemies continually at war with one another. A large part of the civil population of the Latin states was purely Oriental and even Moslem. The former peasants of the country were left in undisturbed possession of their lands and homes. The old village life and the ancient cultivation of the fields proceeded as before, and after, the Latin occupation. The people paid to the new lords their customary dues as willingly, or unwillingly, as formerly. As Christianity had previously been tolerated by the Moslem government, so now the religion of Islam was tolerated by the Christian government. Some Arab tribes beyond Jordan which professed Christianity crossed the river at the invitation of Baldwin I in 1115. But the greater part of the population of Palestine was and remained Moslem. In Lebanon a majority of the people were Christians (Maronites), as they had been from pre-Islamic times, and as they still are. They were sturdy mountaineers who supplied excellent bowmen to the Latin armies. In Tripolis and, especially, in Antioch the native population was partly Christian and partly Moslem; in Edessa it was chiefly Armenian. A similar mixture existed in Moslem territory. There were five Christian churches in Aleppo at the time of the First Crusade.

These Christians in Moslem territory and Moslems in Christian territory were from the first connecting links between the Moslem and the Latin states. Friendly intercourse and trade relationships that

Mixed nature
of population

had existed before the Latin settlement could not be and were not wholly broken off because of the conquest of a part of the country by the crusaders. Two great fairs that were held annually, one on the north-east frontier between Palestine and Damascus, in Moslem territory, and the other in the south-west of Palestine, in Latin territory, seem to have been maintained and, if so, must have been deliberately permitted on both sides because of their advantage to both. Restrictions limiting the destruction of fruit trees and crops were soon tacitly and for the most part faithfully observed. Moslem raiders naturally abstained from hurting Moslem villagers, and the crusaders soon learned to practise the ancient usages that governed and restricted inter-city ('international') warfare in Syria.

A large measure of local self-government was allowed by the Latins to the country districts. The head of a Moslem village continued to be a Moslem.

Local autonomy under the Latins In the time of Saladin, according to the testimony of an Arabic writer, Moslems under Latin rule enjoyed a treatment that compared favourably with their treatment by Moslem rulers. They usually paid to the Latins a poll-tax, half the produce of their harvests and a tax upon their fruit trees. Christians were exempt from the poll-tax, but had their own special burden in the shape of tithes to the clergy. A certain amount of public service was imposed annually ('corvée'). The roads were maintained by this means and by tolls.

The population of the coast towns consisted chiefly of Frenchmen, Italians and Syrian Christians; in some (for instance, Tyre) there was also a large Moslem population. Each of these towns had at least one mosque in use and a special inn for the accommodation of Moslem travellers. Inter-marriage between European men and Syrian women was so common that a mixed race, known as Pullans ('Pullani') soon bulked largely in the population. They were bilingual and formed another link between the crusaders of pure Western and the natives of pure Eastern parentage. Their women were completely veiled in the streets, like Moslems, and this practice

was followed by some of the European families settled in Syria. In some towns there was a Jewish population, which came chiefly from the south of France. In the second part of the twelfth century there were at least a hundred Jewish families in Tyre, engaged chiefly in commerce and glass making. In Jerusalem at the same time there were possibly only four such families, the whole Jewish population of the city having been expelled in 1099. The Jews of Palestine were not allowed to own land, as Moslems were. Moslems, Jews and Jacobite Christians all alike practised circumcision.

It is a most significant fact that the coast towns of Syria continued to serve as the ports of the inland Moslem towns during the Latin occupation. The extent of the trade between these towns (Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo) and their ports may be judged from the fact that in 1184 two wealthy Turkish merchants of Damascus conducted their whole business with the Latins of the coast towns. They had employees and offices in Akka (Acre) and sent caravans regularly backwards and forwards between Damascus and that town. They stood in an intimate and influential relationship with the rulers of Damascus and of Jerusalem. The scene at the custom house in Akka, when caravans from Damascus arrived there, is described by a Moslem traveller (Ibn Jubair), who accompanied one of them. He specially mentions courteous Latin officials, who could speak Arabic and sat at a table, with pens and great ink-pots of ebony, ready to enter in their books the goods imported and the customs paid. All imports into the city, even from the surrounding country, were liable to duties.

The same traveller speaks of public baths in Tripolis frequented by Latins and kept by a Moslem. The public baths were amenities of the towns which impressed European visitors. Their use was an oriental practice which savoured to them somewhat of effeminacy. But the Syrian Latins (Europeans settled in Syria) made constant use of them. The industries of the Latin towns were carried on, as they had been before the conquest, chiefly



BEZANT OF THE LATIN KINGDOM

'Allah wahid' (God is one) in the centre of this gold bezant struck at Akka after 1250; the contradictory formula round it, 'The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,' also in Arabic; and the cross on the reverse (right), all show the tolerant attitude of the Latin kingdom.

British Museum

by native Christians and by Moslems. Syrian pottery, glass, jewelry and brass work found a ready sale in Europe, and the weaving and dyeing of silks and cottons developed greatly under the stimulus of the new markets in the West. Even Damascus and the inland towns of Syria, which were famous for similar industries, benefited commercially by the closer contact with Europe.

The commercial and industrial prosperity of the Latin states, which was not much affected by the ups and downs of their political fortunes, in other words the importance of the Syrian coast towns as centres of international trade, is an outstanding feature and consequence of the settlements of the crusaders in the East. The Italian merchants in the Syrian ports were the principal intermediaries of this international trade. Their ships sailed in fleets regularly, twice or three times a year, at the favourable shipping seasons, in spring and autumn. They brought from Europe arms and skins and dress materials, wood and metals and sometimes food stuffs (wheat, etc.), chiefly for the use of the Latins, although perhaps not exclusively.

They exported in exchange the industrial products already mentioned and those natural products of Syria which Europe did not yet produce. The churches of the West were adorned with brass chandeliers and glass lamps and silver vessels and rich vestments made in Syria. Large quantities of silk and cotton fabrics were exported. Spices and sugar were

profitable merchandise. Syria now supplied western Europe with most of its sugar. It was grown in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Tripolis and in the Jordan valley. Pepper also now reached Europe in abundance for the first time since Roman days. It is curious to read that when Arsuf was captured by the Genoese in 1101, each soldier received as his share of the booty a certain sum of money and two pounds of pepper. A large stock of pepper had been captured in the town.

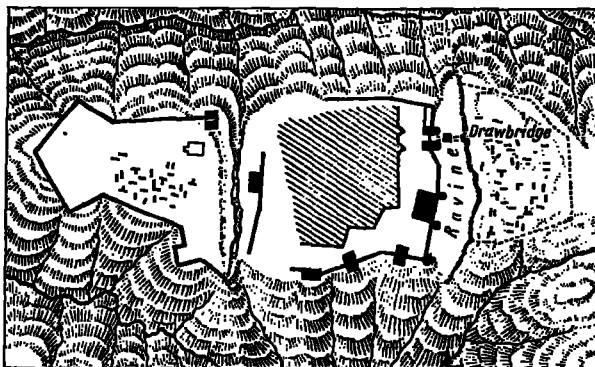
The gold coinage of the Latin states supplies a startling illustration of the immediate effect which was produced upon the crusaders by their settlement in Syria. It also proves the existence from the beginning of extensive financial transactions between the Moslems and the crusaders. All the first princes of the Latin states struck gold coins of the value and appearance of those in use in Syria at the date of their arrival (in Greek and Latin called 'bezant' or 'besant,' in Arabic 'dinar'). They were struck in Arabic characters, with Arabic dates, under the name of a Moslem sovereign, and, most extraordinary of all, with the religious formulas of Islam upon them. A very small cross or the initial of a Latin prince sometimes marked their real character; at other times only the workmanship and the name of the mint are evidence of their origin. They were intended to be accepted and used by Moslem princes and merchants, just as the Latins accepted and used the corresponding Moslem coins.

This state of affairs continued until the year 1250, when a papal legate who came to Palestine with Louis IX observed and denounced the hitherto unregarded scandal. From that time onwards the gold coinage, although still of the same value and still struck in Arabic characters, was dated in a western form and was inscribed with religious formulas which expressed the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ. Gold coins were struck in Akka, Tyre, Tripolis and Antioch; silver and copper (alloy) coins elsewhere also. In Palestine the coins of small denomination followed French models; in Antioch and Edessa, as already noted, they continued

the Greek tradition. The gold mint in Akka was controlled by the Venetians, who paid the king a percentage of the profits that they made on it.

War with the Moslems was the serious business and principal occupation of the Latin knights and their retainers. Those engaged on active service lived for the most part in the great border castles, which were built to protect the frontiers after the conquest was complete. Immense labour and expense went to the construction of these castles and some which still survive are amongst the finest and most impressive examples of medieval architecture. Reference has been made already to the honourable limitations under which the normal border warfare of the period was carried on. The castles and small fortified towns on each side were the usual objects of attack. Any day a party of horsemen, forty or sixty strong, might attempt a surprise attack or a raid for the capture of horses or sheep.

Fighting was hand to hand, with spear and sword, mostly in single combat. Neighbours learned in this border warfare to recognize the personality and to admire the courage and skill of their opponents. Even a crusading knight, who came to Syria for a few months to engage in warfare with the infidels, might desire to make the personal acquaintance of a Moslem opponent with whom he had fought. An early example of such intercourse is recorded, when a Western knight came to the emir of Shaizar with a letter of introduction from Tancred, prince of



WONDERFUL MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN THE CRUSADERS' SERVICE

Some of the strongest defence works in the Middle Ages were erected by the liegemen of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to protect their fiefs. At Sahyun in northern Syria is a castle of which the greater part is in ruins; but its most amazing feature still endures. It is an artificial chasm 100 feet deep carved into the solid plateau and serving in place of a moat, with one pinnacle of rock left standing in the centre to support a drawbridge. Top, plan of the defences.

Plan from Rey 'L'Architecture, des Croisés'



CRUSADING COSTUME IN THE ILLUMINATED PSALTER OF S. LOUIS

A wonderfully illuminated psalter, made about 1260, gives the military costumes and customs of the crusading age; and an inscription on the fly-leaf states that it first belonged to S. Louis (Louis IX of France), himself the leader of the crusade that came to grief in Egypt after capturing Damietta. Ostensibly, the page on the left shows Abraham smiting Amraphel and his confederate kings; the other, the Israelites sacking a city while sun and moon stand still at Joshua's command.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Antioch (1111-12). On the other hand, if either of these opponents had succeeded in killing the other, he would, if possible, have cut off his victim's head as a trophy of victory.

In the thirteenth century the crusading castles were nearly all occupied and maintained by the military orders. In Tripolis the Knights Hospitallers governed more territory than the count of Tripolis himself. In Antioch the strongest castles were held by the Knights Templars. The Hospitallers were at first a charitable order for the relief of the sick and the poor and they continued to carry on a splendid work of this kind even after they had become principally a military order. The Templars were at first (1119) a voluntary association of knights sworn to protect pilgrims on the robber-infested roads to and from Jerusalem. The risk to pilgrims of being plundered on the roads of Palestine never entirely ceased during the Latin occupation, except when there was truce

with the Moslems or when the Moslems themselves governed the interior. The third of the military orders, that of the Teutonic Knights Hospitallers, had no independent constitution until 1198, and did not play any great part in the history of the crusading states. Each of these orders had a kind of military uniform of its own. The Templars wore over their armour a white mantle marked with a red cross, the Hospitallers a black mantle with a white cross and the Teutonic knights a white mantle with a black cross. Similar mantles, sometimes of a distinctive character, were worn by Moslems also.

An army in the service of the Latin princes was raised, when required, according to the practice of the feudal system, by calling out from each fief the quota appointed under the terms of the original grant of the fief. The strength of the armies of the kings of Jerusalem was seldom more than 8-10,000 men, and usually less. The army that fought at

Hattin (1187), which was quite exceptionally large, may possibly have numbered 20-25,000.

The heavily armed Latin knights could always bear down by the weight of their charge any Moslem force with which they could establish close contact. On the other hand, light Turkish and Arab horsemen, armed with bows and spears, were not easily overtaken; and could usually wear out the knights by alternate attacks and swift retreats. The military orders and the Syrian Latins learned by experience that squadrons of knights needed, for victory, to be well protected by infantry and light horsemen, acting as their shield. Neglect of this precaution was a frequent cause of the defeat of European crusaders, who rashly despised, in spite of warnings, their slighter and less strongly armed opponents. 'Turkopolos' was the name given to the Moslem mercenaries who served the Latins as light horsemen. Sometimes, too, Armenian mercenaries fought as bowmen for the Moslems against the Latins. Even on

the field of battle Moslems and Christians did not always take opposite sides as if they were engaged in a religious war.

Tournaments and rustic sports were occasional recreations in Latin Syria. Music and song and dicing were common pastimes among all classes. Hunting, however, was the chief sport of the Latin knights. Dogs and nets and, still more, falcons and hawks were instruments of the chase. Partridges, hares, water-fowl and deer of several kinds were abundant. Foxes, wolves, hyenas and even wild goats were also hunted. Occasionally bears and lions were encountered. The hunters carried spears and bows, but falconry and hawking were generally practised, and with most pleasure. Moslem princes and



SOME OF THE PILGRIMS WHO STREAMED BETWEEN EUROPE AND PALESTINE

The frequent pilgrimages of the eleventh century were an important part of the preparation for the Crusades and the states which the crusaders founded were regularly recruited by armed pilgrim bands. In times of peace, especially, the pilgrim corresponded to the modern tourist and demanded an organization of innkeepers and guides. These illustrations from a manuscript of the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville show pilgrims setting out (left) and paying toll at Joppa or Tyre.

British Museum, Harleyan MSS.



LONDON'S CHURCH OF THE TEMPLARS

Consecrated for the Knights Templars in 1185 by the patriarch of Jerusalem, its circular form being a reminiscence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple Church in London, though much restored, is a tangible link with the Crusades.

Photo, Campbell

nobles were equally devoted to this sport, which therefore sometimes became a bond of friendship between them and their Christian neighbours. Falcons and hunters were much appreciated gifts. A young falcon sometimes cost as much as £7 (15 dinars), and a good hunting horse £150 (320 dinars).

In Syria during the crusading period a striking tolerance of belief and practice was shown both by Moslems towards Christians and by Christians towards Moslems. Their intolerant language towards one another was not much more than a form of speech, and was quite consistent with real friendly feeling and with respect for the religion of the so-called 'infidel.' Temporary visitors, on pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land, did not

share this attitude and, indeed, abhorred it. They could not understand, for instance, how a Moslem should be allowed to say his prayers facing to Mecca (i.e. south-east), instead of facing east. But a Syrian Latin would readily interfere to protect a Moslem in the exercise of his customary practice.

Amongst all Christians of the crusading period a great reverence for holy places and sacred relics is particularly noticeable. This reverence was joined to and rested very much upon a profound belief in the genuineness of the many places and objects that were pointed out as actually those of Bible times and to be read about in the Bible. The pilgrim felt himself to be entering his Saviour's presence when he visited the scenes of the Passion and there saw or touched its very instruments. In Jerusalem he was shown the Holy Cradle, the Table of the Last Supper, the basin in which the Apostles' feet were washed, two links of the chain which had bound S. Peter. He visited the house of Pilate, the room of the Last Supper,

the place of scourging, Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. Outside Jerusalem he made pilgrimages to Bethlehem, Bethany, the place of Christ's baptism, Samaria, Nazareth, Capernaum and other places by the Lake of Galilee. He was not much interested in the scenes of Old Testament history, although he was taken to Hebron, where the graves of the patriarchs and their wives were shown, and to the place, as he supposed, of Jacob's dream. Sometimes he went as far as the monastery of S. Catherine at Mount Sinai and to Damascus, for the sake of its association with S. Paul.

Viewed from another side, these pilgrim visitors were medieval tourists, and were provided for as such. Guides and inn-keepers and custodians were all there, and

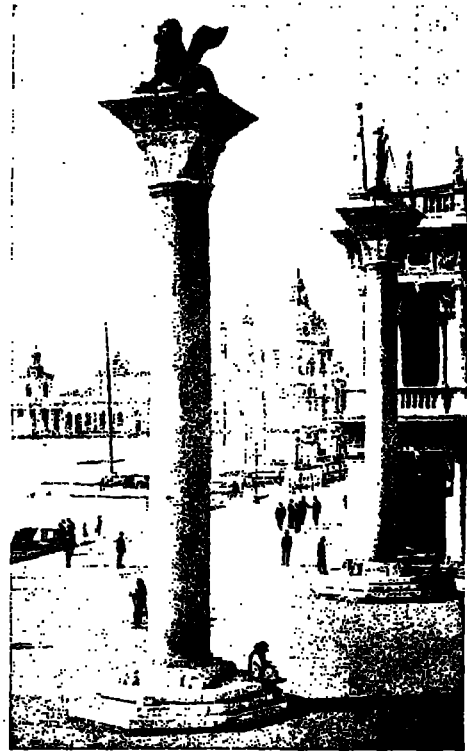
required to be paid. An extra fee secured extra privilege. The passage on the Italian ships cost a considerable sum of money to everyone. Even the shrines made profit from the pilgrims. Still, expenses had to be met, and generally the fees were fixed. Occasional overcharges and profiteering were balanced by much unrequited kindness to pilgrims in sickness and distress. The charitable activities of the various orders of monks and of the order of S. John (Hospitallers) were outstanding features of the religious life of the period and of the country, much to be admired.

If we now ask, finally, what were the permanent effects of the crusading activities of Europe and of its close association with the East in Syria for two centuries, we shall find that there are differences of opinion regarding the relative importance of these effects, but none regarding their great variety and extent.

The survival in crusading countries of so many buildings and relics of the Crusades is itself significant. In London, the Temple Church, in its original round form, was constructed by Knights Templars after the model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In Paris, La Sainte Chapelle (see page 2878) was built by Louis IX to contain the relics which he acquired as a crusader in the Holy Land. At Carcassonne the great fortifications display a style of architecture that was developed first in Syria by the crusaders. In Genoa, in the Church of San Lorenzo, there is a vessel of green glass which was captured at the siege of Caesarea in 1101 and carried home as a much-valued prize of victory. In Venice, on the Piazzetta, are two marble pillars and two great granite columns brought from Syria during the period of the Crusades. Even the four magnificent bronze horses that stand over the doorway of S. Mark's (page 2296) are trophies taken from Constantinople in 1204, and so are also parts of crusading history.

Historians find similar marks of the influence of the Crusades in the economic and intellectual and religious life of Europe, past and present. A distinction may be drawn between effects produced by contact with the civilization of the East and effects that issue directly from the

crusading movement. The learning and art and science of the East, its public services and methods of government, its highly developed industries and the superior luxury and comfort of the domestic life of its upper classes, exerted a powerful and far-reaching influence upon Europe in the crusading period. They did so, however, not only through Syria, but also through Spain and Sicily and, indeed, through Greece itself, the mother, or at least a progenitor, of Moslem civilization. It is not always possible, therefore, to say, in each sphere of influence, how much is due to the opportunities provided by the Crusades and how much to other channels of communication. The other class of effects, the direct result of the Crusades, due to the movement itself, are more easily distinguished and



CRUSADING TROPHIES AT VENICE

The two columns that stand in the Piazzetta at Venice were brought by Doge Michieli from Syria in 1126 and erected with their existing capitals in 1180; they are now surmounted by the Lion of S. Mark and S. Theodore on a crocodile.

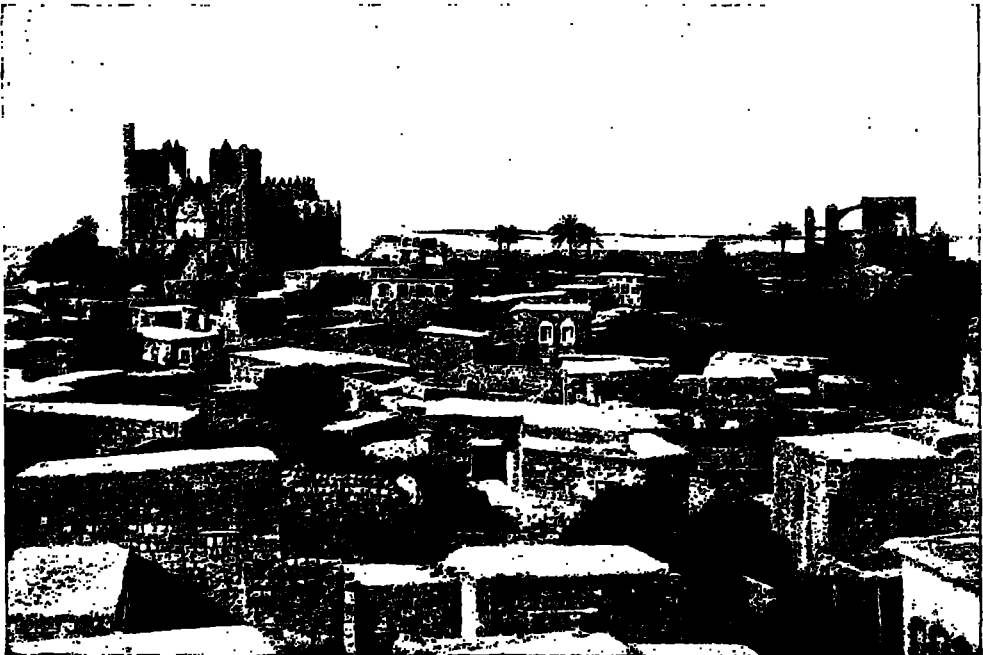
Photo, Donald McLeish

enumerated. In the following summary, therefore, reference will be made chiefly although not exclusively to them. The principal effects of the Crusades are here roughly classified as political, commercial and industrial, literary and religious.

It will not be disputed that the primary political purpose of the Crusades was accomplished if it be granted that this purpose was to check the advance of the Turks in Asia Minor. The advance of the Turks in Asia Minor was checked by the crusading movement for at least two centuries. Further, when the Ottoman Turks began again to advance the borders of Islam in the fourteenth century, the defence of Europe against them had been prepared by the crusading movement. The two great outposts of the European defence were the Latin kingdom of Cyprus, created by Richard of England in 1191, and the island of Rhodes, in which the Knights Hospitallers lay, as it were, entrenched for two hundred years (1310-1523). Both

were acquisitions of the crusaders. Through them, especially, the Crusades continued to exert a powerful political influence in the struggle of western Europe against the Ottoman Turks.

The extraordinary commercial development of the Italian towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was due primarily to their connexion with Syria, established by the Crusades. The character and extent of the trade with Syria has already been indicated. It need only be added that the products of Persia, India and China now poured into Europe by way of Syria and Egypt and Asia Minor. The Mediterranean Sea was traversed by lines of richly laden merchantmen, as it had never been before. New products from the East introduced new industries into the West, and especially into Italy. It is sufficient to name the still famous glass industry of Venice, which was learned by the Venetians from skilled Syrian workmen in the factories of Tyre.



FAMAGUSTA WHENCE A CRUSADING DYNASTY RULED CYPRUS FOR 300 YEARS

One of the most lasting political effects of the Crusades was the acquisition of Cyprus, which remained an outpost against Islam until captured by the Ottomans in 1570. Richard I of England having wrested it from Isaac Comnenus (1191) sold it to the Knights Templars, and they in their turn to Guy de Lusignan, whose dynasty ruled until 1489 when the island passed to Venice. Their capital was Famagusta, whose lovely Gothic cathedral of S. Nicholas is seen above.

Photo, Sir A. H. Young

The numerous names of dress materials and furniture (cotton, satin, sofa, mattress) and the technical terms of commerce and shipping (tariff, arsenal, admiral), borrowed from Arabic when the things themselves were introduced, illustrate the debt to the East that Europe incurred, now and previously.

All this trade, and still more the accumulation and transference of large sums of money for the use of the crusading states and to meet the expenses of national crusades, extended and developed the practice of banking. Other by-products of the crusading movement, such as the invention and application of new schemes of taxation, the organization by the Hospitallers of hospitals in the modern sense and the abolition in Palestine of the old bad practice of plundering shipwrecked sailors and their ships, may be mentioned as examples of incidental but fruitful contributions made by the Crusades to the progress of European civilization.

The Crusades were also a great stimulus to European literature. Every large crusade found its historian in someone who shared its hardships

The Stimulus and its success or failure. to Literature

The events of the First Crusade were recorded by at least four crusaders of four different nationalities. They wrote in Latin, and because of that enjoyed an international circulation. So great, however, was the popular interest that it could only be satisfied by works in the language of the common people. Their demand was met at first by historical poems in Old French ('chansons de geste') and finally by the pioneer prose works of Geoffrey de Villehardouin (*Conquest of Constantinople*) and Jean de Joinville (*Life of S. Louis*). Guide-books for pilgrims in Palestine and books of travel written by visitors to the Holy Land were also numerous and supplied a special demand of the period. They were the forerunners of later books of travel like that of Marco Polo. The Crusades opened up not merely Palestine, but also, ultimately, Asia to the European traveller.

In the spheres of religion and church life an increase of the power of the popes

and of the wealth of the Church and, possibly, a greater sense of the ideal unity of Christendom may be named as results of the crusading movement. A new hatred of the Jewish people was an unfortunate consequence of the stress laid upon the sad incidents of the Crucifixion. The custom of pilgrimage to Palestine was promoted by the Crusades and continued as a common practice afterwards. The better understanding arrived at in Palestine between Christians and Moslems was by no means fully maintained and yet was not wholly lost in Europe after the Crusades. The circulation of books like William of Tyre's history and the work of Ricoldo di Monte Croce dispelled in some measure at least the utter ignorance of the character of Islam and its adherents that had existed in Europe before the Crusades. Even the loss of faith in the obligation and benefits of an armed crusade may have had its religious reaction in a fresh devotion to the perpetual crusade of Christendom for the conversion of the world, and so may have contributed to the striking development of missionary enterprise that occurred in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

It was, however, probably in Italy and through Italy that the Crusades exerted their greatest influence. It should never be forgotten that the marvellous achievements of the Italian Renaissance follow directly in the train of the crusading period. It may be said confidently that this Renaissance rested upon a foundation of material prosperity secured by the Crusades, and it may even be that its vital sparks were struck and kindled by the clash of forces which the Crusades set in motion. Migrations and intermingling of peoples seem often in the past to have been the prelude and preparation for new and unexpected displays of human capacity. The mystery of the great periods of artistic and intellectual achievement is not thereby wholly explained. But if even a partial credit for the achievements of the Renaissance can thereby be ascribed to the influence of the Crusades, this period of high importance and rich fertility gains further, vastly, in glory and significance.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XX

- 1216 Deaths of Innocent III, King John, Emperor Henry (of Flanders); acc. of Honorius III, Henry III, Peter of Courtenay.
- 1217 Crusade of Andrew of Hungary.
- 1219 John of Brienne captures Damietta. Aladil d. Jenghiz Khan invades Transoxiana.
- 1220 Frederick's son Henry k. of the Romans. Frederick crowned emperor.
- 1221 Damietta recaptured by Al Kamil. Emp. Peter d.
- 1222 John III Ducas emperor of Nicaea. Mongol incursion into S. Europe.
- 1223 Death of Philip Augustus; acc. Louis VIII.
- 1226 Louis VIII d.; acc. Louis IX; Blanche of Castile regent to 1235.
- 1227 Frederick II m. Iolande of Brienne and Jerusalem. Gregory IX pope. Frederick embarks on Crusade, but returns. Gregory excommunicates him. Jenghiz Khan d. Ogdaï succeeds as Great Khan, but does not extend western conquests.
- 1228 Frederick sails on Crusade and negotiates peace with Al Kamil, recovering Holy Places.
- 1229 Frederick crowns himself king at Jerusalem, and returns to Europe. John of Brienne joint emperor at Constantinople with Baldwin II (of Courtenay).
- 1230 Reconciliation of Gregory and Frederick; Treaty of San Germano. Union of Leon and Castile under Ferdinand III.
- 1231 Frederick II issues 'Statute in Favour of Princes' for Germany.
- 1231-5 James I 'the Conqueror' of Aragon, conquers the Balearic Isles from the Saracens. Henry king of the Romans makes trouble in Germany, in opposition to Frederick.
- 1236 Frederick deposes and exiles Henry. Louis IX's personal rule begins.
- 1238 Ferdinand III of Castile captures Cordova.
- 1237 Frederick defeats the revived Lombard League at Cortenuova; Conrad made king of the Romans. Advance of John Ducas in Thrace. John of Brienne d. James of Aragon conquers Valencia. Ferdinand of Castile enters Seville.
- 1238 Al Kamil d. Succession rivalries among Eyubids.
- 1239 Gregory IX, as protector of Lombard League, again excommunicates Frederick.
- 1241 Great Mongol invasion under Batu. They devastate Russia and Poland; checked by Germans at Leignitz and Bohemians at Olmütz, they devastate Hungary; but on tidings of the death of Ogdaï the Great Khan, Batu retires, S. Russia remaining subject. Mangu succeeds as Great Khan, Hulagu in western Asia (Ilkhan dyn.).
- 1242 Gregory IX dies while Frederick marches on Rome.
- 1242 Es-Saleh Eyubid sultan in Egypt. Mameluke corps organized.
- 1243 Henry III of England surrenders claims in Poitou. Innocent IV pope; takes up quarrel with Frederick.
- 1244 Mongol bands fall on Jerusalem.
- 1245 Mongols rout and massacre Christian forces. Innocent pronounces deposition of Frederick in Germany and Sicily.
- 1246 John Ducas takes Thessalonica.
- 1246 Louis IX heads a Crusade.
- 1249 Louis captures Damietta. Scotland: acc. Alexander III.
- 1250 Louis taken prisoner and his force destroyed by Es-Saleh's Mamelukes at Mansourah. Frederick II d.; Conrad IV and William of Holland rival kings of the Romans. Ferdinand of Castile captures Cadix and Xeres.
- 1252 Alfonso X the Wise acc. in Castile. Moorish dominion confined to Granada.
- 1254 Conrad IV d.; Manfred holds Sicily for Conradin. Louis IX returns to France. Alexander IV pope.
- 1255 Edmund of England papal candidate for Sicily.
- 1256 William of Holland d.; 'Great Interregnum,' to 1273. Hulagu suppresses the Assassins. Alfonso X and Richard of Cornwall elected rival kings of the Romans.
- 1259 Kutuz first Mameluke sultan of Egypt. Hulagu sacks Bagdad and ends Abbasid Khalifate. Manfred assumes crown of Sicily.
- 1259 Eccelin da Romano d.; ascendancy of Manfred. Territorial settlement by Louis and Henry III.
- 1260 Ghibelline victory at Montapertoso. Kublai succeeds Mangu as Great Khan. Hulagu defeated at Ain Galat by Kutuz and Balbars; who kills Kutuz and seizes sultanate.
- 1261 Michael VIII Palaeologus captures Constantinople, restoring Greek and ending Latin Empire. Urban IV pope.
- 1262 Peter, prince of Aragon, m. Manfred's dr. Constantine.
- 1263 Alexander III of Scotland defeats Haakon of Norway at Largs and annexes the Hebrides.
- 1265 Montfort's parliament; his fall at Evesham. Urban offers Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou (brother of Louis IX), who accepts. Birth of Dante.
- 1266 Charles defeats and kills Manfred at Grandella. Balban sultan of Delhi to 1286.
- 1267 Conradin son of Conrad IV claims Sicilian crown.
- 1268 Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufen, is defeated at Tagliacozzo, captured and beheaded. Charles I king of Naples and Sicily. Balbars captures Jaffa and Antioch.
- 1269 Louis IX's second crusade and death; Philip III.
- 1270 Edward, English crown prince, in Palestine. Toulouse lapses to French crown.
- 1271 Gregory X pope.
- 1272 England: acc. Edward I on death of Henry III.
- 1273 Rudolf of Hapsburg elected king of the Romans. End of the Great Interregnum.
- 1275 Pact of Gregory X and Rudolf.
- 1276 Peter III succeeds James I of Aragon. Gregory X d.
- 1276 Kublai Khan completes conquest of China.
- 1277 Rudolf at war with Ottocar of Bohemia. Balbars d.
- 1278 Rudolf defeats and kills Ottocar at Marchfeld, recovering Austria, etc., which are appropriated to the Hapsburgs. Wenzel II succeeds Ottocar in Bohemia.
- 1281 Japanese destroy Kublai's Armada.
- 1282 Sicilian Vespers; Sicily revolts against Angevin rule and offers crown to Peter of Aragon. Ejection of French from Sicily.
- 1282-1302 Struggle between Angevins and Aragonese for Sicily and Naples, which remain parted. Angevins keep Naples, Aragonese Sicily.
- 1283 Edward I completes conquest of Wales.
- 1284 Philip the Fair m. Joan of Navarre. Alfonso X d.; acc. Sancho IV.
- 1285 Philip III succeeded by Philip IV the Fair. Charles I of Naples succeeded by Charles II. Peter III succeeded by Alfonso in Aragon and by his younger son James in Sicily.
- 1286 Alexander III of Scotland d.; regency for his grand-daughter Margaret the 'Maid of Norway.' Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor under Othman.
- 1286 Margaret d.; disputed Scottish succession. Mamelukes capture Tripolis.
- 1291 Mamelukes capture Acre, last Christian fortress. League of Forest Cantons; Swiss confederation. James II succeeds Alfonso in Aragon; Sicilian claim taken up by his brother Frederick.
- 1292 John Balliol king of Scots, as vassal of Edward. Adolf of Nassau succeeds Rudolf as k. of Romans.
- 1294 Boniface VIII elected pope. Philip IV and Edward I at war. Kublai Khan d.
- 1295 Franco-Scottish alliance begins. Edward I summons the Model Parliament. Ghazan becomes western Khan and adopts Islam.
- 1296 Edward deposes Balliol and seizes Scots crown. Boniface issues bull 'Clericis Laicos.' Philip and Edward defy him successfully. Ala ud-Din Khilji seizes Delhi sultanate.
- 1297 Scots War of Liberation begins.
- 1298 Wallace defeated at Falkirk by English archery. Albert of Austria defeats and kills Adolf; is elected king of the Romans.
- 1301 Boniface vainly claims Scotland as papal fief. Hungary: last Arpad king d.; crown becomes elective.
- 1302 First decisive defeat of mail-clad cavalry by pikemen at Courtrai, in Flanders. Philip IV summons States General in France to denounce Boniface's extreme claims. Settlement between Frederick k. of Sicily and Charles II k. of Naples.
- 1303 Philip takes Boniface prisoner at Anagni. Boniface d.; death-blow to Hildebrandine theory of papal sovereignty.

Chronicle XX

THE AGE OF EASTERN IMPERIALISM : 1216-1303

WHEN Jenghiz Khan assumed his title in 1206 and presently turned his arms against the immemorial Eastern Empire, north China had long been under the rule of the Kin Tatars. Having conquered the Kins, laid waste their cities and occupied their capital in the neighbourhood of the modern Peking, he left an army behind him and turned to complete the conquest of central Asia and thence to sweep on westward.

After the fall of the sultan Sanjar and the Seljuk sultanate, the supremacy and the protectorship of the Abbasid khalif at Bagdad had passed to the powerful rulers of Khiva in Transoxiana. On Mohammed of Khiva devolved the task of holding up the Mongol onslaught. In that task he signally failed, meeting with a crushing defeat at the hands of Jenghiz Khan in 1219. The attack had actually been invited by the khalif himself, Nasir, who found himself on the point of being crushed by his nominal protector. During the next six years Mohammed and after him his son Jelal ud-Din were hunted from pillar to post ; the whole of their dominion from Khiva to Georgia, Khorassan and half Persia, was ravaged, and the Mongol hordes began to pour into south Russia.

Horrors of the Mongol Invasion

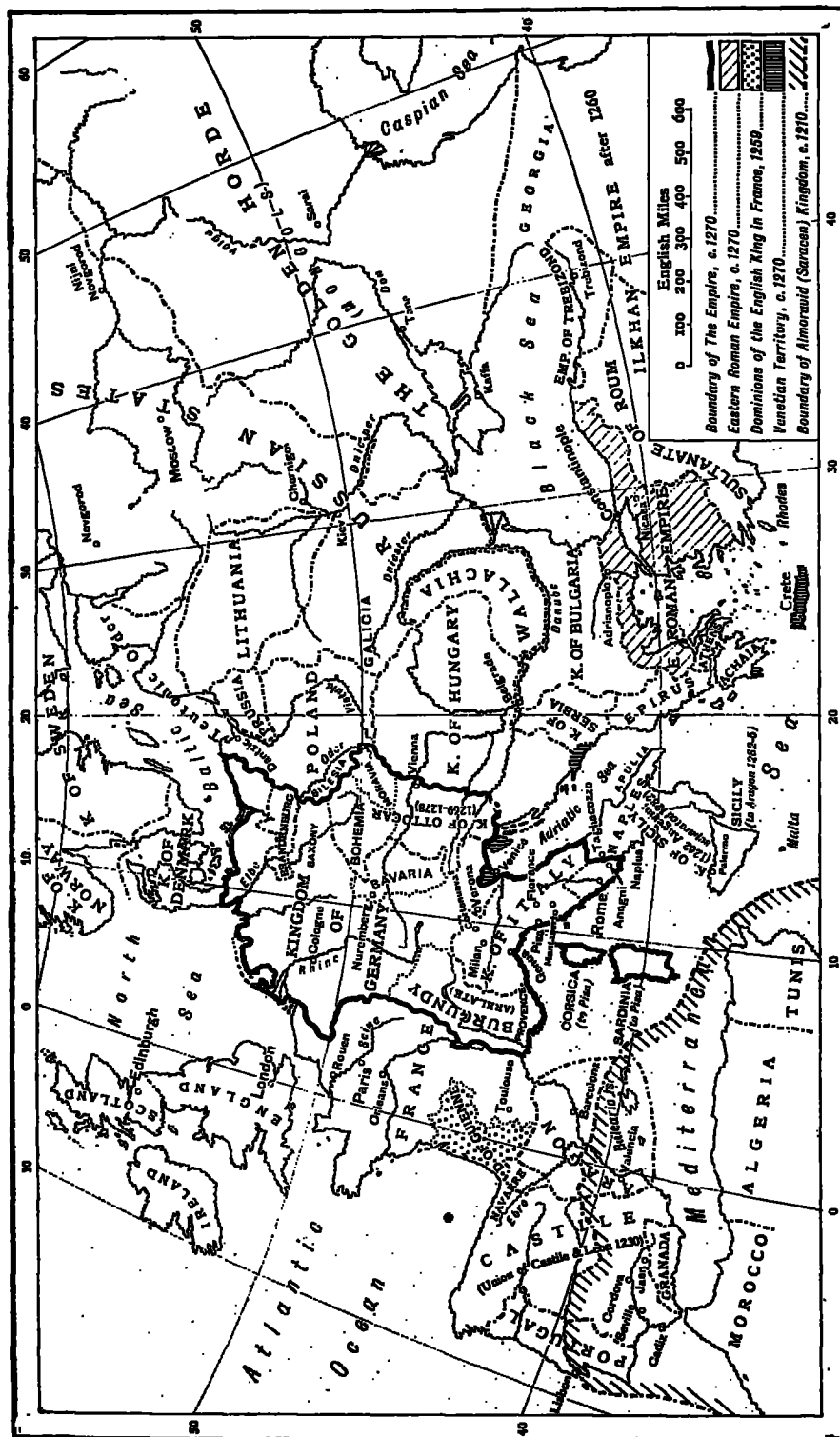
WHEREVER resistance was offered the conqueror smote without mercy, slaughtering by thousands and tens of thousands ; instant submission was rewarded with practical immunity. There was no attack on Bagdad, which had thrown down no challenge. Meanwhile, the Great Khan's lieutenants were making good the conquest in China. Two years later, in 1227, the great conqueror died, on an expedition to punish a rebel chief in Mongolia ; lord of an empire more vast than had ever owned the sway of a single master. That empire he divided between his four sons, naming one of them, Ogdai, as Great Khan.

For some fifteen years Ogdai ruled as Great Khan. During those years he and his brother Tuli were personally occupied mainly with the eastward expansion ; but the Mongol power was also exacting submission from the western Seljuk sultanates, flooding into Europe and razing to the ground the nascent civilization of Russia. Towards the end of Ogdai's reign the flood became a deluge which threatened, as Attila had once threatened, to submerge Western civilization altogether. The West was too much absorbed in its own internal quarrels to awake to the danger till it was at the very gates ; a hastily gathered force gave slight check to the storm at Leignitz, when it had already devastated Poland, in 1241, and more effectively it was turned aside from Bohemia to Hungary by the Czechs ; there it was pursuing its career when news came of the death of Ogdai.

Ebb of Mongol Flood in the West

THE tide was not rolled back, but without other apparent reason it ebbed as suddenly as it had risen—never to return. Its chief, Batu, a grandson of the mighty Jenghiz, established his own khanate in the regions of the Caspian. The Russian civilization had perished, and for centuries the Russian Slavs lay under the Tatar supremacy, their progress strangled.

The Great Khanate passed into the hands of the sons not of Ogdai but of Tuli : Mangu and after him the great Kublai. Both of them, like Ogdai, were concerned mainly with the Farther East ; the Nearer East, Mahomedan Asia excluding India, fell under the rule of the third brother, Hulagu. Mangu in due course crushed the last stronghold of the Kins in Honan and was engaged in subjugating the Chinese Sungs of the south when his death in 1260 gave the succession in the Great Khanate to Kublai (1260-1294), whose splendours were celebrated by the European traveller



DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN POWERS IN EUROPE DURING THE PERIOD OF MONGOL RULE IN ASIA

While the Mongols were securing control of all Asia and eliminating the Christians as a power in the East, in Europe the Saracen power was being reduced until it was confined to Granada, one result being the emergence of Spain as a European power. Simultaneously France was acquiring cohesion and absorbing the English possessions there. South Italy became the Angevin kingdom of Naples, separated by the papal dominions from the congeries of city states in North Italy; and in Germany the imperial authority was being encroached upon by the princes of loosely confederated states.

The Age of Eastern Imperialism

Marco Polo (see Chapter 111). How Hulagu advanced in the West and how his advance was stayed we shall presently see; for we must now turn to the more familiar fields with which the last two Chronicles have been concerned.

FOR more than thirty years after the death of Innocent III the central figure in the West was the 'World's Wonder,' the emperor Frederick II. To this day, as in his own, a perplexed astonishment is the most definite feeling aroused by the study of his career. His audacious originality, his versatility, the universality of his interests, remind us of the most remarkable personality in the list of the great Roman emperors, Hadrian. He discarded the intellectual shackles of medievalism; his brilliancy and his amazing modernity give him an intoxicating attraction; and his accomplishment was to undo the best work of his grandfather, who was almost as far his inferior intellectually as he was his superior in stability and in character.

When Innocent died, Frederick was already emperor in consequence of his solemn engagement to devote himself to the new crusade on which the great pope's heart was set, and to maintain in permanence the separation of the Sicilian kingdom from the Empire. Innocent's successor, Honorius, was less masterful and more patient, readier to trust insincere assurances, easier to deceive. For ten years Frederick played with him, evading or breaking his own promises. He was always going on the promised crusade, but he did not go. He got his young son Henry crowned as successor both to the Empire and to the Sicilian kingdom, while he left Germany to the able administration of Archbishop Engelbert and concentrated on the establishment of an absolute monarchy in the Sicilies; and he was obviously on the point of reviving the old imperial claims in Lombardy when Honorius died in 1227, although he had apparently been at last making serious preparation for the long-promised crusade. The new pope, Gregory IX, was an old



ASIATIC DOMINIONS OF JENGHIZ KHAN AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS

At the time of the death of Jenghiz Khan the Mongol Empire extended right across Asia from the China to the Caspian and Black Seas. Later the Mongol invasion expanded westwards into Europe as far as the Dnieper, to ebb after Ogdai's death, and over the Near East as far as Ain Gelat under Hulagu. Kublai Khan absorbed China, but allowed the rest of the territory of the Great Khan to become distributed among the Chaghatai, Ilkhan and Golden Horde group of Mongols.

man, but of a temper as fiery and an energy as ardent as if he had been a young one. In September Frederick's crusade put to sea and promptly put back again. With equal promptitude, Gregory excommunicated the emperor. Frederick, however, had recently married Iolande of Brienne, who on her mother's death became titular queen of Jerusalem, whereby there had been aroused in him a new interest in the East, and ideas of his own as to the purpose of crusading.

In spite of a flood of papal anathemas, he sailed for the East in 1228; and next year—forty-two years after Saladin's capture of the Holy City—without having struck a blow, by reliance not on hard fighting but on diplomacy with an army behind it, he obtained from Al Kamil, successor of Aladil (see page 2744), the treaty which once more, though for no very long time, restored to the Latins Jerusalem (reserving the Mosque of Omar) and the holy places around it. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with his own hands (since the ecclesiastics would have nothing to say to him) he set on his own head the crown of Jerusalem.

When the king of Jerusalem returned to Europe his practical interest in the East was apparently exhausted. There was no military reorganization. The kingdom's most effective defenders in the past, the great orders of the Temple and of S. John, were more likely to fight each other than to co-operate against the infidel; no effective control could be exercised by a king, away in Italy, who was at perpetual feud with the spiritual head of Christendom; and the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans in the ports, absorbed in purely commercial interests, were in deadly rivalry with each other. Recovery, in fact, had become a sheer impossibility, though

a few enthusiasts in the West might and did still refuse to believe it.

UET for the time Islam was hardly in better plight. In Asia it was overshadowed by the Mongols, whose lordship the northern Seljuk sultanates preferred to the extermination which attended resistance. They had not as yet attacked the Eyubid power, but that power sped to dissolution when Al Kamil died in 1238. In the fighting between rivals in Syria which followed his death, one party was rash enough to call in the aid of Mongol soldiery, bands of whom descended on Syria; and, being entirely impartial in matters of religion, they massacred Mahomedans and Christians alike when they came to Jerusalem.

The destruction of a force of crusaders which brought them to battle at Gaza in the year 1244

was practically the coup de grâce of the moribund Latin kingdom, though the onslaught had been a mere raid and was not followed by occupation. Ogdai had only very recently died, and, though one of his nephews, as we saw, had been devastating eastern Europe, the main Mongol power had been too much preoccupied with central Asia and China (since Jenghiz Khan's death) to extend its dominion in western Asia. Twelve years passed before Hulagu set about further conquest in that quarter, and in the meantime Jerusalem reverted to the Turks. The Mongols were to be brought to a standstill in 1260, but at the hands of neither Eyubid nor crusader. That was to be the work of the great military caste which the Eyubid es-Saleh was even at this moment building up in Egypt. In fact, Damascus was challenging Cairo, and it was only with great difficulty that es-Saleh kept possession of Palestine. For the development of



JENGHIZ KHAN

Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227), Mongol and Tatar emperor, ranks with Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon as conqueror and empire builder. This portrait is in the possession of one of his descendants.

From H. Lamb, 'Genghis Khan'

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his own military power he organized an already existing force of slave soldiery, captives or the offspring of captives taken in war, who were known as Mamelukes. Such a force, composed of picked men, was capable of being trained to a very high standard of efficiency, and was invaluable so long as it was loyal to the sultan; and its efficiency was very soon put to the proof.

The fall of Jerusalem did not, as in the past, bring into the field a host which could pretend to regard itself as the army of Christendom, but it did enable Louis IX of France—by no means the cleverest but assuredly the most admirable prince of his time—to lead a great expedition to the East for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre. That the conquest of Palestine should be made through Egypt was coming

to be recognized. Egypt was its objective; in 1249 it arrived before Damietta, which was at once evacuated without attempting defence. But the campaign in the Delta which followed was on the same disastrous lines as that of 1221; the army was forced to retreat at Mansourah, and Louis, fighting a valiant rearguard action, was completely defeated and himself taken prisoner by the Mamelukes with many others. The crusade was over; Louis and the rest of the captives were released only at the price of a huge ransom and the evacuation of Damietta.

Es-Saleh died while the campaign was in progress. Five years later the Egyptian Eyubids had been practically wiped out, and the lordship of Egypt had passed into the hands of the first of the Mameluke sultans, Kutuz, whose successors held sway for nearly three centuries. About the time when the

Mameluke commander was seizing the throne of Egypt, Hulagu, the lord of the western half of the Mongol empire, was becoming active. The whole East had long been tormented by the terrible sect or secret society known to the West as the Assassins (see page 2789). Yet no one had dared attempt to root them out till Hulagu called upon atabegs and emirs to unite for their extirpation in 1256. They were duly extirpated. But the Abbasid khalif of Bagdad declined to take part in the enterprise, thereby providing the Mongol with a sufficient excuse for falling on Bagdad, putting the khalif to death, giving the city with all its inestimable treasures to a forty days' sack, massacring or enslaving the inhabitants and leaving the Mahomedan world without any khalif at all (1258).



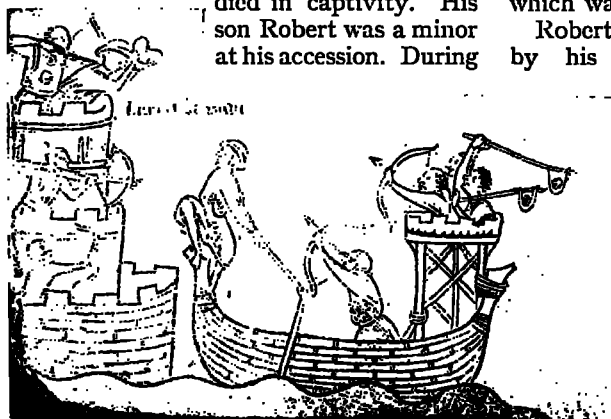
THE CREATION OF AN EMPIRE

In 1206 Temujin, as he was named at birth, convened an assembly of Mongol notables on the banks of the Onon, and with their unanimous approval proclaimed himself Jenghiz Khan—peerless warrior emperor. The event is thus depicted in the manuscript *History of the Mongols*, written by Rashid ed-Din about 1310.

From Blochet, 'Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale'

Then Hulagu set himself to complete the Mongol conquest of the west, and turned upon Syria. The princes of the north were already his submissive vassals, but the Mameluke sultan of Egypt, like his predecessors, claimed Syria for his own. In 1260 Kutuz and his lieutenant Baibars met him at the great battle of Ain Gelat in Palestine, and shattered his army. Beyond the Euphrates the Mongol 'Ilkhan' dynasty ruled where Seljuk or Abbasid had ruled. In the next generation the ilkhans turned Mahomedan. But the Mameluke had set the bounds to their advance westward, at the precise moment when the greatest of Mongol rulers, Kublai, succeeded Mangu as Great Khan.

MEANWHILE, the Latin Empire at Constantinople had fallen to pieces. It never possessed more than an extremely unconvincing semblance of unity; and the only purpose it served was to make finally impossible the consolidation of a really strong European power at the eastern gate of Europe. Henry of Flanders (1205-1216) made the best of an impossible situation, protecting his Greek subjects and keeping some control over his Latin vassals. His successor, Peter of Courtenay, was taken prisoner while on the way to assume the imperial crown, and died in captivity. His son Robert was a minor at his accession. During



NAVAL ATTACK ON THE TOWER OF DAMIETTA

In the thirteenth century Damietta, near the mouth of the Nile, was important as a bulwark of Egypt and was attacked several times by the crusaders. Probably drawn by Matthew Paris this picture represents an attack in 1218 during an eighteen months' siege; note the flail.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, M.S. 16



PSALTER OF S. LOUIS

A unique memorial of the devout S. Louis is the manuscript psalter illuminated for him about 1252. It contains 68 pictures of Old Testament incidents; this one depicts Moses commanding Pharaoh to let the people of Israel go.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

his ten years' reign, an Angelus—Theodore—who had already established himself in Epirus, got possession of Thessalonica, which was nominally a vassal kingdom.

Robert died in 1228 and was followed by his boy-brother Baldwin, whose guardians called in John of Brienne, the ex-king of Jerusalem. John did what he could as joint emperor till his death in 1237. Meanwhile, the Greek John III Ducas had succeeded Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea. He ejected Angelus from Thessalonica, but Constantinople was still impregnable. An infant succeeded him in 1254 at Nicaea; but five years later the capable soldier Michael VIII Palaeologus, who had been acting as guardian, usurped the imperial crown, and in 1261 captured Constantinople by a surprise. The Latin Empire, born in infamy, perished thus

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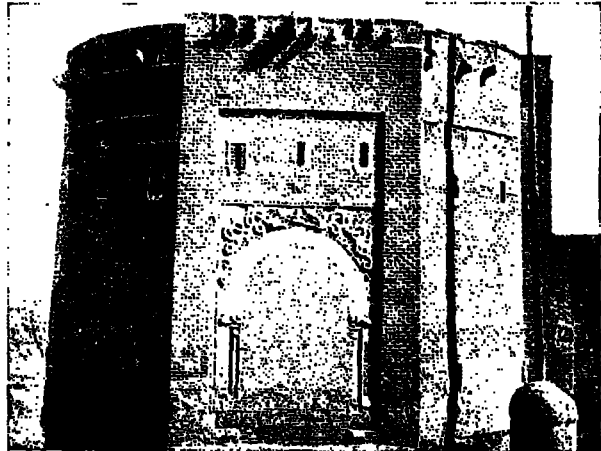
ignominiously after fifty-six years of futility. The Greek Empire rose once more from its ashes, to struggle on dolorously as best it might for nearly two hundred weary years to an heroic end, its one last hour of glory.

THE excommunicate emperor and king of Jerusalem returned from the East to Europe in 1229 to find his Italian territories overrun by John of Brienne in the service of the pope, his inveterate enemy. He very soon cleared the papal forces out of Apulia; Gregory found himself in dangerous plight, and in 1230, through the mediation of Hermann of Salza, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, pope and emperor discovered that their differences had been due entirely to a misunderstanding, which having been cleared up left them the best of friends—till one or other should find a favourable opportunity for dropping the mask. Their new amity was proclaimed to the world by the treaty of San Germano.

Frederick's real personal interest was concentrated on Italy, where he desired to establish his own complete absolutism. Feudalism, free cities and the Papacy were the obstacles. To fight his battle in Italy he wanted the support of the German feudatories and at any rate could not afford to alienate them. Trouble in Germany had repeatedly paralysed the imperial policy in Italy in the past. To avoid trouble in Germany he pursued in that country a course which was in exact contrast to his methods in Sicily and Italy. For the past ten years he had left the government to Germans, and had sent his son Henry, 'king of the Romans,' to take charge. Now he found that the young man was causing trouble, and dictated to him the policy embodied in what might be called the Charter of the Princes, which confirmed the greater nobles as almost independent territorial princes enjoying sovereign rights in their own lordships.

Instead of fostering the lesser nobles and the free towns as a counterpoise to the princes, he strengthened the great nobles to the utmost extent of his power, seeking thereby to reduce the privileges of the free towns, and actually diminishing those of the minor barons—not indeed from any active ill will to these lesser folk, but because he wished to ingratiate himself with the greater folk, in order to be free from German embarrassments in carrying through his Italian policy. In actual fact, however, the 'Statute in favour of the Princes' (1231) did away with such possibility as had hitherto existed of establishing the supremacy of the imperial authority in Germany, so that for more than six hundred years she remained no more than a collection of loosely confederated independent states associated under an imperial president.

Frederick never hesitated to secure temporary support by making promises which he had every intention of breaking whenever it might suit him to do so. In that spirit he had promised Innocent to maintain the separation of the Sicilian and imperial crowns, and had broken that promise as soon as Innocent was safely out of the way. So now he gave the German princes their charter because he wanted



BAGDAD'S GATE OF THE TALISMAN

Brick walls with towers and noble gates formerly enclosed Bagdad, but repeated sieges and inundations have played havoc with them all. The Gate of the Talisman dates from 1220, nearly forty years before Hulagu sacked Bagdad; it has been bricked up since 1638, when Murad IV captured the city.

From Glück and Dietz, 'Die Kunst des Islam'

their support in the coming conflict with Gregory; presumably confident that when he had won that battle he would be able to turn on them and reduce the powers conferred. Meanwhile, with the princes at his back, no serious challenge was likely to come from that quarter.

Nevertheless Germany continued for a while to offer distraction. Young Henry set himself not to carrying out a definite policy of his own, but to thwarting his father to the best of his ability by combining the lesser nobles and the cities against him. But the lesser nobles were too weak and the cities too shrewd to form an effective opposition under a leader so incompetent. The result was that in 1235

Frederick deposed his son, exiled him to Apulia, where he presently became tired of life and rode his horse over a precipice (1242), and confirmed the princes in their recently acquired powers. In 1237 he had his younger son Conrad, the boy born nine years before to Yolande of Brienne, elected king of the Romans (the title which implied succession to the Empire). From this time it may be reckoned that the right of electing the emperor or more commonly the king of the Romans was vested in the small group of magnates who acquired the title of 'electors'—three archbishops and three lay princes, with whom was presently associated for that purpose the king of Bohemia.



SIEGE OF BAGDAD BY HULAGU

This illustration in Rashid ed-Din's History of the Mongols depicts incidents on February 2, 1258, the last day of the siege of Bagdad by Hulagu. Mongol artillery are discharging their last bullets at the walls and the Commander of the Faithful is leaving his palace to surrender to his Mongol conqueror.

From Blochet, 'Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale'

An ascendancy similar to that of the magnates in Germany had been established by Eccelin da Romano at Verona while the old city leagues of Italy were reconstituting themselves and making alliance with Frederick's troublesome son Henry. So when Frederick returned to Italy after his settlement of German affairs in 1237, he turned to the suppression of the Lombard cities with Eccelin very much at his service. In the same year he won a decisive victory at Cortenuova, which brought about the immediate submission of all but the most stubborn, Milan and a few others, who were expecting once more active support from the now very aged but still amazingly energetic Gregory. In 1239 the pope again excommunicated and deposed Frederick.

The emperor's German policy bore the intended fruit. Germany declined to revolt at the pope's bidding. Gregory found himself without adequate military support, and only escaped falling into Frederick's hands by dying (1241). Pope and emperor were both devoting their entire

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energy to this vendetta at the precise moment when Batu and his Mongols, whom they completely ignored, were storming irresistibly through Hungary. The Mongols stopped and surged back thither whence they had come, but the temporal and spiritual heads of Christendom had no hand in their somewhat inexplicable retirement.

Gregory's death suspended the conflict. His immediate successor was already a dying man; after him the papal throne remained vacant for nearly two years; but when Innocent IV was elected, in 1243, the strife was renewed. Frederick drove the pope out of Italy, but Innocent was able to take refuge in the Arelate, though it was a part of Frederick's own dominions, and fulminated therefrom. Louis of France, eager for a general crusade, strove in vain to effect a reconciliation. Innocent again pronounced the emperor's deposition, but it was no easy matter to find a willing rival, though the war with the emperor was proclaimed a crusade.

At last William count of Holland was elected king of the Romans by the papalists, and for a long time maintained an indecisive contest with the young Conrad. Germany fell into feudal chaos, and in Italy Guelph and Ghibelline cities and factions in the cities fought and cut each other's throats with small apparent prospect of a decision being reached, victories and defeats alternating. The reckless struggle was still at its height when Frederick died in 1250.

Sicilian Crown in Market Overt

This death brought no abatement. Conrad and William went on fighting for the imperial crown in Germany, while Conrad's illegitimate brother Manfred took over the government of the kingdom of Sicily on his behalf, and Innocent tried to find someone else on whom to confer its crown. Conrad, making no headway, left Germany to his supporters, and joined Manfred in the south, but died in 1254. His heir was the two-year-old infant Conradin in his German nursery. At the end of the year Innocent died, but his successor, Alexander IV, kept up the struggle.

The new pope offered the crown of Sicily to Edmund, the younger son of Henry III of England. In 1256 William died, and there was a split among the German papalists, one group electing Richard of Cornwall, Henry III's brother, and the other choosing Alfonso X the Wise, king of Castile, both of whom claimed the imperial title without seriously attempting to make the claim good.

Manfred accepted the Sicilian crown for himself from the Sicilian magnates in 1258, and established his authority throughout the kingdom. Eccelin, the Ghibelline tyrant in the north, met his death next year, and Manfred was left the one effective, if illegitimate, representative in Italy of the mighty house of Hohenstaufen. A Ghibelline victory over the Guelph Florentines at Montapertoso in 1260 gave him a general ascendancy in Tuscany and Lombardy.

End of the Hohenstaufen Dynasty

ON Alexander's death in 1261 his successor, Urban IV, offered the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou and Provence, who accepted it, much to the dissatisfaction of his brother, Louis IX. The terms of the appointment were ratified in 1265, when Clement IV had succeeded Urban. In 1266 Charles was crowned king in Rome, and invaded Manfred's dominions. In 1267 Manfred's army was shattered and he himself was slain at the decisive battle of Grandella.

The victor emphasised the completeness of his victory by a policy of rigorous terrorism. A reaction set in; young Conradin, now fifteen, resolved to claim the crown which was his by inheritance. Though only a few Germans accompanied him, his appearance in Lombardy rallied supporters to his cause; but in 1268 the Ghibelline forces were utterly routed at Tagliacozzo. Conradin was betrayed into Charles' hands, and the last of the Hohenstaufen was beheaded by his merciless captor. The medieval conception of the Empire was blotted out for ever. But the methods employed, latterly at least, by the Papacy in blotting it out had sealed the doom of the medieval conception of the Papacy as well.

SINCE the days of Otto the Great, the German king or emperor had been without question the greatest lay potentate in Europe. When William of Holland died in 1256, there was no longer any German king, though there were two foreign claimants to the empty title of king of the Romans. It was not till 1273 that the period known as the Great Interregnum was ended by the election of Rudolf of Hapsburg, a noble of minor rank, to the imperial dignity. The old primacy had passed; and when Louis IX died on his second crusade in 1270, no one would have refused him the name of the first monarch in Europe.

His grandfather Philip had organized the kingdom and centralised the government; his father Louis VIII (1223-6) had carried Philip's work a little farther; during his own minority his mother Blanche of Castile had saved that work from imminent wreckage; and his personal rule, which began in 1235, had done the rest. No one would dream of calling him a genius; he was incapable of practising the craft so characteristic of his grandfather; his statesmanship was not particularly perspicacious; but by force of an exceptionally pure and lofty character he achieved a moral ascendancy over his contemporaries and over his subjects which it would be hard to parallel.

The consolidation of France and ultimately of England also in the thirteenth century was primarily the result of that struggle between Philip and John of which the story has already been told (page 2748). It transferred to the French crown as immediate overlord all those fiefs in France which the Angevin kings of England had held as feudatories, except Gascony and Guienne; so that there was no longer any feudatory in France whose possessions were comparable in extent to those of the crown, though it became the royal policy to distribute the greater fiefs

as appanages among the king's sons, not without disastrous results. But the Albigensian crusade was also turned to similar account in the south by the destruction of the power of the house of Toulouse which supported the heretics; of which

the ultimate result was that in the reign of Louis IX Toulouse passed to his brother Alfonse, while another brother, Charles, on whom Anjou had been conferred, made Provence French, though not yet technically a part of France, by marrying its heiress. In his time, too, claims still maintained in Poitou by the king of England were finally disposed of.

The strength gained for the crown by Philip's policy, continued by his son and grandson, was fortified by the administrative system created by Philip and by the close alliance with the Church maintained by all three kings. The mere fact that a foreign queen-mother

ruling as regent during the nine years of her son's minority was able to hold her own against the resentful nobles is convincing proof of the efficacy of the work accomplished by Philip and Louis VIII.

Evil, however, was to come in the future, though the danger was not immediately apparent, out of the transfer of the great fiefs from the crown to the royal princes. For this the responsibility lies on Louis VIII, and on Louis IX only in so far as he confirmed to his brothers the elevation destined for them by their father. A new nobility of the blood royal was thus created which later proved as hostile to the royal supremacy as the old feudatory nobility had been in the past. We may further note in passing that from this time the names Anjou and Angevin belong not to Plantagenets but to Louis IX's brother Charles and his descendants—that brother whom we have seen completing the downfall of the Hohenstaufen as papalist claimant to the Sicilian crown.



BLANCHE OF CASTILE

As regent for her son Louis IX, during his minority and absence on Crusade, Blanche of Castile proved herself an adroit administrator.

From Larousse, Histoire de France

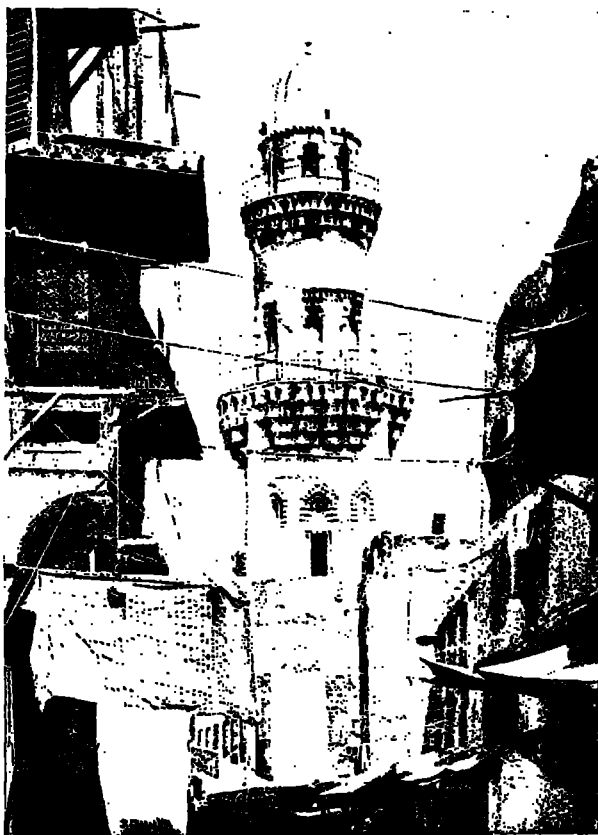
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Twenty years after the crusade which had proved so signally disastrous, Louis repeated the adventure, which this time was ended by his death in Africa so far as concerned the French. Edward, the crown prince of England, attempted to carry on the crusade, which was the last that can be dignified by that name. But he soon found that the task was hopeless. Jerusalem was held by the Mameluke sultan Baibars, the mighty warrior who had shared with Kutuz the triumph of Ain Gelat and had then slain his chief and assumed the sultanate, setting the precedent habitually followed thereafter by the Mamelukes. The Christians of Syria preferred making an accommodation with Baibars to supporting the English prince and his small following. Edward returned home. Despite the efforts of Gregory X Europe would rouse itself to no fresh effort and before the century was ended the West had lost its last foothold in Syria; only Cyprus under the Lusignans and Rhodes under the Knights Hospitallers remained of all that had been won by the crusaders.

WHILE the Christians were being as a political power finally eliminated in western Asia, the Saracens in Europe were being pressed back into that corner of Spain where alone they were still to maintain their hold for two centuries. James I of Aragon (1213-76) when he came to man's estate drove them out of the Balearic isles (1232) and finally expelled them from Valencia in 1238. Ferdinand III of Castile before his death in 1252 captured the old seat of the Moorish khalifate at Córdoba in 1236, Seville in 1244, Jaen two years later, Cadiz and Xeres in 1250. His successor, Alfonso X, helped by James of Aragon, completed the conquest of Murcia, which gave Castile access to the Medi-

terranean, and all that remained to the Moors was the small kingdom of Granada. The union of Castile with Leon had been finally effected by Ferdinand, so that she was considerably the largest of the Spanish kingdoms, though Aragon's sea power set her on an equality with her bigger neighbour.

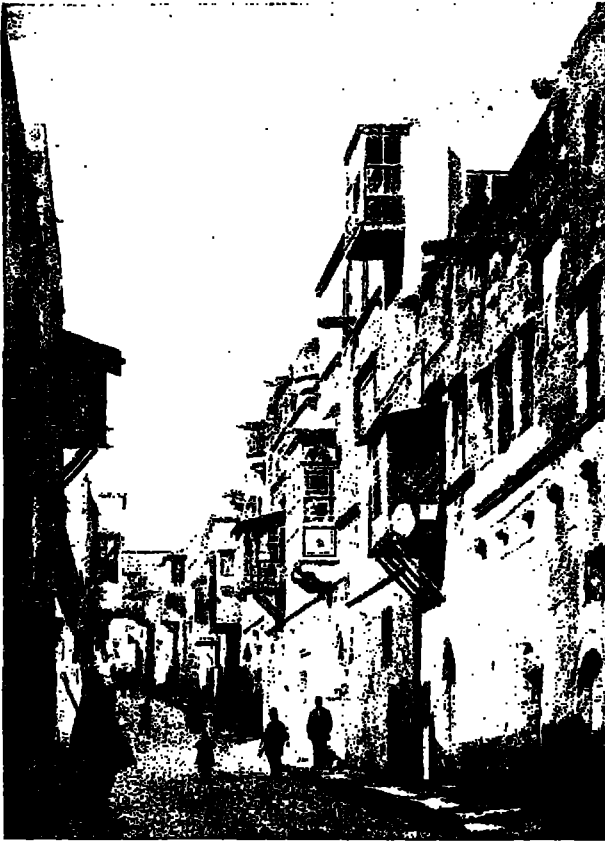
But this decisive advance of the Christian powers in Spain carried with it a change in the preoccupations of the Spanish monarchs and in their relations with the rest of Europe. At no earlier date is the offer of the imperial crown to a Spanish prince imaginable; and at no earlier time could a Spanish prince have dreamed of laying claim



TOMB OF A GREAT MAMELUKE SULTAN

Baibars murdered Kutuz in 1260 and seized the sovereignty, proving himself one of the ablest of the Bahri Mamelukes. He re-established the Abbasid khalifate at Cairo and established his own authority all over Syria and Arabia. He died July 1, 1277, and was buried at Cairo, where his tomb still stands.

Photo, E.N.A.



HISTORIC STREET IN RHODES

Rhodes was captured from the Saracens by the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem in 1309 and held by them until 1522. Eight Christian countries were represented in the order, and the armorial bearings of these and their crusaders are carved on many of the houses in this Street of the Knights.

Photo, E.N.A.

to any other crown than that which he had inherited. Yet now we find Alfonso X a rival emperor to an English prince; we are on the point of finding the Sicilian crown not only claimed but worn by a branch of the royal house of Aragon; and before long we shall see English and French taking sides in purely Spanish quarrels. And we have reached the stage at which the same Alfonso can direct a main part of his energies to the consolidation of his Castilian kingdom, at the same time that Edward I was accomplishing a similar work in England, following upon that of the great Capetian kings in France. The way for the English consolidation

had been prepared by the Anglicising of the dominant Norman baronage owing to the separation from Normandy, and by the 'Barons' Wars' with a king who sought to govern through foreign favourites and foreign prelates nominated by the pope instead of through English magnates. The leadership of the opposition to the crown by Simon de Montfort had given to it a popular shape as incompatible with baronial as with monarchical tyranny, and had taught the crown prince Edward, the conqueror of Simon, the principles upon which the future constitutional development of the English government was to be based, by conferring a really effective power of direction upon the 'commons,' the lesser barons and burgesses, and by confirming the doctrine embodied in the Great Charter that neither crown nor barons great or small might with impunity override the law.

IN the long contest between Papacy and Empire the Papacy had brought down the Hohenstaufen, but only at the cost of its own moral ascendancy. The fall of the Hohenstaufen had the practical though not the technical effect of ending that union not of Germany and Italy but of the separate crowns of Germany and Italy which had done so much to prevent the consolidation of each of those countries. But the severance came so late that a genuine consolidation had become a practical impossibility for either. What had been the Italian kingdom in the north resolved itself into a congeries of a few powerful city states, each holding in subjection to itself a group of states which had once been its rivals—Venice, Milan, Florence, Genoa. East and south of it lay the papal dominion stretching from

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the Adriatic to the Mediterranean. South Italy eventually became the kingdom of Naples under the Angevin dynasty of Charles, severed from the island kingdom of Sicily under an Aragonese dynasty; and if a union of Italy under papal hegemony had ever been possible, the possibility disappeared when the Papacy transferred its headquarters from Rome to Avignon, early in the fourteenth century.

When in 1273 the diplomacy of Frederick of Hohenzollern procured the election to the German throne of a minor Swabian noble, Rudolf of Hapsburg, by a few of the princes, the intention was obvious. The emperor was to be a figurehead without practical power to depress the princes, and with no prospect of founding a dynasty. The scheme was in some degree frustrated by the abilities of Rudolf, who succeeded in acquiring substantial territories for his family and raising it to a leading position, though he failed to secure the succession for his son. His main actual achievement was the recovery and

appropriation to the house of Hapsburg of the territories on the 'east-mark,' Austria, Carinthia and Carniola, of which Ottocar of Bohemia had possessed himself during the Interregnum; and the war with Ottocar had forced him to conciliate possible allies of the king by formally acknowledging the papal claims in Italy and Sicily and Charles of Anjou's claim (by marriage) in the county of Provence, hitherto a fief of the Empire.

Rudolf was succeeded in 1292 not by his son Albert but by Adolf of Nassau, chosen by the electors—as Rudolf had himself been chosen—because he too was only a minor noble. Adolf tried hard to strengthen the central government against the princes by extending the privileges of the free towns whose only overlord was the German king and by alliance with the small barons, the 'knights' who also held their lands as the crown's immediate vassals. But the princes took alarm; Adolf was overthrown and slain by Rudolf's son Albert



GRANADA THE LAST FOOTHOLD OF MOORISH POWER IN SPAIN

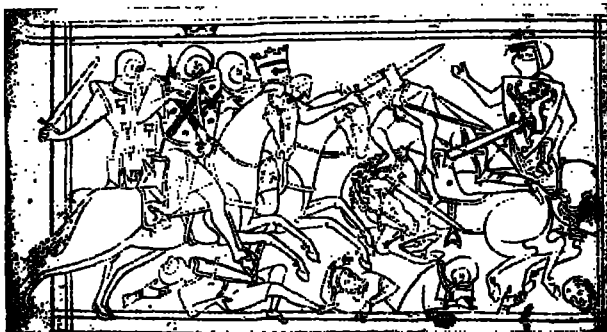
Iberians, Romans and Vandals had all been dominant in Granada before the Saracens established themselves there in the eighth century and made the city a splendid capital of the Moorish kingdom of Granada. As such it flourished, outlasting all the other Moorish states in Spain until 1492, when Boabdil was forced by the Christians under Ferdinand and Isabella to sign away his kingdom. The city is superbly situated on the north-western slope of the Sierra Nevada, overlooking a fertile plain.

From Hielscher, 'Picturesque Spain,' Fisher Unwin Ltd.

of Austria (1298), and the electors found themselves unable to avoid his election to the German crown. This second Hapsburg is the Austrian tyrant of the Swiss legend of William Tell.

Louis IX's son Philip III the Rash was personally of no importance, but during his reign (1270-85) the French crown was accidentally strengthened by the reversion of Toulouse with the marquissate of Provence (not the county, which had gone to Charles of Anjou) on the death of the king's uncle Alfonse.

In the three years 1284-6 several monarchs died who were either themselves notable persons, or whose disappearance had notable results: Alfonso the Wise of Castile, then Charles (I of Naples) of Anjou, Peter III (the successor of James I) of Aragon, Philip III of France, and finally Alexander III of Scotland. The last named had been an able ruler, during whose reign the last pretensions of the kings of Norway, long maintained, to the lordship of the north of Scotland and the Hebrides, had been obliterated at



A BATTLE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Public discontent with the misgovernment of Henry III culminated in 1264 in the Barons' War, in which the battles of Lewes and Evesham were the principal engagements. The strenuous hand-to-hand fighting of the period is depicted in this illustration by Matthew Paris in his *Vita Duorum Offarum*.

British Museum

the 'battle of Largs (1263). His death, followed by that of his daughter 'the Maid of Norway,' gave rise to a disputed succession, of which Edward I took advantage to claim first the suzerainty and then the crown of Scotland itself. The voluntary incorporation of Scotland with England would have been of untold benefit to both countries, but conquest was another matter, and the ultimately successful struggle for liberation meant two and a half centuries of constant hostility between the two.



SIMON DE MONTFORT'S SEAL

Simon de Montfort (c. 1200-1265) was the dominant figure in the opposition to Henry III and, in virtue of the Assembly he convened in 1265, the founder of the English parliamentary system.

He was killed at Evesham.

British Museum

THE career of Charles of Anjou had been one of unflinching success till shortly before his death. His overthrow of the Hohenstaufen left him undisputed master of the two Sicilies in 1268. As the pope's nominee and professed vassal, he was the obvious head of Guelph Italy, and there was every probability that the suzerain would very soon be the dependant of the vassal. His administrative ability had been thoroughly tested in Anjou and the county of Provence. But there was no question that his Sicilian kingdom had been won by the sword, from the rule of a very able and popular prince; his new subjects submitted to him perforce and from the start detested him as an alien; and his French officers and garrisons very soon taught them to detest him, as they had detested Henry VI with his Germans, as a hard and cruel tyrant.

The Age of Eastern Imperialism

On an evening in 1282 the population of Palermo, without warning or premeditation, broke out in a blaze of fury and massacred the French garrison—the ghastly event known as the Sicilian Vespers; the outbreak was followed by a universal rebellion against the Angevin rule; and the Sicilians called upon Manfred's son-in-law Peter of Aragon to assume the crown and expel the tyrant. The Aragonese fleet was able entirely to prevent the transport of troops to the island from the peninsula, and the Angevins never recovered a footing in Sicily itself, though they kept their hold on the kingdom of Naples or South Italy.

No effect on the struggle was produced by papal anathemas launched on behalf of Charles. When Charles and Peter both died in 1285, Peter's younger son James continued the conflict with Charles II; and when James resigned his pretensions on succeeding his elder brother in Aragon in 1291, the invitation of the Sicilians to take his place was accepted by his younger brother Frederick. The strife was at last brought to a close by a peace (1302) which left Sicily to Frederick and Naples to Charles, while the terms by which Sicily was ultimately to revert to the Angevins were never carried out.

In France Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314) continued, by very unscrupulous methods, the policy of bringing into his own hands fiefs large and small at the expense of the greater feudatories, including Edward I of England, the latter being constantly hampered by his conflict with the Scots, whose alliance with



A MEDIEVAL KNIGHT

This bronze ewer representing a knight on horseback was found in the river Tyne. It is of English make and dates from about 1300. Ewers in the form of a mounted man were common in the 13th and 14th centuries.

British Museum

France at this time became a fixed feature of Scottish history. Actually for France the permanent results of the reign are to be sought in Philip's further development of the centralised administrative system. But its most notable event belongs to the contest with the Papacy, in which both Edward and Philip were involved by the unwise aggression of Boniface VIII.

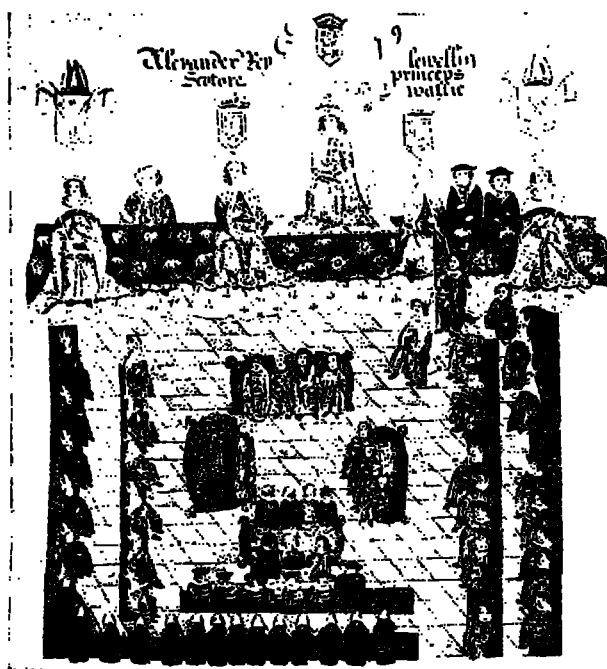


HENRY III KING OF ENGLAND

Henry III died in 1272 and lies in Edward the Confessor's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. His altar tomb rests on a pedestal and is surmounted by a gilt bronze effigy of the king in coronation robes with a simple crown. The now empty hands probably once held the sceptre and the dove.

From Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in London

AFTER the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the rise of Charles of Anjou, Gregory X (1271–6) in the five years of his pontificate displayed qualities which in happier circumstances and a longer reign might have gone far to restore the moral prestige of the Papacy. In the next twenty years there followed a succession of five popes whose chief preoccupation was the elevation of one or another of the rival baronial houses of Savelli,



EDWARD I IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Legislation, establishment of effective administration and the subjection of Wales were the principal concern of Edward I in the first fifteen years of his reign. He is here depicted presiding over a session of the House of Lords, Llewelyn of Wales assisting, and also Alexander III, king of Scotland.

From Pinkerton, 'Iconographia Scotia'

Orsini or Colonna, until the election of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), who once more endeavoured to assert the authority of Rome over the secular princes of Europe.

In the quite appropriate character of pacificator he offered arbitration between the two powerful kings of France and England, who were fighting over disputed claims in Gascony and Guienne. The kings rejected his arbitration; whereupon he issued the famous bull 'Clericis Laicos' forbidding the clergy to pay taxes to their temporal sovereigns without consent of the pope. The kings retorted, Philip by forbidding the export of gold and silver, so that no money from France could reach the papal treasury, Edward by outlawing the clergy till they should make submission. The kings won; the clergy had to submit, and the pope had to explain the bull away.

But Boniface was not satisfied. He destroyed the chance of a reconciliation

with Edward, which might have brought him the support of Philip's enemy, by declaring that Scotland (which at the moment was defying the English king) was a papal fief; to which the reply was given by Edward's newly constituted parliament, nobles and commons, that the pope had nothing to do with the question at issue. Philip, perhaps taking example by Edward, summoned a 'states general' or assembly of the three estates, clergy, nobles and commons, which denounced the papal claims (1302). But he went further. French troops appeared at Anagni where Boniface was at the moment residing; his person was seized; and he was so brutally handled that he died a few days later. And no hand was raised to punish the outrage, which rang down the curtain on the age-long struggle for mastery between the spiritual and temporal powers (October, 1303).

Another event in Philip's career, before this terminal date of our chronicle, must be recorded. He had found opportunity to dispossess Count Guy of Flanders. The government he set up enraged the burghers of the great Flemish cities; they burst into revolt; and when Philip in 1302 sought to crush them, the burgher infantry at Courtrai inflicted a crushing defeat on the chivalry of France (see also page 3080). It was the first time, unless Legnano can claim to have been a precedent, that the power of heavy infantry to defeat the onset of the mail-clad horsemen had been demonstrated in medieval warfare.

Here we leave the European record and turn again to Asia and the east.

BULAGU had met with his decisive check at Ain Gelat. He died in 1265. The power of the Mamelukes advanced under the great Sultan Baibars, penetrated to the sultanate of Iconium,

The Age of Eastern Imperialism

extended south to the Sudan, and after his death finally ejected the Christians as a power from Syria. The might of the ilkhans waned, partly from the standing cause, disputed successions; though at the close of the century a distinguished ruler arose in the person of Ghazan, who adopted Islam and not only produced but enforced a code of laws which did something to restore the prosperity which the Mongol devastations and wars had almost destroyed. It is significant, however,

that during the Mongol period literature and poetry continued to flourish both in Farsistan, the heart of Persia, and in Roum.

But during these latter years of the thirteenth century fresh hordes not of Mongols but of Turks were flowing in. The first of their leaders was Suleiman; the second, Ertogrul, carried them to Asia Minor; the third, Othman (1288-1326), who gave his name to the whole group, the 'Ottomans,' was even now preparing the way for creating, with Roum as its centre, the coming domination of the Ottoman power.

IN India the new Mahomedan empire under the Slave dynasty had the good fortune to escape the attentions of Jenghiz Khan and his successors. Its history, which may be further studied in Chapter 124, is for the most part a bloodstained record of wars, feuds and slaughters of the infidels, highly applauded by the orthodox chroniclers; and its most notable figure is the grim one of Balban, who 'never laughed,' a slave general under several rulers, who ultimately ascended the throne himself (1266-86). The dynasty was ended in 1290 by the murder of Kaikobad and the accession of Jalal ud-Din Khilji, an old man who was murdered and succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Ala ud-Din (1294-1316), a ferocious ruler who made a point of oppressing the Hindus, whom he taxed at



SEAL OF PHILIP THE FAIR

Philip IV (1268-1314) succeeded to the throne of France in 1285 and ranks as one of the greatest of her kings. He died at Fontainebleau, November 29, 1314.

British Museum

one half of the produce of the land.

Finally we glance at the Mongol power in its highest manifestation under the greatest of its khans, Kublai, who extended over the whole of China a sway which may fairly be called both beneficent and enlightened. The great ruler's one failure was in his attempt to extend his empire across the sea to Japan, which had been developing in all but complete isolation from the Asiatic continent. For the invading fleets of the Great

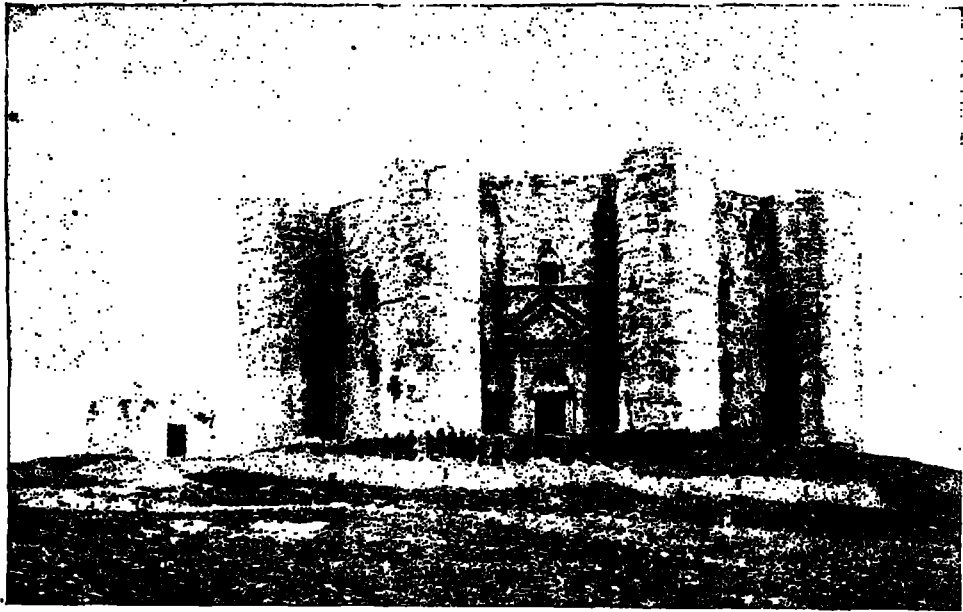
Khan were twice annihilated by the ships of the islanders or by the elements, and Japan preserved her isolation. But Kublai is more fully celebrated in Chapter 111. The greatness of the Mongol dynasty did not long survive his death in 1294.



EDWARD I DEFYING THE POPE

In 1296 Pope Boniface VIII issued the bull 'Clericis Laicos,' prohibiting the imposition of taxes on the clergy. This contemporary drawing depicts the reception of the bull by Edward I, who flatly refused to comply with it.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Vitellius A.xiii



CASTEL DEL MONTE, FREDERICK II'S HUNTING BOX IN APULIA

Frederick II's heart was always in his southern kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and it was there that he spent most of his time, greatly to the neglect of his responsibilities towards his German kingdom. He built this castle—Castel del Monte—in Apulia in 1228, about fifteen miles inland from Trani on the Adriatic, and used it largely as a hunting box. Here, too, he is said to have written his book on falconry, the manuscript of which is in the Vatican.

Photos, Alinari

FREDERICK II AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

How one dynamic Personality wrecked
the Political System of the Middle Ages

By D. C. DOUGLAS

Lecturer in Medieval History, Glasgow University

LIKE all the great epochs of the world's history the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries were animated by a political ideal. Amid the warfare and bloodshed of the age its great achievements—and they were many—were evolved out of the memories of the past. The break between epochs is never absolute, and the influence of the Roman Empire and of the tradition of Rome upon succeeding generations (see Chap. 83) was immensely powerful. Most important of all, the notion which the Roman imperial rule left behind it, of a community consisting of all civilized people bound by one law, speaking one common tongue and acknowledging one master, came to be regarded during the Middle Ages as the foundation of politics.

But the men of the Middle Ages did more than inherit a tradition, they developed it. The old Roman Empire in its later years was not only a political unity; it was fast becoming a religious unity also, and after its political downfall it was as a religious unity that the Empire survived. The Christian Church was the great society of the future, and the Christian Church was built up on the scaffolding of the old imperial organization. When in the course of time the Papacy put forward with success its claims to the leadership of the Church (see Chap. 95) the tradition of the unity of all civilized mankind implied in the ideas of Roman imperialism came gradually to be merged in the notion of a religious unity of the 'blessed company of all faithful people,' co-extensive in its spiritual side with the Church and as such submitted to the pope of Rome.

Thus the real significance of that dramatic incident when, in the mid-winter of the year 1077, Hildebrand at Canossa subjected the emperor Henry IV to his humiliation (see page 2649) was that thereby the pope was asserting before all men the claim of the Papacy to be the spiritual heir of the Caesars, reigning from the old Imperial City and exercising over the souls of men a power such as the Caesars never knew. Thus, too, it was that while the thinkers were always preoccupied with the attempt to blend into an intellectual system the political ideals of Roman imperialism with the *Political Ideal of the ethical teaching of Holy Roman Empire* Christianity, in practice the great political achievements of the age resolved themselves into means by which might be assured the continual growth of a Christianised Roman Empire ideally embracing all civilized mankind. And it was from these thoughts and traditions that there sprang into being that Holy Roman Empire which was founded by Charlemagne in the ninth century, transformed by Otto the Great in the tenth and finally decayed in the thirteenth, as the result of the political experiments of Frederick II, the last of the great emperors.

It is important to bear constantly in mind this ideal of religious and political unity, for without it the great quarrel which it entailed can never be rightly understood. The ideal was never denied in the Middle Ages proper, but over its application the two chief medieval powers, the Papacy and the Empire, fell to fighting.



IMAGE OF FREDERICK II

Frederick II, born December 26, 1194, was crowned German king in 1215 and emperor in 1220. His conflict with the Papacy ended with the Empire in collapse, and he died, a broken-spirited man, December 13, 1250.

British Museum

The story of the conflict between the two down to the death of Hildebrand on May 25, 1085, is set forth in Chapter 95, and it was continued on the same terms from the death of Hildebrand to the advent of Frederick II, with whose relations with the Holy Roman Empire the present chapter is concerned. The controversy drew to itself almost all the polemical literature of the age. In the sphere of pure theory it should be admitted that the Papacy had the best of the argument. The whole theory of medieval society postulated, as we have observed, a single society, and that logically demanded a single governing force. This being so, the religious and theocratic basis of the medieval social structure inevitably gave precedence to the spiritual directing power.

In practice, however, there was much to be said for the imperial position. If order was to be maintained at all in a troubled age it was the temporal power alone which could perform the task, and it was to everyone's advantage that it should at least be given the opportunity of thus justifying its existence. Just because the Church did represent the culture of the time—just because it was so powerful—the emperors could not

afford to be indifferent to its fate. Further, the great ecclesiastical magnates were also the greatest landowners in the Empire, and as such came directly under the purview of the emperors.

The actual existing political and geographical condition of the Empire made the situation of the emperors the more critical. While the imperial partisans always based the claims of the emperor upon the ideal of the unity of all civilized mankind, in practice the imperial dominions were very far from including even the whole of western Europe. The old empire of Charlemagne, comprising all France, most of modern Germany, Christian Spain and Italy, had long since passed away. It had been succeeded by the empire of the Ottos, having Germany for its centre, and in due course France had come under the rule of the rising house of Capet, and most of Spain continued under Moslem domination.

In Italy—the remaining portion of Charlemagne's empire—the situation was very peculiar. During the thirteenth century Italy remained an imperial province. In the centre there was a large block of papal lands, part of which, in Tuscany, the emperors always claimed as their own, while in the far south Sicily had fallen before a Norman conquest similar to that of England, and the Norman rulers held their lands nominally under the suzerainty and protection of the pope. With these exceptions, however, the imperial dominions may very roughly be held to have consisted of modern Germany and modern Italy.

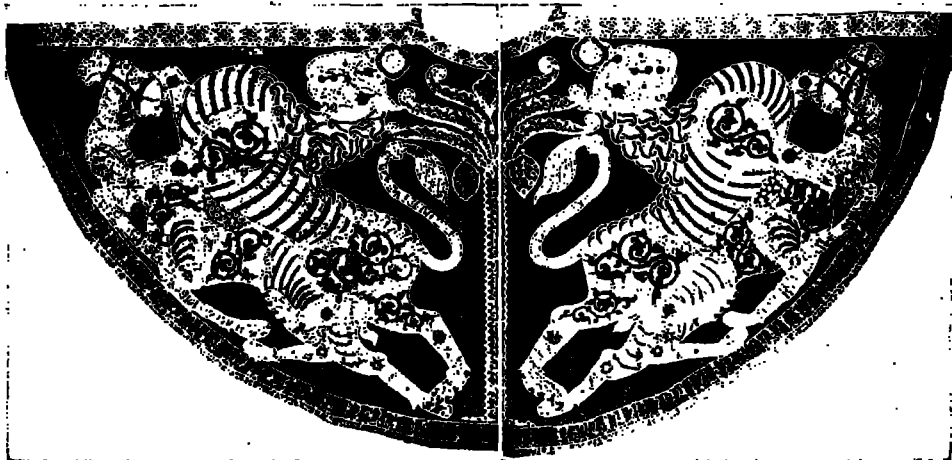
It was obvious that its geographical nature made the Empire extremely difficult to hold together. The vast complex of territory formed **Geographical** by the disastrous union of **Difficulties** Germany and Italy was composed of peoples boasting no common racial tradition, and it was sundered in two by the great natural barrier of the Alps. It was a just claim on the part of the emperors that such a realm could only be given unity and order by a strong ruler unfettered by external checks upon his power. For even within these scattered dominions there always existed the elements of disunion and disorder.

In Italy the presence of the rival Papacy was a constant source of danger to the emperors. In the north the Lombard cities leagued together to resist the imperial rule, and in 1176, by winning against Frederick Barbarossa the battle of Legnano, they practically succeeded in establishing their independence. In the south, at the very end of the twelfth century, the imperialists did gain some compensation. Henry VI, the son of Barbarossa, married the aunt of William the reigning Norman king of Sicily, and on William's death, in spite of opposition on the part of both the Papacy and the discontented Norman factions, took possession of the kingdom. Though the Papacy never acquiesced in this revolution, and it became a permanent source of strife between the two parties, it did constitute a material success for the emperors, who thus bade fair to hem in on both sides the papal possessions in central Italy.

But even in Germany the imperial power was by no means permanently secure. The old separatist ambitions of the four great duchies—Saxony, Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria—always remained, and within these again there existed a swarm of lesser princelings always ready

to seize any opportunity for shaking themselves free from the imperial control. The great case for the emperors throughout these years ever remained this—that apart from papal interference they might, with some chance of success, have attempted to weld together this heterogeneous and anarchic society into an ordered state, and that the constant ecclesiastical censure to which they were always exposed made their task well nigh impossible.

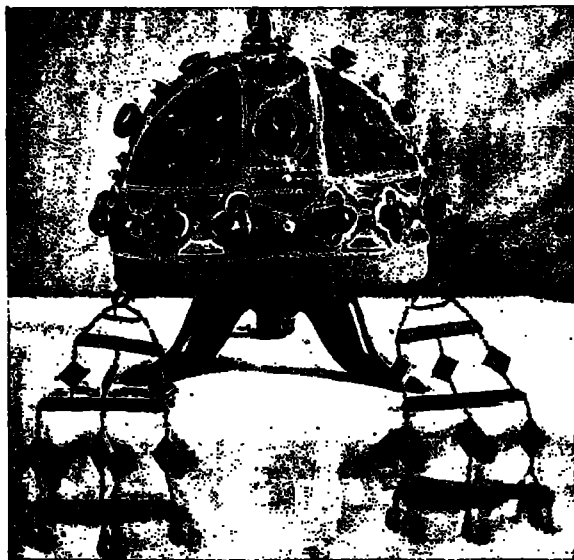
Between 1085 and 1216 the details of the great quarrel make a monotonous story; the general principles involved were always the same. On the one hand the popes always insisted on free ecclesiastical elections, and resisted the imperial claims in Tuscany and Sicily. To further their ends the popes moreover did not scruple to



CORONATION COPE AND ORB OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

As worn by Charlemagne and subsequent emperors at their coronation the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire comprised the crown—of which an illustration appears in page 2419—sword, gold spurs, gold sceptre, the jewelled orb shown above, and wand with ivory hand, all symbolising attributes of the temporal power. The vestments, with their Arabic embroidery and inscriptions, carried off from Sicily by Henry VI (see page 2701), included chasuble or dalmatic, and this surcoat or mantle, a cope without a hood. The regalia were kept in the treasury of the abbey of St. Denis.

Photos, Anton Schroll, Vienna



CROWN OF THE QUEEN EMPRESS CONSTANCE

This crown, worn by the empress Constance, mother of Frederick II, is of reddish gold brocade with broad bands of seed pearls and gold, and is studded with jewels. It was found in her sarcophagus when opened in 1781 and is now preserved in Palermo Cathedral Treasury.

Photo, Alinari

support the separatist forces in the imperial dominions. On the other hand, the emperors, while admitting the papal supremacy in spiritual matters, claimed to be allowed to treat their ecclesiastical vassals as the important temporal princes that they were, and resented the hindrance caused by the papal policy, which, they urged, alone prevented them from maintaining unity, order and good government in their dominions.

Both sides, it will be observed, took their stand upon the same general political principles, though in practice they fought over their application; and throughout the twelfth century, in spite of the efforts of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI—both emperors of unusual ability—neither side could bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. But in the beginning of the thirteenth century it seemed that the Papacy had at last won a complete and a permanent victory. The climax of the glory of the medieval Papacy was reached in the pontificate of Innocent III, who reigned from 1198 to 1216. The death of the emperor Henry VI had removed the strong directing power which

was alone able to maintain the imperial unity. Both Germany and Italy fell victims to civil war.

Such circumstances gave Innocent his opportunity. Everywhere his policy was the same: he played off one faction against another, and in Italy he was strikingly successful. In Tuscany he formed a league of cities to protect the papal interests against the emperor. He obtained complete control of the municipal government of Rome. Most important of all, he succeeded definitely in detaching Sicily from the Empire. There Queen Constance, the widow of Henry VI, fearing for the safety of her infant son, Frederick, amid the dangers of an anarchy, confided him to the papal protection, and in return agreed that he should hold his kingdom as the pope's vassal.

In Germany, too, though with more opposition, Innocent proved himself throughout his pontifi-

cate the real dominating

power. First, he intervened in the disputed succession to the Empire

Innocent III the dominating power

between Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick, and rendered the latter victorious. Then, when Otto himself proved unamenable to the papal discipline he adopted a yet more revolutionary plan. Towards the very end of his reign he summoned from Sicily Frederick, now grown to young manhood, appointed him the papal nominee to the Empire, equipped him with an army, and sent him over the Alps against Otto. The expedition was successful. Otto was overthrown and speedily faded into political insignificance. After 1214 Frederick was very generally accepted as emperor throughout Germany.

It was the crowning victory of the Papacy over the Empire. In the course of his struggle with Otto, Frederick had been forced to grant all to the papal demands. He yielded all claims to the Tuscan lands. He admitted all the papal stipulations as to the appointment of clerics. He promised to lead a crusade to the Holy Land under the direction of

the pope. Finally, he swore that Sicily should remain for ever separate from the Empire, and to ensure this he gave the kingdom to his son Henry, who surrendered his allegiance to his father and became the vassal of the pope. Thus was consummated under Innocent the victory of the Papacy—so complete and so short-lived—with the Empire reduced to complete subjection and Innocent indisputably the strongest political force in Europe.

Never was the beginning of a great career in more striking contrast to its close. For this youth, sent to Germany as the pope's nominee, this humble vassal of the Church, was Frederick II himself—the most bitter enemy that the medieval Papacy ever encountered. The boy who seemed in 1212 to be but the weak tool of a strong pope was later to be cursed by the popes as Antichrist. More than any other man was he responsible for overthrowing the papal pretensions and bringing down in ruins the whole fabric of medieval political civilization.

Until the death of Innocent III, however, the world had little opportunity of judging the character of this remarkable young man from Sicily. But the elements which

were to make up the strange figure of later years were already beginning to show themselves. His upbringing had been peculiar, and, for a youth of his temperament and talents, especially influential in moulding his character. Sicily was, as it were, the meeting point of three civilizations. The old Greek influence had been preserved by long years of subjection to the Eastern Empire. After that, the Moslem domination had left behind it much of the lore and the culture of medieval Islam. Finally, the Normans introduced the harder and perhaps the healthier spirit of the West. Under these diverse influences young Frederick had grown up, and they had created in him a temperament wholly unlike that of most of his contemporaries—more liberal and tolerant, more eclectic and cosmopolitan.

It was of considerable importance that among his teachers were several Saracen doctors, for they gave to him a zeal for sceptical inquiry which he would hardly have learnt elsewhere, and an attitude towards those peoples whose culture and religion were alien which the orthodox churchmen of the time could neither approve of nor understand. In an age when all the scholarship of the West



A CONSULTATION WITH AN ARABIAN PHYSICIAN

Medical learning was highly developed in all the chief cities of Moslem power, and in the eleventh century Arabian medicine began to be known, through translations, in the western world. In Sicily it was encouraged by Frederick II, who as a youth had several Saracen teachers. This picture of a medical consultation occurs in a fragment of an Arabic translation, dated 1222, of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, and is an admirable example of the Abbasid school of Arabic painting.

From Martin, *Miniature Painters and Paintings of India, Persia and Turkey* (Bernard Quaritch)

tended to take on a theological form, young Frederick developed a mind severely sceptical and secular in its outlook. Something of the detached non-moral character of modern scientific inquiry showed itself in his thought. He was himself for his time an accomplished conversationalist and writer, and even in his attitude to the arts he early showed himself in advance of his age, for he loved beauty, whether expressed in verse or painting, for its own sake and not for the sake of the moral instruction it might be induced to impart.

The evil side of his scepticism showed itself in his private life. His moral character was bad. He ill-treated his three

successive wives and attached to himself a regular harem **Character of Frederick II** of the eastern pattern. His open immorality scandalised his age, especially as it was exhibited by one who held what was considered to be a quasi-religious office. Privately, too, he had no religious convictions, and, Christian emperor though he was, he was accused, probably not wholly without justification, of leaning towards the Moslem faith of his early teachers. Not for nothing did Dante in his poem place him in hell along with the great heretics.

As a statesman, however, he always professed an outward zeal for religion, and enforced orthodoxy for the sake of political order. His ambition had no bounds, and he sought in his own words to make himself master of the whole world. To further his ends he could resort to the most diabolical cruelty, and he was utterly without scruple as to the means by which he furthered his policy. He stands out sharply as the most striking example of a new type of ruler—far-sighted, brilliant and terrible in his statemanship, but amid the small circle of his private friends a free-thinker in religion and a cultured dilettante in art.

Such was the personal character of the extraordinary young man whom the Papacy unwittingly set up to be its tool and to rule the Empire under its direction. The mistake it had made was quickly revealed as soon as the death of the masterful Innocent III allowed the new prince to show himself in his true colours. It

was not likely that a prince so ambitious and unscrupulous would be bound by the circumstances of his accession to power. And so it was in fact. Almost immediately after the death of Innocent III there began the long quarrel between Frederick and the Papacy, which lasted throughout the whole of his reign and dragged its weary length through a series of wars the details of which are only of interest from the profound political results which they entailed.

Frederick, it will be remembered, had promised to lead a crusade to the Holy Land. He had also sworn to maintain the separation of Sicily from the Empire. Both of these promises he soon showed he had no intention of fulfilling. He made all sorts of excuses to delay his departure for Palestine. With regard to Sicily, he nominated his son Henry as his absolute successor, and himself assumed the government of the kingdom as well as of the Empire. It was useless for the popes to remonstrate. With much craft and real diplomatic skill Frederick held on his way. Under Honorius III, the successor of Innocent, an open quarrel was only just averted. On that pope's death the long-expected rupture came, and Gregory IX excommunicated the emperor and forbade the celebration of Christian rites in any city in which he might chance to tarry.

In these circumstances the question of the Crusade naturally assumed a new aspect. And once excommunicated, Frederick, **Frederick goes on his Crusade** thinking no doubt that he could conquer new territories for himself in the East, came to take the project seriously. In 1228, without the pope's consent, and, indeed, in his despite, he started for Palestine with an army. The emperor was very successful, and only the unflinching hostility of the pope and clergy prevented him from obtaining very good terms for the Christians in the Holy Land. On the emperor's return, peace with the Papacy was temporarily patched up. The Papacy had lost prestige over the crusade; the emperor wished to reorganize his Italian kingdom, which had been ravaged in his absence. The treaty of San Germano,

which both parties signed in 1230, recognized the papal rights in Sicily and kept a judicious silence over all the other points at issue. Frederick was released from his excommunication.

But the peace was short lived, and the struggle between the two powers before 1230 came to be regarded as but a slight prelude to the far more bitter strife that followed after. It began with a renewed quarrel between Frederick and the Lombard cities. In 1237 the emperor won a decisive victory over the Lombard League at Cortenuova. Two years later the Papacy declared itself on the side of the cities and once more pronounced the emperor excommunicate. It was the beginning of the supreme struggle.

Both sides tried hard to gain over public opinion to their support, and in 1241 the Papacy summoned a general council of the Church to ratify its excommunication. This assembled at Genoa and was conveyed thence in galleys to Rome. On the way the ships fell into the hands of Frederick, who promptly put the ecclesiastical dignitaries into prison. Italy, on the whole, was for the Papacy, but north of the Alps the papal thunders evoked but a faint echo.

**Beginning of the
supreme struggle**

It was at this time that a new pope succeeded to the Roman see, Innocent IV, a great lawyer and an unflinching defender of the papal prerogatives. In 1245 he convoked a new general council at Lyons, again pronounced the excommunication and ordered a new imperial election. From that time forward there were always anti-Caesars fighting under the papal aegis against Frederick in Germany, and there was civil war throughout the Empire. In Italy Frederick ravaged the papal states. No decisive result had, however, been obtained by either side by the time of Frederick's death in 1250.

This long warfare between the two greatest Christian powers in Europe was disastrous to the general welfare of Christendom. It shows Frederick at his weakest. Germany, as a whole, was unhappy under his rule. Apart from the civil war with which it was racked, the government of the country was developed

on the wrong lines. Instead of seeking to consolidate his power and to maintain order in Germany, Frederick consented to a fatal policy of devolution of political authority which materially contributed to the divided condition of Germany until the last century. He was content to spend his time in Italy and rule Germany by a regency, appointing as his viceroys first S. Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, and then his own two unworthy sons, Henry and Conrad.

Under S. Engelbert the old traditional policy of a strong centralised imperial rule was persisted in, but with the advent of Henry the new principles began to appear. Fatal policy of decentralisation and they were developed under Conrad after the disgrace of Henry in 1235. The new policy of Frederick involved nothing less than a complete recognition of the great magnates. It was formulated in an edict at Worms in 1232. 'Let every prince,' ran the edict, 'enjoy in his peace according to the custom of the land his privileges and his jurisdictions.' This indeed marked a final admission of the disintegration of political power. As has been said of another piece of imperial legislation, 'it legalised anarchy and called it a constitution.'

But notwithstanding the political degeneration of the time, Frederick's reign over Germany was not without interest. The process of the expansion of the Empire eastwards continued unchecked. The military confraternities such as the Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Knights were conquering provinces for Christendom in Livonia and Prussia. Within Germany, too, there was much intellectual and literary activity. It was the age of the minstrels; it was the period of the great German romances of Parsifal and Tannhäuser. Furthermore, at this time the codification of law was undertaken and the *Sachsenspiegel*—the first code of German imperial and regional law—made its appearance. But Frederick's activity in Germany was but a reflection of the general revival which swept over Europe in the twelfth century, and it cannot be placed to the credit of the emperor, who on the whole neglected his

German dominions or pursued there a policy which was short-sighted and disastrous.

Indeed, if Frederick was to be judged from his government of Germany he could certainly not lay claim to the important position in history which has been awarded him as his due, and he would have to be judged as but the last of a long line of imperial failures. It was his work in Sicily, the ideas and spirit which animated both it and his otherwise monotonous quarrel with the Papacy, that gave him his historical significance and made him in a real sense the apostle of a new age. Frederick's interests were always bound up in his Sicilian kingdom. And it was there that he developed his revolutionary schemes.

In the first place, he created an absolutism the like of which the Middle Ages had never seen. With a complete disregard for the traditions of medieval civilization, Frederick set up a despotism of the oriental type. The person of the emperor, like that of a sultan, was removed into a semi-sacred seclusion. He alone was the source of power and authority, and the administration was entrusted to a number of officials entirely dependent upon the imperial pleasure and responsible only to Frederick. Every subordinate authority was crushed out of existence. The great nobles in Sicily lost their privileges and their share in public functions. The emperor alone had the power to formulate laws. He alone directed policy, and became the irresponsible autocrat in a highly centralised state. It was thus that a new type of political society came into being, the future importance of which can hardly be exaggerated.

For the achievement of Frederick in Sicily had very far-reaching results. It marked the end of the old notion of medieval government which we began by noticing in this chapter. In place of one society embracing Christian mankind and separated only into various sections of that society, there appeared this centralised despotism responsible only to itself. And in place of a theory of temporal power, dependent upon moral sanc-

tions, an unlimited autocracy came into being. It was thus that in Sicily the Church lost the place that it had held in every medieval state. No longer was there admitted to be a sphere of political action with which the temporal power had no right to interfere. The rights of the Church in Sicily were swept away like those of the great Sicilian nobles. Frederick himself claimed to be supreme even in spiritual affairs; the head, so to speak, of the Sicilian church as well as of the Sicilian state. It was thus that he expected men to treat him with a reverence bordering upon worship, and the autocracy became complete in its spiritual as well as in its temporal aspect.

In establishing this complete despotism in Sicily, Frederick sought to make himself not only the source of all authority, but also the centre of all the culture of the land. By breaking the political power of the Church in Sicily he removed a check that had sometimes been placed by ecclesiastics on freedom of thought, and it was the sceptical and free-thinking character of the emperor himself that caused his court to be the centre of an advanced and peculiar type of artistic and literary revival.

Among the inner circle of Frederick's friends the assumptions underlying the whole scheme of Catholic theology were fearlessly questioned, in a manner unknown to Europe since the sixth century. At the same time a Sicilian school of poetry began to flourish, which in its ideals was almost equally revolutionary. The poet of the Middle Ages had been usually, though not always, the friend of the theologian, pointing his instruction by means of moral maxims elegantly expressed. These Sicilian poets, however, took on the tradition of the troubadours of Provence in exalting the temporal delights of this world, praising them for their own sake, exalting the beauty and the loves of the flesh and preaching a 'joie de vivre' which was wholly alien to an age whose official teachers thought of this world as but a probationary preparation for the one to come.

It is easy to see how this political and cultural organization of Sicily by Frederick

was fraught with future significance. The religious sanction for temporal authority had no place in his scheme, and it was just this quality in his rule which inexpressibly shocked the minds of most of his contemporaries, and caused them, half in reluctant admiration and half in horrified amazement, to give him the title of *Stupor Mundi*—‘the Wonder of the World.’ For Frederick did nothing less than bring into his government modern notions of political authority. He sought to set up reason in place of faith as the dominant force in scholarship, aesthetic values instead of moral doctrine as the criteria of art, and for the temporal power a complete secular omnipotence in place of an authority strictly limited by ecclesiastical and religious control.

It was these modern political ideas, also, which gave to Frederick's quarrel with the popes its extreme bitterness and importance. In the bare details of its incidents that quarrel differs little from its predecessors. But in the spirit which animated the emperor and his partisans there was a world of difference which their contemporaries were quick to see. It was no longer a struggle merely between two interpretations of the same political ideals. It was a conflict between those who held to the old medieval theocracy, and all that this implied, and those whose wish it was to destroy it.

Nothing shows this more clearly than Frederick's whole attitude to the question of the Crusade. The Crusade was in the Middle Ages the direct outcome of the conception of Christian and Latin unity. The Crusade was a European movement: it was nothing less than the offensive and

defensive action of Latin Europe against its heathen enemies. With those enemies there could thus be no truce and no compromise. But to Frederick's sceptical mind such ideas were of themselves absurd. He shrank from and despised what he could only regard as ‘a sublime piece of mysticism and nonsense.’ Thus,



CHARLES I OF NAPLES AND SICILY

Brother of Louis IX of France, Charles (1226-85) count of Anjou was crowned king of Naples and Sicily in 1265, and by the defeat and execution of Conradin in 1268 extinguished the Hohenstaufen line. His tyranny resulted in the rising known as the Sicilian Vespers and the collapse of his dominion.

Palazzo dei Conservatori; photo, Breg.



THE EMPEROR FREDERICK'S TOMB

Frederick II died at the Castel Fiorentino near Lucera and was buried in this porphyry sarcophagus in Palermo Cathedral, near his father and mother. The sarcophagus was opened in 1780 and the body was found in Saracen robes, with a crown on the head and sword and sceptre by its side.

Photo, Altinari

time after time, he put off going on the Crusade under papal direction, and when he did depart for Palestine it was in very different circumstances. Excommunicate, and under the papal ban, he undertook the enterprise in 1229 as a temporal prince concerned more to increase his own possessions than to serve Christendom; and he carried it out more by means of diplomatic skill than by religious fervour. His only half-concealed admiration for his Saracen enemies showed itself throughout. He negotiated with the sultan, to the scandal of orthodox churchmen, and at length obtained Jerusalem by treaty. Then he crowned himself in the Holy City with his own hands in the absence of any ecclesiastics, and without religious ceremonies. With Frederick, in fact, the Crusades lost their old ecclesiastical and

occumenical character, and one of the most characteristic features of medieval social life passed away in its distortion at the hands of this sceptical and modern prince.

The same considerations again animated his quarrel with the popes. The former enemies of the Papacy, as we have seen, had no intention of destroying the dominion of the Church in the medieval world. But with Frederick it was wholly different. His notions of civil government would admit no vestige of ecclesiastical control. The Church everywhere was to be wholly subordinated to the state, and the state itself was to be something finite and secular, totally different from the Empire which Frederick professed to be defending. Frederick, in short, was the sworn foe of the Church as well as of the Papacy and the ecclesiastical civilization which had dominated Europe for eight hundred years. In this he was the prophet of the new political order. Through his great chancellor, Pietro della Vineia, indeed, he put

forward schemes of creating a lay papacy which should be entirely subjected to him—a kind of state office for ecclesiastical affairs.

He was not afraid publicly to envy those Moslem potentates who had no Christian pope with whom to contend. He wished to attack the political force of organized Christianity itself, and in setting up and exalting the unified sovereign state he strove to submit to its control all the forces which animate society. In rationalising faith, philosophy and art he appeared as the foe of Christian doctrine; in secularising civil government he was the implacable enemy of the whole medieval system of politics.

It was Frederick's achievement that he succeeded in his wider aims, though the immediate results of his reign appeared

disastrous. Even if he had been wholly successful he would have destroyed the Empire; for, as we know, the Holy Roman Empire was based upon sentiments which this sceptical prince could not share. As it was, his life caused untold disquietude to many earnest-minded men, but ushered in a new era. After his death Frederick's successors, sharing his enmity to the Papacy, but ignorant of his constructive ideas, carried on the struggle to its tragic close in the complete collapse of Frederick's house. Manfred, the illegitimate son of the emperor, and Conradin, his grandson, for a time maintained the imperial cause in Italy, at first with considerable success.

The final phase of the struggle was really determined by the Papacy calling from over the Alps a French prince—Charles of Anjou—who arrived in Italy with an army against Manfred in 1265. In two battles—Benevento and Tagliacozzo—he completely routed the imperialists. Both Manfred and Conradin perished. The imperial cause was crushed. For some twenty years there was what is known as the Great Interregnum in the Empire, and when peace came again in 1273 it was as a papal nominee that Rudolf of Hapsburg ascended the imperial throne.

The Empire thus collapsed, and its collapse was permanent. The new notions of Frederick II were those of the future, and they were fatal to a loose and heterogeneous political unit like the Empire, which depended for its existence upon a tradition which the last great emperor had been largely instrumental in destroying. With the decay of the tradition, the Empire itself degenerated until, from being the embodiment of one of the most sublime dreams which has ever stirred mankind, it became a chaotic

anarchy of warring princelings—in Voltaire's phrase 'neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire.'

The fictitious unity of Germany and Italy disastrously survived, and both countries were given over to an anarchy which it took centuries to remedy. Germany became a whirling chaos of dissensions. Italy became divided up into city states, which speedily passed under tyrannies. Out of such anarchy no powerful state could be made, and the temporal leadership of Europe thus passed from the Empire to the great states of the west—France and England—which would soon



VICTIM OF FREDERICK'S IDEALS

Boniface VIII, pope from 1294 to 1303, was a vehement but conspicuously unsuccessful champion of the papal supremacy, involved throughout his pontificate in controversy with all the European powers and in conflict with enemies at home. In this fresco by Giotto in the Lateran Basilica, Rome, he is represented proclaiming the jubilee of 1300.

Photo, Alinari

begin to learn the lessons of nationalism, and were already beginning to apply the centralised and absolutist ideals of Frederick to their internal affairs. Indeed, it was in these states that those ideas finally found fullest expression—in England at the Reformation, and in France under the rule of Louis XIV.

Even the Papacy could not escape the consequences of the political teaching of its great enemy. Never again were

the popes to occupy the supreme position that they had held in Europe before the days of Frederick.

The long civil war had tended to discredit the Papacy. The downfall of the Empire had robbed it of its natural protector. Moreover, the new states, built like Frederick's kingdom of Sicily, would brook no interference with their affairs. The view of kingship held by their rulers from this time onwards was one totally incompatible with the ideas of European society that had been put into practice by Innocent III.

In the early fourteenth century both France and England quarrelled with the Papacy, and the struggle between the French king, Philip IV, and Pope Boniface VIII at once assumed serious proportions. Philip, largely inspired by Frederick's previous conduct, went to lengths to which no earlier medieval prince would have dared to go. He sent a small force to Anagni, the papal residence, and subjected the pope to such ill-treatment that he died after a week of captivity. This shocked the conscience of conservative Europe. 'I saw,' wrote Dante, 'the lilies (i.e. France) enter Anagni and Christ crucified again.' But it was a sign of the triumph of the notions of Frederick, without whose work such an outrage would have been unthinkable. This happened within two generations of his death. Within three, a yet more striking symbol of the changing times was disclosed. The French kings led the Papacy captive to Avignon, and there it remained for nearly a century, to testify to the end of

a system in which the occupants of the papal throne had once held the most prominent position.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that in the thunder of the wars of Frederick the strictly medieval order passed away, and out of the constructive political endeavours of that prince modern government had its first beginnings. In the future scholarship and art and letters were to be divorced more and more from ecclesiastical control, and to look to the lay princes as their natural patrons and protectors. More and more were the states of Europe to become sovereign in themselves, acknowledging no external interference in their concerns, and no religious or moral check on their actions. Rapidly, too, passed away that unified and oecumenical conception of European society. Its place was later to be taken by national sentiment which, whilst it fortified the new states, gave them their traditions and inspired new achievements, nevertheless divided Europe rather than united it.

But because of all these changes Frederick deserves the title of Great, in that he was the first champion of a new idea and far-seeing enough to anticipate its inevitable triumph, and to contribute towards it.

In this lies his political significance, for the new order has established the great nations of Europe, and round it has been built up the civilization which we know to-day. While, however, we accord to Frederick the praise that is always given to a prophet with power, the complete victory of his system in the West should not blind us to the defects of his work, or lead us into an unreasoning disparagement of the civilization which he destroyed. Indeed, the modern spectacle of sovereign states, such as he visualised, in conflict may lead us to attempt to recapture some of the spirit of the medieval ideal of a united Europe, and should at any rate enable us to judge more impartially between Frederick and his critics.

THE MONGOLS AND THE COURT OF KUBLAI KHAN

Manners of the terrible Asiatic Nomads as
described by Marco Polo and his Predecessors

By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

Author of *The History of China, Central Asian Questions, etc.*

It was an inspiration of true statesmanship that led Pope Innocent IV in the year A.D. 1245 to send the Minorite friar John Plano de Carpini as his legate to the court of the Great Khan of the Mongols in the remoter parts of Asia, for it was the surest way to acquire the means of measuring the real nature of the great peril from which central and western Europe had just been relieved. In 1241, after the defeat at Liegnitz, Germany seemed to lie at the mercy of the grim and ruthless conquerors of Russia, Poland and Hungary, and it was to all appearance only by the intervention of a merciful providence that their western neighbours had obtained a respite; for the causes of the sudden withdrawal of Batu at the height of his triumph were necessarily unknown and inscrutable to his threatened victims.

The emperor Frederick had tried to combine the kings of France and England in a league to save the Germans, but this effort failed. The pope thereupon resorted to the one course entirely within his competence. He ordered a priest to betake himself to the capital of the conqueror at whose name Europe was trembling, not to sue for peace or mercy, but to ask this formidable warrior and despot to allow himself to be converted to the Christian faith of those whom his armies had just overthrown. The manifestations of human courage, moral as well as physical, are countless in number, but it may be suggested that Pope Innocent's conception and Friar John's execution of this mission furnished a fine example.

Posterity owes another kind of debt to Carpini and his immediate successor William Rubruquis, for to them alone is our knowledge of the Mongols in their

original state attributable before they had adopted something of the different forms of civilization that they had imperilled from the Danube to the China seas. The transition, we have no room for doubting, was swift from the 'orda' of Kuyuk described by Carpini to the palaces of Kublai Khan which are the subject of so many of the pages of Marco Polo; for no more than a single generation intervened.

It was said of Ogdai, the son and successor of Jenghiz Khan, that he was the first of his family to abandon the national tent for a house; but the only circumstance in support of this statement is his building a sort of palace at Karakoram, which was so rarely used that Carpini makes no mention of it, and Rubruquis declares that Kuyuk's successor Mangu only went there twice a year for a quiet spell of inebriation. The only domiciles described by either of the friars were 'ordas' or tents, some of the more magnificent being specified as spoil brought from the camp of Bela of Hungary. The ordas in which the Great Khan or some of his leading satraps like Batu sat in state were of immense size, but the people lived in the ordinary 'yurt,' which could be conveniently packed in a cart for transport, and has been the house of the nomads of northern Asia from time immemorial.

Homes of the
nomad Mongols

What was the state of society discovered by Carpini among those tribes who had just been celebrating their 'carnivals of death' in Europe? One would have expected them to be ferocious monsters at whose hands a foreign envoy would receive but scant mercy. The friar's experiences were of a different character.

He was neither molested nor turned back. He was provided with relays of horses to reach his destination, and his only complaint was the insufficiency of the food given him, which may have been aggravated by its unsuitability, for among the Mongols there was no bread, no oil, no vegetables, essentials for an Italian; nothing but all kinds of flesh, sometimes more or less repulsive, for the Mongols were not nice in their choice. Such being the substance of the repast, the absence of tablecloth and napkins seems trivial.

The national beverage was koumiss, mares' milk, but the friar found it to be too strong and asked for something milder, when he was given mead (honey beer), generally reserved for strangers, perhaps because it was not a Mongol preparation but an import. The Mongols used milk of all kinds, sheep's, goat's and camel's as well as cow's, and Carpini notes that while women drew their milk, men alone drew that of mares. Drunken orgies took place chiefly on koumiss, but the white rice wine from China called 'samshu' was also used

at the tables of the chiefs and exposed in gold and silver goblets or tankards placed on buffets in the great tents for those composing the audience; but only after the khan had notified permission to commence drinking by signalling for music. To the sound of the national guitar the audience would then commence dancing, imbibing largely during the intervals. The friar who witnessed these scenes confines himself to the comment that this drinking, which began at noon and continued till the evening, resulted 'in a rare sight,' leaving the details to imagination.

The most valuable possession of the Mongols and the source of their military power was their immense number of horses. Women, riding astride, used them as the only means of locomotion, while the carts conveying the tents and baggage of the movable camps were drawn for the most part by oxen. In war the horses were protected with breast-plates, sometimes of iron, sometimes of felt, and the saddles, bits and cruppers of those mounted by the chiefs were freely ornamented with gold.



LUXURIOUS CAMP QUARTERS OF THE MONGOL GREAT KHAN

'Ordas,' or tents, occupied by the Great Khans and by the satraps of the Mongols were often magnificent. This illustration shows Jenghiz Khan at the door of his own richly ornamental ordas, pitched around which are other ornate tents of his entourage. The picture is taken from the History of the Mongols, a section of the monumental Jami el-Tawarikh, or Summary of Chronicles, compiled between 1305 and 1318 by Rashid ed-Din, the wazir of the Mongol princes Mahmud and Oljichai.

From Blochet, 'Manuscrits orientaux' de la Bibliothèque Nationale



STATE RECEPTION OF MONGOLIAN AMBASSADORS BY OGDAI KHAN

Rashid ed-Din established an office at Tabriz for the production of his *Jami el-Tawarikh*, and a manuscript illuminated there about 1315, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contains 111 superb miniatures in the Persian style of art providing invaluable information about the customs and costumes of the Mongol people at a period of which few artistic monuments remain. This one depicts a reception of two Mongolian ambassadors by Ogdai Khan, the son of Jenghiz Khan, and his successor in 1227.

From F. R. Martin, 'The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey' (Quaritch)



NOMAD MONGOLS PUTTING UP A YURT

Mongolian 'yurts' are composed of a trellis ring wall, about 4 feet high and 12-20 feet in diameter, and an umbrella-like framework, the whole covered with heavy felts. The trellis-work is made on the pantograph, or 'lazy-tongs,' principle, and so is collapsible and convenient for transport.

Photo, E.N.A.

If the horse played a large part in Mongol war organization, the national weapon, the bow, contributed no less to their triumphs. At three years of age the Mongol child had his first bow, of suitable size for infancy, placed in his hands, and at each successive period of his life a larger one was provided, until the full-sized bow of the warrior, larger and more formidable than anything known in Europe, became his most prized possession. By the Mongol custom each warrior had on taking the field to carry two bows and three big quivers full of arrows. Armour was rare and confined to a cap of leather with an iron or steel covering on the top. The jerkins were of leather with iron plates, and in addition to the bow the men generally carried a sword or an axe, spears being the exception. Mention is made of a rope or kind of lasso for taking captives, or perhaps more generally for securing them after capture.

The early Mongol victories seem to have been due primarily to the celerity of their movements, to their speedy and enduring horses—Carpini's ride from Batu's camp to Kuyuk's covered three and a half months without a halt—and, secondly, to the deadly flight of their arrows, which were discharged at full speed. But it would be an omission not to mention the

superlative ability of their great chiefs as military leaders. Batu was one of the foremost; of him Carpini wrote: 'He is most cruel in fight; he is very shrewd and crafty in warfare; for he has been waging war for a long time.' None the less the complete collapse of so many nations before such assailants is difficult to explain. Perhaps their success was due to their self-confidence, for they believed themselves to be superior to everyone else in the world.

The judicial code of the Mongols was simple and severe. Capital punishment could only be inflicted in cases 'taken in the act' or by confession, but to secure the latter torture was allowed.

Theft on a large scale was punishable with death under the same conditions, but in minor cases, such as the theft of a sheep, the culprit received a varying number of strokes with a stick, running from seven strokes up to a hundred and seven. Carpini specifies 'adultery, brigandage and open larceny' as punishable with death, but in the ordinances of Jenghiz Khan many other offenders such as 'the receivers of stolen goods' and sorcerers were included.

Perhaps the true character of the Mongols was best revealed in their treatment of death and their mortuary ceremonies. When a man was taken ill he shut himself up in his tent, and a staff with a black tuft at the top was placed at the door to warn everyone from coming near him. His personal servants might attend him, but they were then debarred from outside intercourse. If he had no servants he was left to recover or die alone. When he was in the last agony, servants or no, he was left in solitude. Those persons who had the mischance of being present at a death were debarred from intercourse with their fellows for varying periods. The announcement of a death was greeted with loud wailing, but this was not of long continuance, for a



A TANGUT HUNTER

The Mongols who menaced Europe in the thirteenth century are portrayed in this contemporary painting by the Chinese artist Chao Yung. The hardy Mongolian pony and the fur-clad rider could be matched in Tibet to-day.

Bushell Collection, courtesy of V. & A. Museum

death freed the family from taxes for a year.

The importance of the mortuary ceremonies varied with the rank of the deceased, but in all cases the corpse was wrapped in the best clothes of the owner and accompanied by offerings of jewels, money and supplies of food and drink. For this reason the grave was chosen secretly lest robbers should despoil it of its articles of value; and in the case of a prince of the ruling family there were greater objects of temptation, treasures of high value being deposited in the grave, which was generally excavated in the side of a hill. This cave was of considerable dimensions, for often a mare with a foal and a horse with bit and saddle were placed

alive in the grave with their master, while outside another horse was killed and skinned. The skin was filled with straw and hung up on poles to serve as a grave-stone, while the mourners regaled themselves on the flesh. Wailings at the grave were renewed and sometimes in the case of important persons went on for thirty days. None the less, the name of the deceased person was never used for several generations, thus perpetuating the silence of the grave.

There was another and more terrible practice in connexion with the burial of



MEDIEVAL TATAR HORSEMEN

Horses have always been the most valuable possession of the Mongols, and horse and cattle breeding is still their principal occupation. The people retain also the fine horsemanship suggested in this thirteenth-century Chinese painting.

British Museum

princes. When the cortège for the cemetery, of which one was reserved for members of the ruling family, had started on its last journey, everyone encountered on the road was killed, and it is recorded that no fewer than 20,000 persons, including women and children, were thus sacrificed on one occasion when no notice had been given of the approaching procession.

Carpini reached the head camp of the Mongol rulers at an interesting moment. The members of the reigning family were assembled in consultation with the leading military commanders who had been summoned to attend the grand council or 'kuriltai,' at which a successor to Ogdai had to be chosen and proclaimed. The friar witnessed the ceremonies and formalities which attended the election of his

son Kuyuk. The etiquette observed was as strict and varied as it would have been in the most august assembly. The hall of election was a great tent of white velvet capable of accommodating 2,000 persons. This tent was surrounded with a wooden paling in which there were two large gates, one reserved for the emperor alone. It was left quite un- **Election of an Emperor** guarded, but no one dared to approach it; the other gate, by which those who were summoned entered, was closely guarded as if to mark the contrast in privilege. The period of election covered a month, and a feature of the ceremony was the presentation of tributes and presents by 4,000 envoys from vassal chiefs, among whom were several Russian and Georgian princes taken prisoner in the wars whose lives had been spared.

The result of the election was not announced at once, but it was made clear that Kuyuk had been chosen by the fact that whenever he came out of his tent 'the people sang to him and inclined fine staffs with tufts of red wool at the end of them.' These are the 'tughs' which are still the emblems of authority among the Mongols. The proclamation of Kuyuk was reserved for the second ceremony at the Golden Orda some days later, when he was placed on the imperial seat and all the chiefs and the assembled peoples went down on their knees before him. Carpini remained erect without molestation, which reflects some credit on Mongol hospitality and forbearance. The celebration concluded with heavy drinking of koumiss and mead till late in the evening, while carts brought round and distributed cooked meats 'without salt.'

Kuyuk gave the legate an audience at his first reception after election. The presents were displayed in the tent, and included an umbrella studded with precious stones, the usual insignia of royal position throughout Asia. The emperor's seat was 'a throne of ebony wonderfully sculptured and decorated with pearls and other precious stones.' Gold was used in profusion for ornamentation, and outside the tent were 500 carts laden with gold, silver and silks for the



BOWMAN OF THE KHAN

The bow was the national weapon of the Mongols and, with the horse, the chief instrument of their military triumphs. Above is a sixteenth-century Persian copy of a Chinese drawing of an archer of Kublai Khan's period.

From F. R. Martin, 'Miniature Painting'



MANGU KHAN

Mangu Khan was the fourth sovereign of the dynasty founded by Jenghiz Khan and succeeded Kuyuk in 1251. He is thus portrayed, with his consorts, in the manuscript referred to below.

From F. R. Martin, 'Miniature Painting'

emperor's acceptance and distribution among his favoured followers. When the emperor spoke the audience fell upon their knees and remained in that posture till he had finished. The surroundings may have been barbaric, but the courtiers were as strictly disciplined as any chamberlain could have desired. The observant priest gives a favourable portrait of Kuyuk; he was 'prudent and extremely shrewd, serious and sedate in his manner, never laughed lightly or showed levity,' and, above all, was half suspected of being a Christian at heart, though to Carpini's lasting regret he evaded baptism. The pope's missionary had bearded the lion in his den, but he failed to gain the supreme satisfaction of leading an illustrious convert to the feet of the supreme pontiff.

Not long after the depar-

ture of Rubruquis from the Mongol camp in the year 1255, Mangu, Kuyuk's successor, died or was killed while warring in China, whither his ambition and desire for world empire had drawn him, and from that incident ensued the great cleavage in the Mongol state which resulted in its being broken up into several parts. Of these the most important for the moment at least was China, wherein Mangu's brother Kublai proceeded to found the Yuan dynasty. It is true that on his brother's



STATE PROGRESS OF A MONGOL KHAN

This picture, from the same manuscript as that in page 2849, represents a Mongol court procession. Umbrellas were carried over Tatar nobles and their wives even on horseback, and the 'tughs,' staffs with tufts of red wool at the top, are still emblems of authority among the Mongols.

From F. R. Martin, 'Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey'



MESSER MARCO POLO, THE VENETIAN, TRAVELLING IN STRANGE LANDS

In 1271 Marco Polo (1254-1324) accompanied his father and uncle to China. Travelling across Persia, Tartary and the Gobi desert they arrived at Chandu in 1275, where Marco Polo won the high favour of Kublai Khan, who appointed him Governor of Yang Chow and later employed him on several missions. The Polos returned to Venice in 1295. In 1298 Marco Polo was taken prisoner by the Genoese and during his captivity dictated his immortal Book of Marco Polo.

From the Livre des Merveilles

death Kublai, as was his hereditary right, proclaimed himself 'khakhan' of the Mongols at Peking, but the prescribed formalities in a national 'kuriltai' and election by the chiefs at Karakoram were lacking, and his authority was not generally recognized. It is also true that when his brother Arikbuka came with the hordes from the Mongolian steppes to depose him, he defeated and triumphed over him; but as he had no desire to place himself in the seat of his grandfather Jenghiz, who had foretold his future greatness, he granted the vanquished favourable terms.

Kublai had been educated in China; he was content to give it a new emperor in his own person, and thus he who might have been another great khan of the Mongols passed from the category of a 'barbarian' to become the head of a civilized and cultured state. This new phase of Mongol dominion centred in the capital city of Cambaluc, or Peking, and we are again indebted to a European traveller, that inimitable raconteur Marco

Polo, for our knowledge of Kublai's character, conduct and court.

When Marco Polo reached the emperor's court at Chandu in the year 1275 the conquest of China had been completed, and the Mongol administration was in such a state of efficiency through the security of the roads and the provision of post-houses, relays of horses and hostelries for travellers as to excite the admiration and wonder of the European traveller. Nor was that diminished on his first contact with the emperor in his new summer residence among the hills beyond the Great Wall. Here, in a park sixteen miles in circumference and surrounded by a wall, Kublai had constructed a marble palace which was a marvel of artistic design. Chandu, or more correctly Shangtu, is none other than the Xanadu of Coleridge's dream poem:

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
By caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.

The walls of this palace were painted with figures of men, beasts and birds of 'exquisite art,' to use the Venetian's words, while all the decorations were in gold. The great lake in the park, fed by a stream, was stocked with an infinite variety of waterfowl, among which five different species of cranes are mentioned, so that the emperor might enjoy his favourite sport of falconry; but no ferocious animals were placed there. Sometimes Kublai carried on his horse's croup a trained leopard which he loosed to pursue the deer. A second palace made of canes or bamboos stood within the park, and the emperor slept sometimes in one palace and sometimes in the other; but each year, at the close of the season in August, the cane palace was taken to pieces and laid aside for reconstruction in the following spring. On the occasion of the court's removal a curious practice was observed to propitiate, as was said, the spirits. A stud of pure white horses

and mares, numbering 10,000, was kept up exclusively for the imperial service, and the latter's milk was reserved for the palace; but on the day of departure the supply was collected and spilt upon the ground of the park. White horses were long reserved for the emperors of China down even to the Manchu period, but Kublai was the only one of them to order that when encountered on the road all persons should stand still while they passed by. Even his greatest nobles could only evade this regulation by making a wide detour.

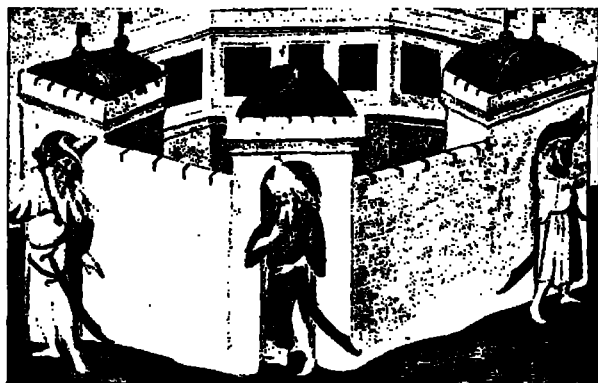
Kublai's capital was called Cambaluc or Khanbalik, and occupied very much the same site as the modern Peking. It was, in the form that Polo knew, the creation of his imperial master. He began it with the construction of an outer walled enclosure, square in form, each side being one mile in length. The walls were at least 50 feet in height and not less than 20 feet in breadth. On



KUBLAI KHAN ENJOYING AN AL FRESCO MEAL

Hospitality was one of Kublai Khan's virtues, according to Marco Polo, and his state banquets were occasions of almost incredible display of opulence and generosity. His chief wife occupied the seat of honour at his left hand, his sons sat on his right, and at lower tables sat the nobles with their wives. The repast here depicted—by a European, not an Oriental, artist, for an edition of Marco Polo's book issued in 1351—would seem to have been of a more informal nature, taken *al fresco*, in a pavilion in the park surrounding the great Khan's palace.

From the Livre des Merveilles



KUBLAI KHAN'S PALACE AT CAMBALUC

The splendour of Kublai Khan's palace at Cambaluc is represented—somewhat inadequately—in this drawing in the *Livre des Merveilles*, a manuscript containing the narratives of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, written about 1351 and copied towards the end of the century for Philip the Bold.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

them were at equal distances eight palaces, imposing buildings towering above the walls, which were pierced by an equal number of gates. The most important of these and the largest, on the south side, was reserved for the emperor's use, thus following the old Mongol custom. The so-called palaces on the walls were used as magazines or store houses for the equipment of the army. At each of the gateways there was a strong guard, relieved at fixed intervals. Immediately behind the outer wall was a park or gardens, and then came a second wall similar in design to but less lofty than the outer and pierced by the same number of gates.

Behind this stood the imperial palace, a one-storeyed building but erected on a platform well raised above the ground. Polo declared that the palace was so vast, rich and beautiful that it had no superior in the world, and as proof of its size he mentioned that 6,000 people could easily dine in its central hall. The outside roof was composed of tiles in variegated colours fixed with a varnish which made them shine like crystal. The inner walls were covered with gold and silver and adorned with representations of dragons, beasts, knights and idols; the ceilings were painted and inlaid with gold and silver. Close to the palace was a large lake reserved for fishing and crossed by a marble bridge leading to a second palace

occupied by the then still living crown prince, Chinkin, while in the near distance was the conspicuous artificial hill called the Green Mount. This served the purpose of an arboretum, to which the emperor caused all rare trees and plants from the most remote parts of the empire to be transplanted. Reference is made to the fact that elephants were employed in drawing the heavier trees by road.

Polo gives very full descriptions of the great feasts given by Kublai, who seems to have enjoyed the sight of a good company; his table was so placed that he had

a clear view of everyone present. His chief wife sat on the same level as himself on his left, which is the seat of honour in China. On his right were arrayed his sons and other near relatives, but their tables were placed so that their heads were on a level with his feet. Their wives sat amongst them. In the same way the nobles and their wives, too, were placed at tables still lower than the princes, while the inferior officers and soldiers had to be content with places on the well carpeted floor. In the centre, at a distance of ten paces from the emperor's table, a large gold vessel or cistern filled with a richly spiced wine occupied a sort of buffet on which were exposed the required number of goblets and tankards, all of gold. A generous allowance from these was passed round among the guests, and the ladies drank equally with the men. But no one drank at all until the emperor set the example, to the sound of music, whereupon the whole audience fell upon their knees until he had finished his draught, and each time that he took up his goblet those present repeated the prostration. With regard to the food, it cannot be doubted that Chinese were superior to Tatar cooks; but Polo contents himself with saying that there was great plenty of every kind. The feast over, the tables were removed and

**Splendour at an
Imperial banquet**

players and jugglers came in to amuse the company with their games and tricks, everyone drinking continually all the time. Polo records the custom of avoiding the threshold on entrance, but on leaving, he adds, the company was in such a jolly mood that this was less observed.

Two of the court feasts were of special importance. One was that in honour of the emperor's birthday, which fell in the month of September. On

Festivals at Kublai's Court this occasion the emperor donned his most costly robes all wrought with beaten gold, and at least 12,000 of the nobles and officials similarly attired in yellow costumes wearing golden girdles attended the court in his honour. All these dresses were provided at the charge of the emperor, who rewarded his supporters right royally. This may be judged from the fact that these court robes were granted thirteen times a year, only the colour varying with the occasion of the festival.

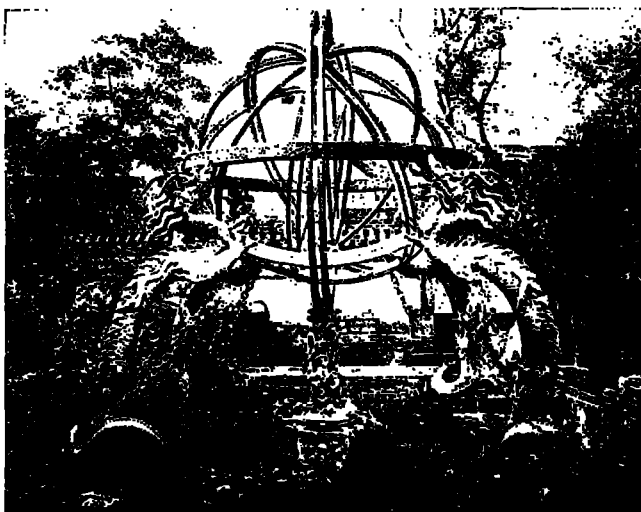
The second in importance of these festivals was that of the New Year, which in China arrives in the month of February. On this occasion the emperor and all the company dressed in white, which among the Mongols was supposed to bring good luck and happiness, although in China it is the symbol of mourning. On this occasion the emperor received tribute from his vassals and dependants, gifts from his nobles and offerings of all kinds from his subjects. In accordance with the Mongol custom each item was counted in nines and multiplied by the same mystical figure; thus nine times nine or eighty-one was the auspicious total. The chief ceremony was that of the 'adoration of the emperor,' accompanied by prayers and music, concluding with the ceremony of the kowtow four times repeated.

A remarkable feature of all these court functions,

attended by so many thousands of persons, was the orderliness and good behaviour of those present. Such was their obedience and reverence for the emperor, it was declared, that as they approached the palace they ceased talking to one another and adopted a mien of great meekness and quiet before presenting themselves to their ruler. They also carried white buskins, which they substituted for their ordinary boots on reaching the palace entrance, in order not to foul the fine silk carpets, and they carried in addition, Polo assures us, handsome little vessels with lids in which to spit, for to spit on the emperor's carpets was, as may be imagined, a more heinous misdemeanour than to soil them with the mud of the streets.

Marco Polo, who was in the closest relations with the emperor, by whom he was entrusted with many important missions, gives the following account of his master's appearance, when he was over sixty years of age :

Kublai is of a good stature, neither tall nor short, but of a middle height. He has a becoming amount of flesh and is very shapely in all his limbs. His complexion is white and red, the eyes black and fine, the nose well formed and well set on. He has



BRONZE MONUMENT OF MONGOL SCIENCE

Astronomy flourished during the reign of Kublai Khan who in 1296 had the Observatory built in the south-east corner of the Tatar city of Peking. Among the instruments made at that time, and now resting in the Observatory garden, was this wonderful bronze armillary zodiacal sphere of six feet diameter.

four wives whom he retains personally as his legitimate consorts. These four ladies are called empresses, but each is distinguished also by her proper name. Each of them has a special court of her own, very grand and ample; no one of them having fewer than three hundred fair and charming damsels. They have also many pages and eunuchs, and a number of other attendants of both sexes, so that each of these ladies has not less than 10,000 persons attached to her court.

Of these empresses the most beautiful and attractive was Jamui Khatun, known as the Great Consort. She seems to have exercised much influence over Kublai and to have been of an amiable character, as was revealed in her considerate treatment of the princesses of the Sung family when they were brought as captives to Peking. On that occasion, too, when the treasures

of the fallen Chinese rulers were exposed for her admiration, she turned to her husband with tears saying, 'So shall it be one day, too, with the Mongol dynasty.'

A word must be said about the great city of Cambaluc which had sprung up outside the walls of the imperial palace already described. First came the city and then surrounding it twelve suburbs, and vast and thickly populated as was the former the latter surpassed it in the number of inhabitants. As these were Chinese and not Tatars it was only natural that they should be great traders, and as an instance of their activity Polo mentions that not fewer than a thousand carts bearing silk entered the city daily. As silk was the chief fabric in use among people of all grades, cotton being little used, this

is not surprising. Kublai fully appreciated the importance of trade by the care he displayed in keeping the main roads in good condition and providing for the security of travellers by placing garrisons, small as well as large, at all points where there was danger from robbers. The requirements of a court carried on on such a lavish scale as has been described would alone have represented a very large annual import into the capital, and perhaps a fairer proof of the commercial activity of Cambaluc was afforded in the existence of a large number of hostels for the special entertainment of foreign merchants and visitors. Some regard was also shown for the sanitary condition of the city, at least in regard to the burial of the dead. All corpses, whether for burning or interment, had to be taken beyond the limits of the outer suburbs. Bath houses were also numerous, and owing to the use of coal, which was found in every province of China, it was said that the citizens could take at least three hot baths a week.



CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT OF KUBLAI KHAN

Kublai Khan (1214-94) was a generous benefactor of the Confucian temple at Chu-Fou, in Shantung, and there this thirteenth-century portrait of him is preserved. It is especially valuable because early Chinese portraiture is remarkable for its successful combination of interpretation of character with representation of form and feature.

From Arthur Waley, 'An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting,' Ernest Benn, Ltd.

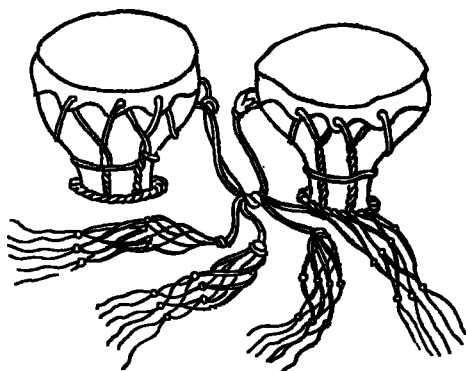
In his earlier days Kublai had been a great and successful warrior—it was said, indeed, that his prowess had excited Mangu's jealousy—but after the repulse of Arikbuka he declared that he had too many other matters to attend to to allow of his assuming the command in person. But in his old age an unexpected peril arose on his northern frontier. Kaidu, his cousin, was plotting for his overthrow, and he had gained the services of Nayan, the most famed warrior among the Mongols of that day. Kublai was eighty years of age, but the old lion was roused in him, and he saw that the danger was so great as to call for his presence. Collecting all his available forces he rushed to the point of danger, and before Nayan had realized the situation the emperor fell upon and destroyed him and his host. Polo provides a vivid picture of the aged emperor, seated on a platform supported by four elephants, giving the signal for the onset by striking the 'naccaras' or imperial kettle-drums.

With this closing dramatic view of the great emperor we may turn to another scene. Mangu had often expressed the intention of renewing the Mongol incursions into Europe, and no doubt he would have fulfilled his purpose if his career had not been cut short in China.

He sent Louis IX, whom **Waning authority** he styled king of the **of the Great Khan** Franks, a very strong

bow which two men could hardly string and two arrows with silver heads full of holes which whistled like a pipe as they passed through the air, with a notice that if he wished for peace he was to keep them, but if he sent them back it would be regarded as a declaration of war. But this vaunting came to nothing. The supreme authority of the Great Khan declined as rapidly and disappeared as completely in the West as in the East.

The campaigns of Batu had not been unproductive. He was master of the greater part of Russia and established his capital at Sarai on the Volga. His brother Byrca or Berke founded the dynasty of the Golden Horde, and what was more remarkable adopted the Mahomedan religion. Thus the separation of the western Mongols from the paternal stem was more complete even than it was in the east,



IMPERIAL KETTLE-DRUMS

Sounding drums as a signal for action is an old Asiatic custom. Tatar 'naccaras' were cauldron-shaped kettle-drums, tapering to the bottom and covered with buffalo hide; at the top they were $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet in diameter and even more.

From Yule, 'Travels of Marco Polo'

for there was no religious change in that quarter. At first the Russian princes hoped that they might recover their position, but when it was discovered that the Mongols were as formidable as ever, the Russian peoples without the leave of their rulers abandoned resistance and joined the Mongols as allies.

The consequences of that alliance might have been more serious than they proved but for the fierce struggle that arose between Byrca and his cousin Hulagu, to whom Khorassan had fallen as his share. Farther east in the region of Turkistan the descendants of Chaghatai, the third of the sons of Jenghiz, had established a realm which was to be rendered famous in history by the exploits of Timur, a second 'scourge of God,' and of Babar, the founder of the Mogul power in India. Among his other exploits Timur smashed up the kingdom of the Golden Horde, thus paving the way for the successive eastward movements of the Russians which began under Prince Dimitri at Kulikoff on the Don, and was completed two centuries later by Ivan the Terrible.

But before what has been called the resurrection of Russia arrived the intermingling of the original Sarmatian or Scythian population with the Mongol and other Tatar elements had reached such a stage that it was impossible to distinguish between immigrant and aboriginal. When Ivan the Terrible, at the

head of the so-called patriots, captured Kazan, they massacred the mixed population without any regard for affinity. When the Crimea was annexed towards the end of the eighteenth century thousands of the so-called Tatars, who were hybrids, were massacred to give substance to the nominal reunion of all the Russians. But massacres, however thorough, never wiped out a national connexion. The Mongol, or, if preferred, the Tatar, and the Russ elements are still so closely inter-mixed in the composition of the Russian peoples that it is impossible to draw a distinguishing line between them. The Chinese statesman Li Hung Chang, when



A MONGOL OF TO-DAY

In all externals the modern Mongols are very like their medieval forebears, but the sedative influence of the Lama church—to which this man belongs—has changed their temper and the erstwhile warrior is now a torpid pacifist.

he visited Moscow in 1896, on inspecting the portraits in the Kremlin exclaimed, 'But these are my ancestors.'

While all these incidents at the various extremities of their great conquests were in progress the Mongol tribes, men of the primitive stock who had set the world in flames, returned to their native homes in the valleys of the Orkhon and the Upper Amur, resuming their pastoral occupations. So far as is known, they have forgotten their ancient greatness and show no disposition to resume those forays which carried them on their hardy and enduring horses to the remotest corners of the known world. They have even abandoned the national bow to which their triumphs were mainly attributable. They are men of peace to-day; for five centuries they have been expiating the crimes of war. What was the cause of this remarkable change in character and disposition? It was a marked religious revival.

Their great khans, their emperors and their princes long trifled with religion. Four religions were placed before them for selection. There was the original Shamanism, the heretical Christianity of the Nestorians, Buddhism and the Christianity of the friars. Kuyuk favoured the last, Mangu declared for Buddhism, Kublai temporised with all, saying that he looked to their united prayers to gain him a better place in Heaven. The western Mongol princes passed gradually one after the other into the fold of Islam. But the true unmixed Mongols of the Karakoram homeland had yielded to the milder and more seductive teaching of Tibetan missionaries, who inspired them with renewed devotion to the cult of Buddha, converting them from a race of warriors into a community of pacifists, changing the tyranny of military leaders whose orders had to be blindly obeyed for the control, not less authoritative and dictatorial, of the lamas, and leading them to abandon the formidable bow of their ancestors for the harmless prayer-wheel. But the change is not wholly for the good. Where there was energy and spirit there is now sloth and slumber. The Mongol nation drags out its life in sleep and torpor.

THE GREAT AGE OF GOTHIC ART

Medieval Architecture in its most glorious Phase
considered as an Artistic and an Engineering Triumph

By G. BALDWIN BROWN

Professor of Fine Art, Edinburgh University; Author of *The Arts in Early England*, etc.

THE architecture called Gothic—the term is accidental and of no significance—is the last of three phases through which religious architecture passed between the third Christian century and the fifteenth. The first phase, that of the Early Christian basilica, is architecturally unimportant, but after the Carolingian epoch, or about A.D. 900, there began to take shape a marked and consistent style, with strong classical affinities, that came to be known as Romanesque (see pages 2440–43). This lasted without essential modifications till the first half of the twelfth century, when the new style we call Gothic came with some suddenness into being.

Just as Romanesque was the outcome of the earlier and simpler basilican form, so Gothic was developed out of Romanesque, but in this case the evolution was marked by architectural changes and novelties so remarkable that Gothic has become invested in some minds with a sort of mystic halo, as if it were a fresh creation, heaven-descended, and out of all relation with what had gone before. It is in truth an appearance of a very wonderful kind, perhaps the most striking artistic phenomenon of which history takes account; but so far from being out of all relation with the past it had close links with it, and was at the same time a child of its own age, born and nurtured in an artistic and a social setting whence it drew the force that enabled it to unfold an independent life of dazzling achievement.

There are accordingly two points of view from which this artistic phenomenon may be regarded. In one respect it is the material outcome of the series of mechanical adaptations to be explained in subsequent pages, in another it is the

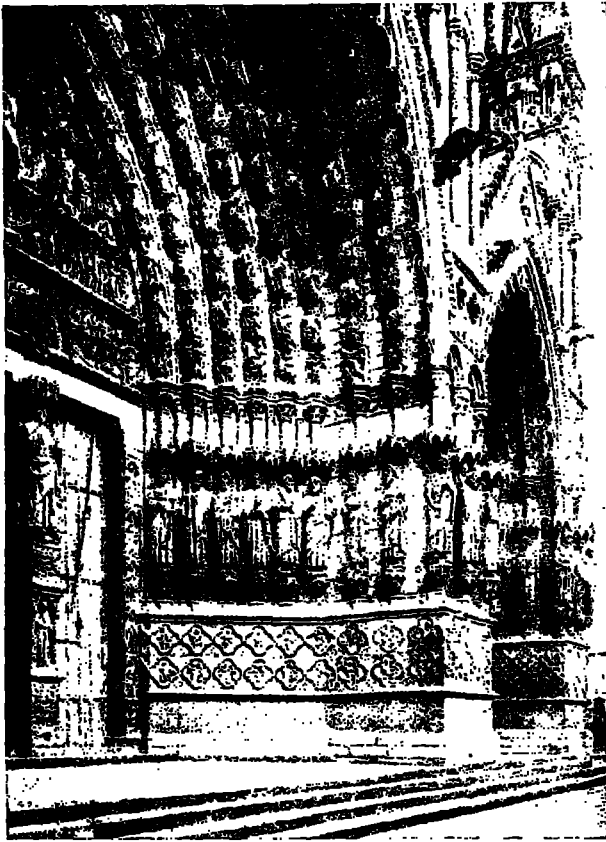
expression of the social and religious life of the region and of the time of its birth. The region was northern and central France, and the time the twelfth century, and Gothic may be regarded as a kind of crystallisation in a form of beauty of the ideas, the aspirations, the endeavours of the wonderful age of which it was certainly the most notable fruit.

The writer remembers well his first sight of the great Gothic cathedral of Reims (page 2873). Arriving at night, a stranger to the town, he had been driven to the hotel that faces the great church, and about midnight had flung back the shutters

First sight of
Reims Cathedral

of his window and gazed forth across the moonlit 'place.' There, dark below but bathed above in silver radiance, stood one of the noblest monuments of medieval architecture. When the first overpowering impression of the sublimity of the mass had passed away, one noted in the varying lights and shadows a complexity that seemed without limit, and yet did not suggest confusion.

On the ground level three huge cavern-like spaces of gloom formed a solid base, and between them there shot up into the light slender pillars of stone which seemed to carry, in niches, carved figures of stately pose, and to go off above into airy pinnacles enriched with curling foliage. These stood out from the mass, and behind them, on the main façade, branching tracery of stonework picked out in silver showed where immense windows filled almost all the area of the broad and towering front. The central division of this was carried up to a sharp-pointed gable, while on each side the upward trend of all the lines of the composition was



FINE CENTRAL PORCH OF AMIENS

A fine feature of French Gothic cathedrals is the three wide arched porches of the west front sloping inwards to a comparatively small doorway, the depth being acquired by utilising the buttresses of the flanking towers; the doorway is divided by a central pillar, or 'trumeau.' This example is Amiens.

Photo, Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire

gathered into the two great verticals of the western towers. To balance the prevailing verticals there was conspicuous on an upper stage a horizontal row of monumental figures apparently wearing crowns.

In the morning light what had appeared so mysteriously impressive revealed itself as a rational product based on utility but appealing to human imagination and feeling. A careful analysis shows that all the forms are the natural, even necessary, outcome of the structural system, while at the same time they are also expressive, so that we find ourselves reading ideas into many of them—ideas that seem incorporate in the material, or at any rate in the form and connexions in which it is employed.

We are here obviously on rather dangerous ground, for it is easy to read into works of art more of the poetic and ethical element than the designers had any notion of.

With this caution in view we may try to analyse the Reims façade, starting with what seemed at night 'huge cavern-like spaces of gloom.' They are broad and deep portals through which entrance is gained, portals the external opening of which is so widely spread that the three occupy the whole breadth of the façade. The porches are so deep that their sides slope inwards for some distance, converging towards the actual doorway, the width of which is divided by a central pier or 'trumeau.' These widely flung approaches are a special feature of the French Gothic church, in this so greatly superior to the English, for they are nobly expressive in that they seem to open out welcoming arms to invite the whole world to enter, the actual doorway in its comparative narrowness suggesting access to hallowed ground.

How is this depth secured—for it cannot all be won in the mere thickness of the western wall? Here use is made of

those vertical pillars which flank the portals. They are constructive necessities, buttressing the corners of the square towers in the form of piers of masonry that project several feet from their face. Advantage is taken of this projection in planning the sloping jambs of the portals, for these use the buttresses as if they were so much thickness added to the wall.

The jambs are turned to a further artistic purpose. The actual doorway, as we have remarked, is divided into two by a pier or trumeau. This is, of course, the most conspicuous spot in the whole building, obvious to all who enter, and it is chosen for the display of the principal piece of decorative sculpture. This will

take the form of an effigy, it may be of the Deity or of the holy personage to whom the church is dedicated. At Amiens there is here the noble but slightly austere form of Christ, 'le beau Dieu d'Amiens,' and at Reims, dedicated to Our Lady, a figure, not so successful, of Mary. The spaces in the sloping jambs on each side are devoted to figures associated with the central effigy on the trumeau, at Amiens the twelve Apostles, and at Reims figures of Mary in different scenes of her life grouped with appropriate companions.

To show the figures in action would have contradicted the severity which the architectural use of them demanded, but, when they are in groups of two or three, in the turn of the head or the action of the hands there is an indication of their connexion, which may sometimes be emphasised by a more definite gesture or action. On the southern jamb of the main portal at Reims there is first a girl-like Mary with the Angel of the Annunciation, and farther out a more matronly figure grouped with an aged Elizabeth in the Visitation, while on the northern jamb four figures, Joseph, Mary, Simeon and Anna, illustrate the Presentation.

It will be noted how natural and simple it all is. The sloping jambs brought so artfully into the constructive scheme are needed as a vehicle of expression, but they could not be left bare or aimlessly embellished, so they are peopled with significant forms connected with the central figure, the 'clou' of the whole decorative scheme. The porches have arched roofs that are termed archivolts, on the soffits of which, generally seated on projecting consoles, there is a whole population of subsidiary figures, numbering in the central portal at Amiens nearly a hundred. These deep recesses give splendid masses of shadow to pedestal the lighter and more diversified superstructure. Here, as we discerned at first, the upper stages of the vertical buttresses are recessed with niches holding statues, with pinnacles above them. At Reims these statues, many, alas, now accidentally shattered by German shells, are of angels, and we get the expressive feature of a whole flight of these celestial guardians that seem to have alighted from

the upper air to keep watch and ward over the holy edifice, which they have not, however, wholly succeeded in preserving.

The line of statues across the upper part of the front has great aesthetic value in steadying the composition by a strong horizontal to counterbalance the vertical tendency of most of the lines of the architecture, but its historical significance is as the 'galerie des rois,' the celebration, as will be seen later on, of the close connexion of the royal power with the great architectural movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In dealing, however, with Gothic construction, of which we have here taken a particular example, it is necessary to understand first the mechanics of the arch and vault, for on these everything in Gothic ultimately depends. The arch commonly used, at least in Romanesque, is



'LE BEAU DIEU D'AMIENS'

The trumeau of the doorway is used to display the principal piece of sculpture, with associated figures on the sloping jambs to right and left: at Amiens (thirteenth century), the famous Christ and, as seen opposite, the twelve Apostles.

Photo, Levy-Nourdin, reunis



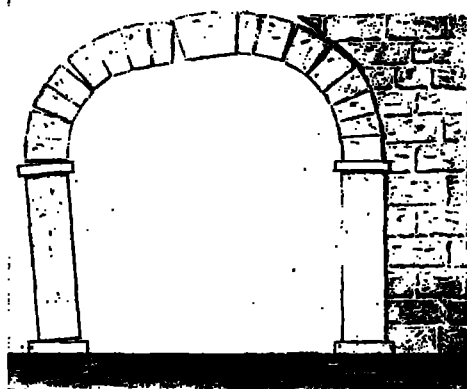
STORY OF THE VIRGIN MARY TOLD IN STONE AT REIMS

On the trumeau at Reims is the Virgin Mary, so the persons on the jambs at either side are naturally those that occur in the opening chapters of Luke : on the right, the angel of the Annunciation with Mary, and Mary with Elizabeth in the Visitation (top), and on the left Joseph, Mary with the infant Christ, Simeon, and Anna in the Presentation at the Temple. Note how the figures, though statuesque and almost immobile, indicate the connexion between them by gesture of hand or head.

Photo, Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire

semicircular and is composed of a limited number of comparatively large stones called 'voussoirs', fitted closely together but not in any way cemented or clamped. They are wedge-shaped, and the lines that give the slope of their sides all radiate from the centre from which the semicircles of the extrados and intrados are struck. It is usual, though not universal, to employ a stone of specially large size for the top-most voussoir of the arch, and this is called a keystone.

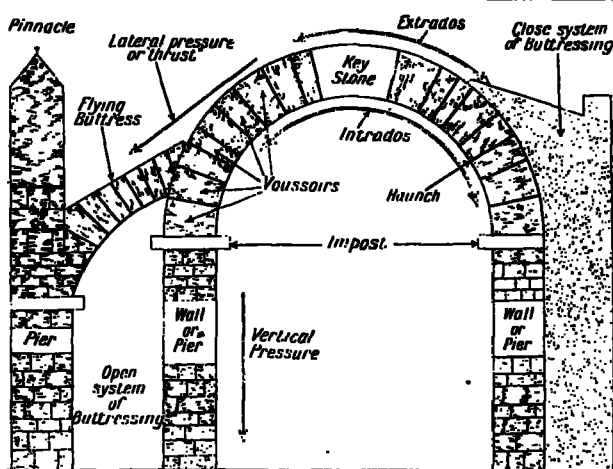
These stones all have weight, and to sustain them in their destined position above ground they need support; and this support is of two kinds. The material, however it be disposed, will in virtue of its dead weight tend downwards, exercising what is called technically 'vertical pressure.' This is easily met and nullified by walls or piers; but there exists also pressure of another kind which must be clearly understood before there can be any comprehension of the problems involved in medieval vaulting. This other pressure is 'lateral pressure' or 'thrust,' and, as the term implies, is exercised not vertically but to the side.



HOW AN ARCH COLLAPSES

What happens if lateral thrust is not counteracted is shown by this drawing. One side of the collapsing arch is firmly buttressed; on the other the keystone is elbowing the voussoirs aside until they open at the 'haunch.'

After Proj. Baldwin Brown



STRUCTURE OF A BUTTRESSED ARCH

This diagram gives the chief components of an arch, the terminology connected with it, the forces that it has to withstand, and the two chief methods of combating them—for the 'open' system see page 2877. The whole, if imagined to extend indefinitely fore and aft, applies equally to a barrel vault.

After Prof. Baldwin Brown

The rationale of it may be thus explained. In virtue of its weight the keystone is pressing downwards, but owing to its wedge shape it cannot slip between its two immediate neighbours without elbowing them to one side, and this, of course, it is always endeavouring to do. If the arch is standing on its piers quite alone and without any other masonry it may succeed; and the effect is shown in the adjacent drawing from an instantaneous photograph of a model. We see what happens: the heavy keystone has elbowed away its neighbour on the left (the other half of the arch is to be ignored) and the consequent movement is passed on from stone to stone till it results in an opening between them at a part called the shoulder, or sometimes the haunch, of the arch. This is a preliminary to the total collapse of the arch and the overthrowing of the pier or wall on the side where the pressure has been exerted, and this is what has happened to actual constructions in innumerable cases where medieval vaults have collapsed.

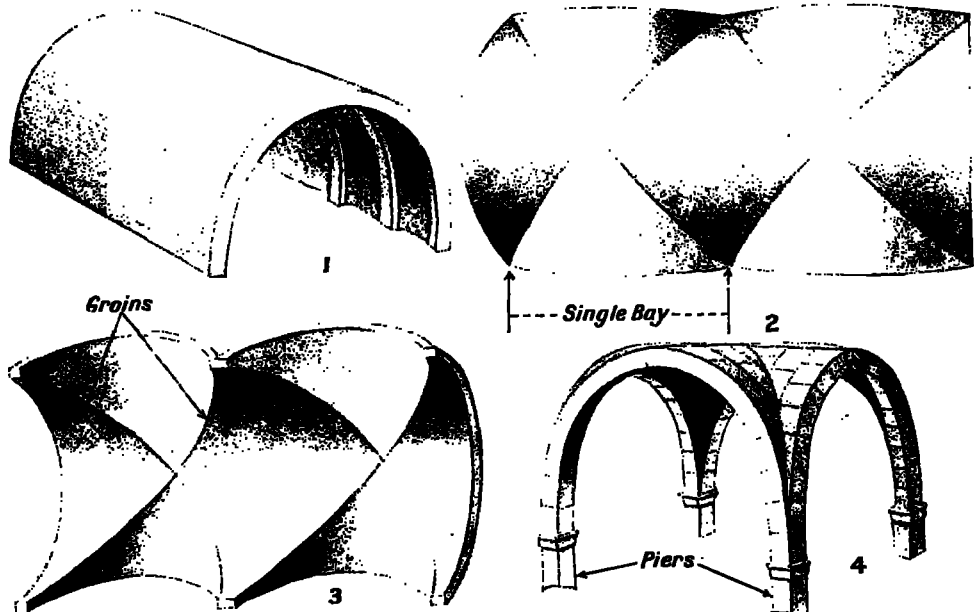
To prevent such a catastrophe various constructive devices were adopted, all directed to strengthen resistance to the opening of the arch at its haunches. They do this in two ways, known respectively

as 'close' buttressing on the Roman system and 'open' buttressing on what is called the Gothic system (see diagram in preceding page), the latter involving the use of the familiar device known as the 'flying buttress.' The flying buttress has generally, though as we shall see erroneously, been regarded as one of the essential characteristics of Gothic. Though it is hardly this, yet it is a feature of Gothic so marked that it introduces us, as it were, into the arcana of Gothic vault construction. Before we penetrate these, however, we must get some clear idea of the different forms of vault as they are in themselves, leaving till later the question of methods of buttressing.

The Gothic system of vaulting, which means practically Gothic construction, was the outcome of a process of evolution starting with Roman forms and carried on through the earlier or Romanesque period of medieval architecture. The successive stages are illustrated here by a series of illustrations based on models.

The Romans bequeathed two forms of vault to the medieval world: one, the common tunnel or barrel vault familiar to us in the modern railway tunnel; the other the so-called 'intersecting,' 'groined' or 'cross' vault, a most ingenious though simple modification of the barrel vault, the invention of which, in view of all that was developed from it, is one of the outstanding incidents in architectural history. It consists in a barrel vault that is intersected regularly at right angles by other barrel vaults of similar span. In the interior view special attention must be paid to the lines of intersection of the similar barrel vaults, very marked below but almost disappearing nearer the summit of the vault. These are known as 'groins,' and give the name of 'groined vault,' by which the construction is sometimes known.

It needs hardly to be said that what has been explained about the pressures exercised by an arch applies fully to vaults, and in a barrel vault constructed throughout, as it might be, of wedge-shaped



THE BARREL AND CROSS VAULT AS KNOWN TO THE ROMANS

The principles of Gothic vaulting develop logically from the simple barrel vault (1); sometimes ribbed, as at Autun (see page 286). Two semicircular barrel vaults of equal height intersecting at right angles form a cross vault, the intersection being known as a 'bay'; two such bays from without are given (2). The interior view (3) shows the lines of intersection, or 'groins.' A principle of this cross or 'groined' vault is that the lateral and vertical thrusts are concentrated at the four corners, so that a bay will stand firm if adequately supported at these points (4).

Based on models by Prof. Baldwin Brown



CANOPY OF CROSS VAULTS THAT ROOFS THE SAINTE CHAPELLE CRYPT

In the undercroft or crypt of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris (built 1245-48 by Pierre de Montreuil) it can be seen how stable is a cross vault. The bays are borne on detached pillars, and each successive bay is adequate support for the lateral thrust of its neighbour down the line of the nave. At the sides a bracket from haunch to wall suffices. It should be noted, however, that these are not semi-circular but pointed-arched vaults, to be discussed later.

voussoirs there would be continuous pressure towards the sides, which, if not met and counteracted, would involve an opening of the joints all along the haunches and consequent ruin. In the groined vault, on the other hand, though in each part—the original continuous barrel and the intersecting vaults that cut into it—these same pressures are being exercised throughout, yet they largely neutralise each other, with the most remarkable result that the whole of the pressures are concentrated on the corners of the squares or 'bays' into which the vault is divided.

If at all these points firm legs were provided—legs of a kind that could not be affected by the outward pressures—the vault would stand like a stone canopy open all round, needing no walling beneath it, but only the few rigid vertical supports. We see above a vault of this kind actually in service in the undercroft of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris. The square bays when succeeding each other in a continu-

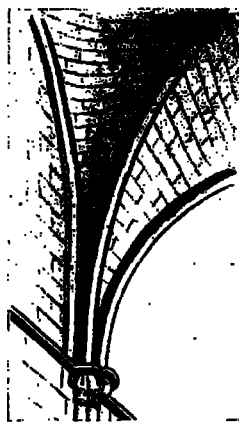
ous line support each other in the direction of this line; while on each side of the line of bays some special lateral support is needed to prevent the legs on which the vault stands from yielding to the pressure there applied, and these lateral supports are seen at the sides.

This Roman groined vault on a square plan has shown itself to be a simple, compact and singularly efficient device for roofing with masonry a space like the nave of a church, and it was employed for this purpose in many Romanesque churches. The groined vault, however, did not satisfy the spirit of the age, or at any rate it did not remain in honour, but in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was made the subject of alterations and experiments which finally ended in the evolution of the Gothic vault, the formation and perfecting of which we must study.

The first move towards Gothic architecture on its constructive side was the introduction of a projecting rib of masonry

underneath the groins of the intersecting vault which turned it from a 'groined vault' to a 'ribbed vault,' as seen in Fig. 1 in the illustration below, adjacent bays being divided also by a transverse rib. The innovation, though at first it seemed a trifling one, was momentous. The rib itself had been used, without projecting, in connexion with Roman barrel vaults (see page 2033), as well as with the early Romanesque ones common in the south of France and in Burgundy. The constructive idea that underlay it seems to be that of providing a sort of solid skeleton for the vault, of which the fields, or spaces between the ribs, might then be filled in with lighter material.

When the ribs were firmly anchored in the corners of the bay solidity appeared to be secured. A difficulty, however, at once presented itself. The line of the groin of the original Roman vault was a flat curve, or half-ellipse, and a rib composed of

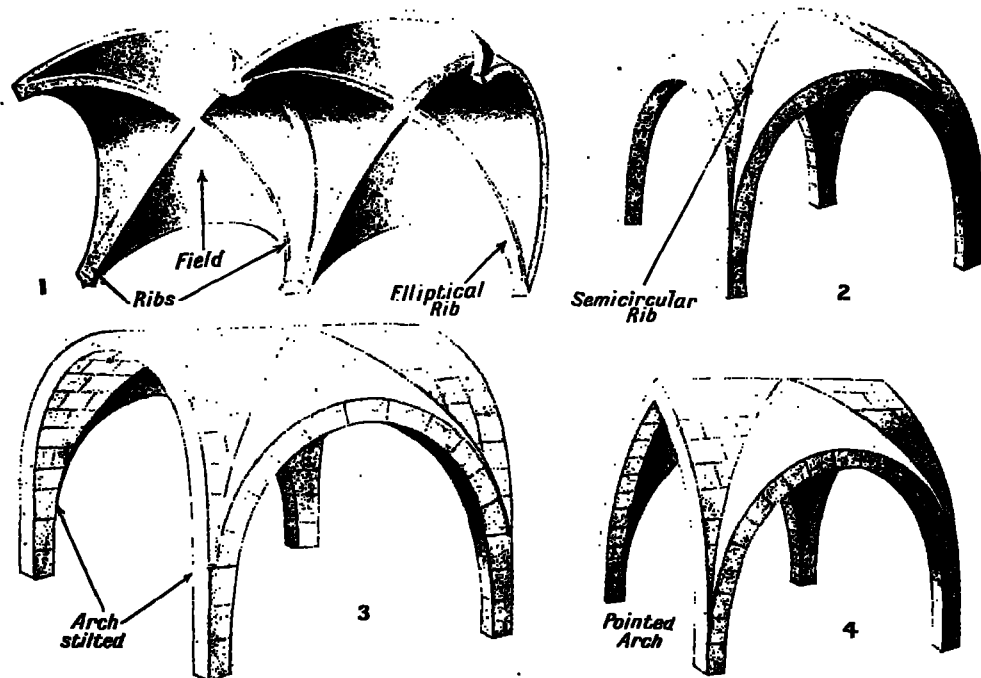


TWISTED FIELD

The 'ploughshare' twist in the vaulting rib occasioned by stilting a wall arch is seen here.

properly shaped and fitted voussoirs could not be economically constructed in this form, for the cutting of the voussoirs would be a complicated affair. Hence the rib was made a semicircle, or the segment of a circle, so that the voussoirs were all of the same pattern as those used in the construction of the semicircular arch.

Now a semicircular rib would rise much higher at the crown than the half-ellipse, and the result would be that the whole range of vaulted squares thus treated



SUCCESSIVE EXPERIMENTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CROSS VAULT

It was found easiest to build the groins first, like girders, and fill in the 'fields' with lighter material, thus giving the 'ribbed' vault (1). The groins, however, were half-ellipses, for which it is difficult to cut voussoirs, whereas if made semicircular they rose higher than the bounding arches (2), and though successive bays might support each other lengthways the vault would be unstable at the sides. The side arches could be brought to the level of the groins by springing them from a higher point, or 'stilting' (3); but the final solution was the pointed arch, which could rise to any height (4).

No. 1 based on a model by Prof. Baldwin Brown



RIBS AND POINTED-ARCHED VAULT USED IN A ROMANESQUE CATHEDRAL

As may be seen from this view of Autun cathedral (chiefly twelfth-century though planned and begun in 1060) a pointed arch consists of two segments of a semicircle joined together at the apex. The church is of further interest as showing that ribs and pointed arches could be adopted as a modification of the simple barrel vault of Romanesque architecture.

Photo, Levy-Neurdein, réunis

would no longer be flat above, but each bay would rise like a dome towards the centre of the square. In the original vault the four arches which are the boundaries of each square all rise to the same height, for they are the arches of the uniform barrel vaults. The two sets of the four have distinct names. Those of the original longitudinal barrel vault along the main space to be covered are called 'transverse arches' because they spring across this main space, which may be the nave of a church; while the others are called 'wall arches' because they abut against the side walls of the nave. Now the height of both these pairs of arches is fixed by their span, for every semicircle is just half as high as its diameter; therefore, although the

crown of each square bay may be raised, its bounding arches must necessarily remain as they were, and the domical form is unavoidable (Fig. 2 opposite).

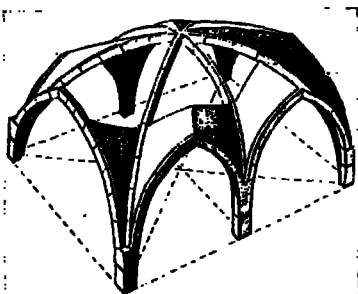
This, however, is constructively objectionable, for the slope downwards from the crown turns each vaulting field into a quasi-arch, and this presses down with a 'thrust' in the direction both of the transverse and the wall arches. In the case of the former it does not matter, as the neighbouring bays take the pressure, but when there is lateral thrust on the wall side the whole advantage of the flat summit of the original vault is lost, and we can no longer regard the whole system of bays as forming a canopy of stone needing no walls but only a few stiff

vertical supports. A wall, or something equivalent, is now necessary to counteract the new lateral thrust.

To obviate this it was decided to raise the crown of the wall arches to the same height as the centre of the bay, and this at first could only be accomplished by the awkward device of 'stilting' the wall arch, that is, starting the semi-circle not at the proper base but on the top of vertical posts that give the additional height required

(Fig. 3 in page 2868). A fatal objection to this was the fact that when the vault was completed the fields of it that ran into these corners were awkwardly twisted (page 2868, top). To overcome this objection a new feature was introduced, which, though at first merely a mechanical remedy for a comparatively slight defect, soon became of overmastering importance in vault construction in general. This new feature was the pointed arch.

The pointed arch is not an invention of the Gothic builders, but had been in occasional use from Assyrian days downwards. As an architectural form it possesses interest of two kinds, aesthetic and constructive. It is formed from the semi-circular arch by cutting out the central section and joining the two remaining



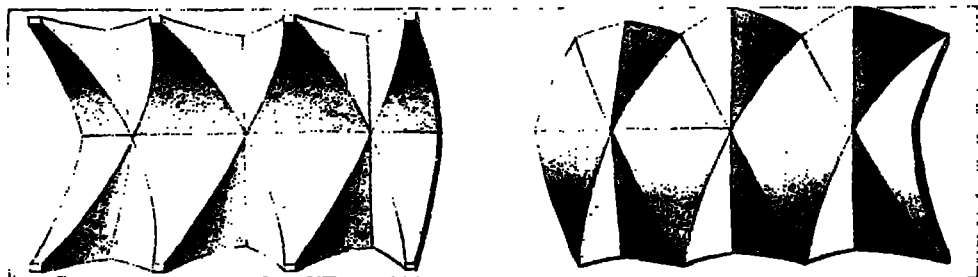
SEXPARTITE VAULT

In the 'sexpartite' form of vault an additional groin bisected the vault, dividing it into six instead of four vaulting fields and descending to two instead of one arch at the sides.

sections in a point, each side being always a segment of a circle. The resultant form possesses sharpness, decision and at the same time elegance, with other qualities presently to be noticed; and it proved very attractive to the Arabs, who made considerable use of it, but only in its decorative aspects (see page 2537). Its constructive value was recognized by the ancient Assyrians, and also in certain schools of Romanesque

architecture, as residing in the fact that in its normal form it needs less lateral support than the round or semicircular arch.

Normally, though not of necessity, the pointed arch rises higher than the round arch of the same span, which means that the sides of the former approach nearer to the vertical than those of the latter; and anyone who will lean up against each other two equal-sized books will see that they support a considerable weight when they are nearly upright; but if placed at a more obtuse angle the weight will make them separate and come down flat. Owing to this characteristic, a pointed-arch form was often given to the French Romanesque barrel vaults, as in the cathedral at Autun in Burgundy (see preceding page), in order to reduce their formidable lateral thrust.



FINAL MODIFICATION THAT CREATED THE FINISHED GOTHIC VAULT

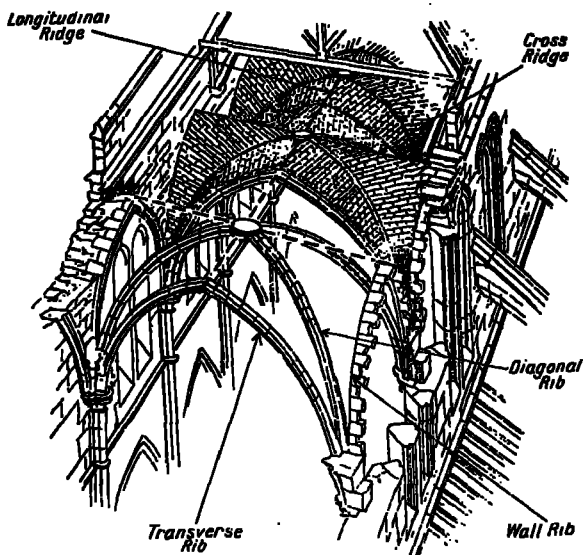
When the virtues of the pointed arch were perceived it was used for the transverse as well as the side arches; the next experiments were towards subdividing the square bay, too cumbrous for the Gothic spirit. One solution was the sexpartite vault (top); but at last advantage was taken of the fact that a pointed, unlike a semicircular, arch can spring to any height from a given base, and the bay was made rectangular. Its pairs of sides were unequal, yet the tops of the arches could be made level; though often, as in each left-hand bay above, a slight slope was retained.

Based on models by Prof. Baldwin Brown

A more valuable characteristic of the pointed arch, however, is its 'flexibility.' This is due to the fact that there is no fixed relation between height and width of span, so that a pointed arch of great height can rise from a very narrow base as well as from a wide one. As we shall presently see, it is this quality that gives the pointed arch its special value as an element in Gothic construction. Here, in the case of the wall arch to which it was desired to give additional elevation, to change the stilted round arch for a pointed one (Fig. 4 in page 2868) solved the whole difficulty; for it gave the necessary height while at the same time it got rid of the awkward 'plough-sharing' twist in the vaulting field. It was equally easy to give a pointed section to the transverse arch so as to bring its crown to the same level as the top of the wall arches, and thus to restore the flatness of the extrados of the vault. The ribbed intersecting vault thus reconstituted did not, however, satisfy the architectural feeling of the twelfth century, and it was attacked next on the side of what had been its fundamental characteristic—its squareness in plan.

The square was first subdivided in somewhat awkward fashion, and then for a time what is called the 'sexpartite' vault was in favour, a form-

The final Gothic vault in which the original broad fields of the vault next the walls were divided into two narrow fields each half the width. This was an important stage towards the final outcome of these experiments—the bold transformation of the vault from its Roman-Romanesque to its Gothic form by the substitution for the original square bays of two rectangular bays each a half of the original square. From the standpoint of the architectural experts of the time this had many advantages, and, once established, the arrangement became



GOTHIC VAULT AS ACTUALLY USED

With the invention of the rectangular bay the Gothic vault came into being, though the addition of extra ribs in later styles might obscure its fundamental plan. This ideal diagram shows it as actually employed; note that the visible roof of Gothic churches is an adventitious cap of wood and tiles.

After Jackson, 'Gothic Architecture'

universal in all vaulted buildings of the Gothic form. The illustrations in the opposite page indicate the change.

The construction of vaults of the kind on an oblong plan is made quite easy by the exploitation to the full of the quality of flexibility which made the pointed arch so docile a servant to the Gothic designer. The narrow wall arches can be carried without difficulty to the height of the transverse arches, though these are double their span, while the diagonals, always as we have seen semicircular, rise to a far less height than when they had to make the much longer spring from corner to corner of the great square. Flatness of the extrados of the vault could, if required, easily be secured, though very many Gothic vaults exhibit a certain domical character. In both lower diagrams in the opposite page we see this flatness in the two bays on the right, but in the case of the third oblong vault, on the left of these, the wall arches are made lower, and there is a slope downwards that is not, however, enough to imperil stability.

The above paragraphs give little more than the dry bones from which may be determined something of the historical development of the Gothic vault from its original Roman form; but it is essential for the proper understanding of Gothic art to see how all the beauty, the elusive grace, the intriguing complexity of its forms, all the romance and poetry that clothe it as if with an aura, are as it were emanations from the solid structure that is a unity in all its parts.

The Sainte Chapelle at Paris is built above the vaulted undercroft already noticed, and is a beautiful example of

Gothic art at the period of its fullest development in the middle of the thirteenth century. In page 2878 a view of the interior looking towards the apsidal termination at the east is given. The impression we receive on entering is that of a crystal house rather than an edifice of masonry, for there are no walls but almost completely continuous screens of coloured glass. They are not continuous, however; for if we look closely we discern that slender vertical posts divide them at intervals, and if the eye follows these upwards it recognizes them as the legs on which is sustained the canopy of stone, which is a ribbed vault in oblong bays of the fashion we have just come to know. Furthermore, to counteract the impression of weakness in this slight barrier against wind and rain, we note that an armature has been provided to stiffen and reinforce the slight screen of glass. This takes the form of thin bars of stonework disposed in severe yet graceful shapes, and tactfully distributed so as to leave no considerable surface of the glass without protection.

The mystery of the non-appearance of the usual architect's *pièce de résistance*, the wall, is solved at once when we turn our attention to the outside view. This presents quite a solid aspect, and the wall (or, at any rate, the stones of which it is built) is fully in evidence; but though it is there it is not in its normal place. What has happened may be presented in figurative language as follows.

The original wall may be supposed to have been taken out in successive

panels, and each panel to have been turned round through a right angle to supply a solid pier of stonework close against the building, so disposed as to resist the outward thrust of the vault. Each of these piers comes at a point where the pressures of the intersecting vaults will be concentrated, while the whole space under the wall arch of the vault and between the piers is left wholly void, save for a sort of sill of stonework that runs round the interior a few feet above the floor. This void space is now filled in with a screen of exquisitely coloured glass, with its armature of stone tracery, and there is certainly in the world nothing more beautiful in colour than an early stained-glass window. We see in page 2879 an interesting specimen from Chartres, where there is some of the best early glass in France. There is nothing, again, in form more chaste, more justly disposed and more satisfying to the educated eye than early geometric window tracery.

This elimination of the wall is a characteristic Gothic feature, and is indeed the most characteristic feature, for it emphasises the severe logic which ruled construction and which gives Gothic its special position among architectural styles. Of the other Gothic features which are sometimes quoted as being of the essence of the style—the flying buttress and the pointed arch—the former, as we shall presently see, is really not more than an accident, while the latter, though an element essential to the creation of Gothic, is only a means to an end, a docile and versatile servant working to an issue of far-reaching importance.

In order to understand what this implies we must transfer our attention from a small, simple, aisleless building like the Sainte Chapelle to fully-developed structures on the largest scale. Almost any one of the greater French churches of the first generation of Gothic will serve as a subject for the needful demonstration. In page 2880 the architectural scheme of the nave of Amiens cathedral is illustrated. What we have is a section through the nave and the two aisles, showing the internal aspect of a pair of bays

The system of buttressing may be taken first, as we may profitably contrast it with that of the Sainte Chapelle. In the case of Amiens cathedral we have to deal with a central space flanked by aisles which must not be blocked by masses of masonry. What has happened here is that the panel of walling, which we have seen used as a buttress in the Sainte Chapelle, is moved from actual contact with the vault and placed as a pier outside the building on the exterior of the side aisle, where it is opposite

Systems of Buttressing the corner of the vault, but separated from it by the width of the aisle. Contact is then established by throwing an arch of masonry across from the pier to that part of the shoulder of the vault where the thrust is most severe, and where the structure would open if the lateral pressure were not met. In this case the thrust is neutralised not by an inert, immovable mass, but by the counter-pressure exercised by the flying arch. This would itself at once give way if the main vault were removed, just as the main vault would yield if the flying arch were not there; the two are complementary, and there results a balance of pressures issuing in stability. Beneath the arches of the buttresses there is the unbroken vista necessary for the side aisle. The two systems are contrasted in page 2865.

To resist pressures in one direction by counter-pressures instead of by an inert mass on the so-called 'Roman' system is sometimes described as a 'principle of Gothic construction,' but actually there is no 'principle' involved. It is simply an arrangement forced upon the architect by the plan of his building, which involved a side aisle kept free for processions and other ecclesiastical purposes. If the Romans had worked upon such plans it is hard to see how they could have avoided such a device as the flying buttress, and it is notable, too, that this last is, strictly speaking, not a Gothic invention at all. It is used in the Romanesque church of Durham to abut the high vaults of the nave, only in this case it is not in evidence externally, for it is concealed in the gallery over the side aisles. Nor is the flying buttress essential to Gothic construction,

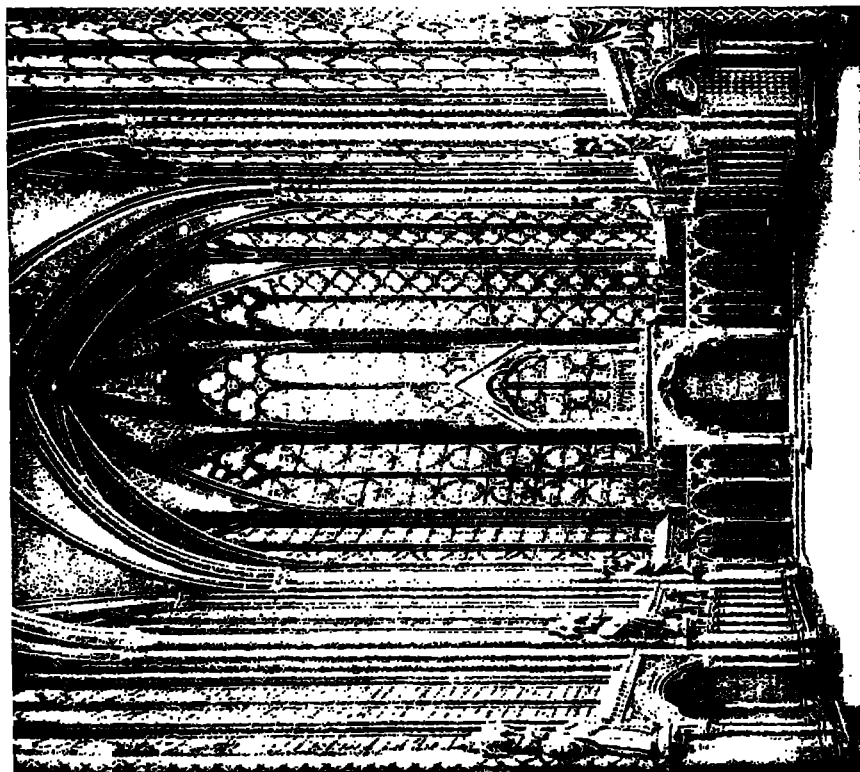
for, as we have seen, it does not occur in an aisleless building like S. Louis's Sainte Chapelle, though this may be as essentially Gothic as Reims or Amiens.

What is of the essence of Gothic, it must be repeated, is the concentration of vault pressures on certain special points and the consequent elimination of the normal support, the wall, the material of which is, however, retained and used elsewhere for buttressing piers. At Amiens it will be seen how all the surfaces below the wall arches and between the vertical posts become screens of coloured glass reinforced by tracery, as in the Chapelle.

Artistically, there is something more to be said about the 'open' system of buttressing. It furnishes another striking illustration of what is the true aesthetic charm of Gothic work—the natural, one may almost say inevitable, growth of artistic charm and beauty from utilitarian structures. We have seen how stained glass and window tracery create themselves to fill the void caused by the logical carrying out of a constructive scheme.

Now we may note that while the flying arch itself and the pier from which it springs, being necessary parts of the constructions—bones, as it were, of the fabric—are left plain to produce the impression that they are working members, and so keep themselves free from encumbrance like the athlete stripped for the course, yet, as we noted in our first view of the west front of Reims, when the pier reaches a certain height it seems to blossom out into ornament—statued niches and leafage and pinnacles crowned with flowers (see page 2881). There is beauty and expression here, especially in the angel forms that stand, as we have seen, on guard around the building; but the whole of this decorative finish to the pier is essentially a thing of use turned by the wonderful formative spirit of the time into a thing of beauty.

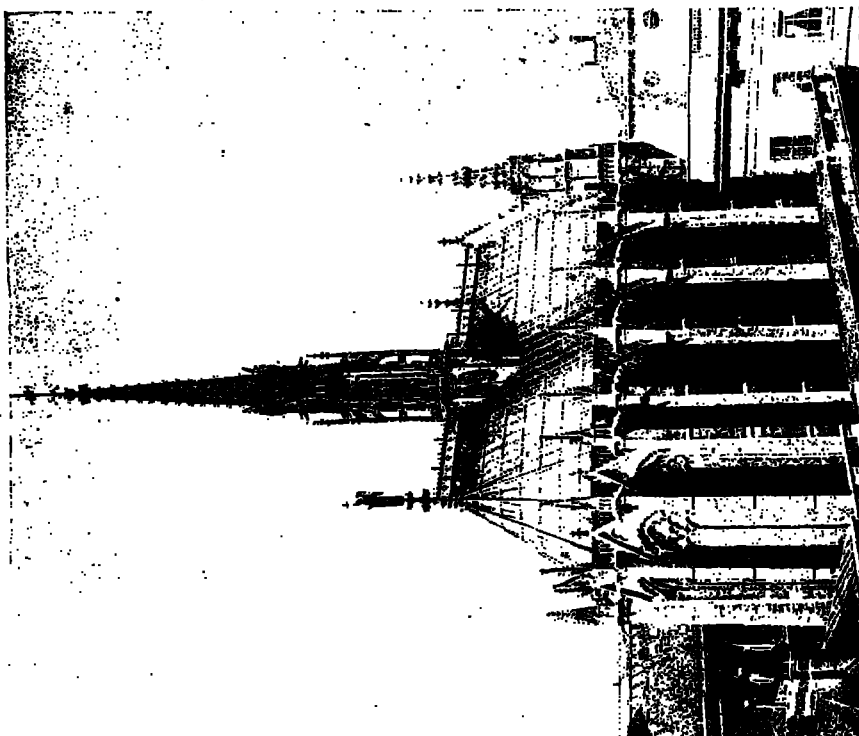
It is, of course, essential to the safety of the fabric that the pier which receives through the flying arch the thrust of the main vault should possess absolute stability. Now, the stability of an upright body of comparatively small section is greatly increased if it is heavily weighted



AIRY LIGHTNESS THAT IS ONE OF THE PROPERTIES OF GOTHIC AS SEEN IN THE SAINTE CHAPELLE

In the foregoing pages it has been seen how slow experiment evolved the type of vault that was the stone canopy of Gothic buildings; but this was only one of the many mechanical accidents that contributed to matured Gothic. Since a cross-vaulted bay only needs support at its four corners, it was found possible to pivot sections of the wall outward, so to speak, thus concentrating its normal supporting function at the required points and leaving the intervening space free for glorious creations in stained glass. The exterior of the Sainte Chapelle (right) reveals the mechanical principle; the interior shows how the result was an airy lightness seeming to annihilate weight and defy the properties of stone.

Photo, Lévy-Neurdein, révis



above; anyone can test the truth of this by placing a round tin canister upright on a table and noting how much more force it takes to push it over if it has a pound weight laid on the top than when it is empty. The pier, then, is surmounted by a pinnacle enriched in the way just described, but this is essentially only so many hundredweight or tons of stone weighting the vertical mass below and so ensuring its power of resisting lateral pressure. The pinnacle is something extra, not a primary element of the structure, and is placed where it stands free from all adjuncts and clearly in view, so that it is in every way suitable that it should receive the enrichment that makes it one of the artistic jewels of the whole architectural scheme.

One specially beautiful feature of the greater Gothic churches of France must have a word. This is the treatment of the eastern or altar end of the choir, which terminates in what was the original Early Christian apse, now modified to suit advanced medieval arrangements. These involved an enrichment of the ground plan, first by prolonging the original side aisles of the nave so as to flank the eastern part by choir aisles, and then by carrying the aisle round in a bold sweep at the back of the apse to complete a processional path all round the interior (for which, as we have seen, the side aisles had to be kept open). This necessitated piercing the wall of the apse with arched openings to give communication with the new aisle beyond.

A further elaboration of the plan involved throwing out from the new aisle radiating chapels, which projected like a crown round the head of the church and became an integral part of the effect of this eastern end in the exterior view. These arrangements constitute the famous French 'chevet,' which possesses an enormous advantage over the prim square ends of English churches. The view of such a French chevet in page 2882 shows how the semicircular apse, the obvious boundary of the interior, is pierced by openings which give a view into the processional path and then farther onward into the radiating chapels. By this means is



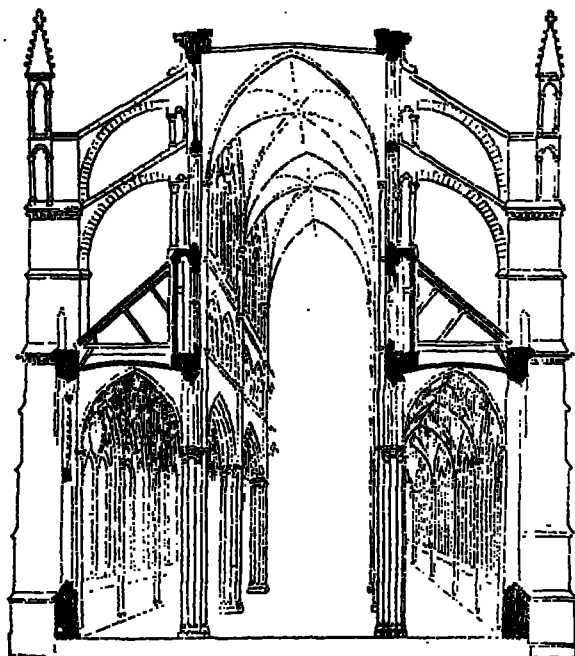
STAINED GLASS AT CHARTRES

Some of the finest stained glass in France is in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Chartres, built in the thirteenth century. This notable example shows S. Denis (Dionysius) blessing a knight about to set out on crusade.

Photo, Prof. Baldwin Brown

produced the characteristic Gothic effect of space beyond space, which conveys an impression of the absence of limits and a consequent suggestion of mystery.

In the same illustration we may perceive another feature of the pointed arch; this is a certain expressive quality



AISLES AND FLYING BUTTRESSES

The Sainte Chapelle (page 2878) is buttressed on the 'close' system. This section through Amiens Cathedral is designed to show how advantage was taken of the 'open' system of flying buttresses to provide an unobstructed path (the 'aisles') for sacred processions down either side of the nave.

After Georges Durand, 'La cathédrale d'Amiens'

which is as characteristically Gothic as its flexibility. Look at the arched headings of the openings on the ground storey of the chevet. There is a distinct suggestion in them of verticality. It is not only that owing to the comparative narrowness of the span the sides of the arch are almost upright, but the two sides converge abruptly in a sharp point. Now in the case of the older round arch the eye is carried up one side in an even slope and, passing the centre, descends on the other without a break, and the same monotonous process is repeated all along a nave arcade. In the row of pointed arches there comes in every case a moment when there is a sudden check; the attention is arrested; there is a choice whether to turn back down the other side or to continue the upward

slope towards the higher spaces of the interior.

This is what the phrase used above—'suggestion of verticality'—implies. The eye is really invited upwards, and by this the general idea of the style becomes rooted in an impression of 'upwardness' which remains in our minds as the real secret of the style. This idea that the Gothic builder was always working for height has been impugned by critics who take the severe architectural view and try to make out that nothing was done save for mechanical and constructive reasons. No open-minded observer, however, beneath the soaring vaults of the choir of Beauvais can maintain that view, especially when he remembers that when these vaults were first raised to their giddy height of a hundred and fifty feet, the supports were only half as strong as they are at present; for the original vault was designed in such an airy



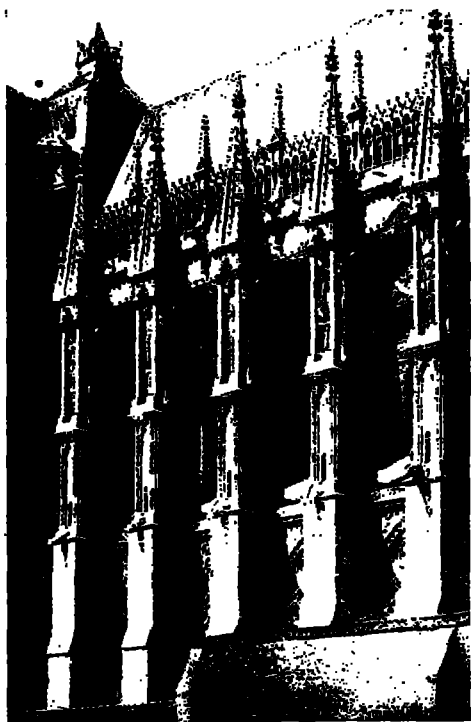
USE OF THE AISLE : A SACRED PROCESSION

Why an uninterrupted path was needed at either side of the nave was primarily to give scope for those ecclesiastical processions that provided most of the pageantry of the medieval church. This miniature of the crowning of a French king actually purports to show Reims cathedral.

British Museum : Cotton MSS., Tiberius B.vii

fashion that within half a century it collapsed, and, when it was rebuilt in its present form, it had to have the supports doubled. The striving after lightness here was as marked as the ambition for height, and this is distinctly a matter of feeling and imagination, and not merely of builders' calculations.

The Early Christian and the early medieval or Romanesque church was dominated by the main idea of longitudinal extension. The idea of the basilica was to make the altar the dominant feature of the whole interior, and the direction leading towards this along the building was the vitally important consideration. In the Gothic church, on the other hand, the stress was laid upon a different effect—the vertical direction, to which everything else was made subordinate. The system of the vault embodies this idea. The diagonal ribs meet in the centre of the



THE PINNACLES OF REIMS

For most of their height (partly screened by a wall in this view of Reims) buttress piers were left plain; but the top part, intended merely as so much stabilising weight, was enriched with niches, statues and foliated pinnacles.

Photo, Mansell

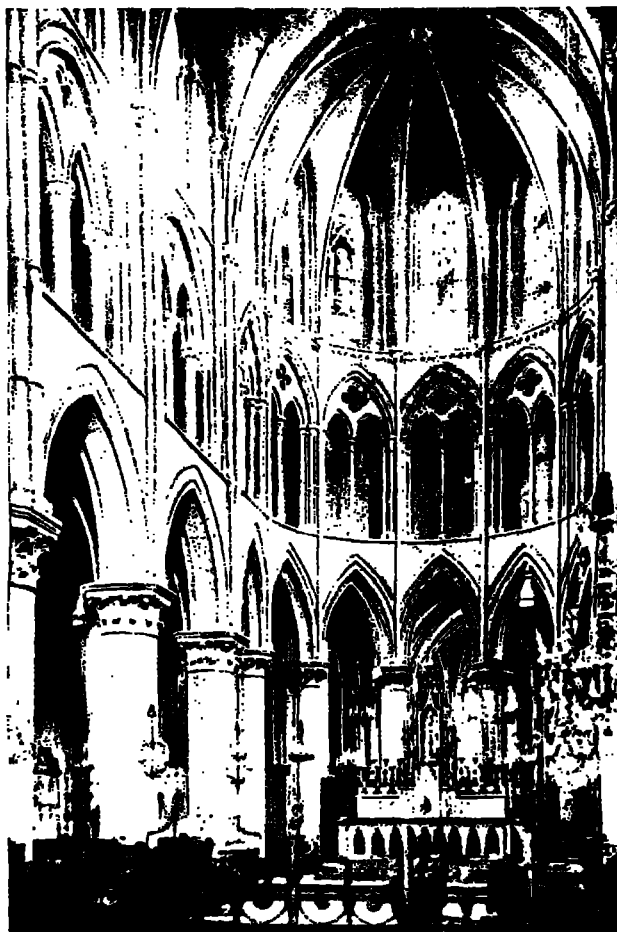


DEAD WEIGHT MADE LOVELY

This is one of the angel forms, triumphs of Gothic sculpture, that stand in the niches beneath the buttress pinnacles at Reims, as it were a heavenly host keeping an eternal watch over the lovely work of human hands behind them.

bay, and this junction, in all but the earliest buildings, is emphasised by an enriched keystone, so that the topmost stone of the interior becomes a point towards which the attention is drawn, just as in the early basilica it was attracted to the end of the longitudinal axis.

This focal point is brought into direct connexion with the ground, and the lines of the ribs which define and govern the vault, when brought together at the corners, are knit together and carried in a sheer vertical fall to the floor by the so-called 'vaulting shafts' shown conspicuously, for example, in the interior of the church of S. Denis. They are here in groups of three, the central one taking the transverse rib of the vault and the two others the two diagonals of the adjacent bays. The eye of the visitor who stands on the nave floor is caught by these shafts which project from the face of the piers of the nave arcade, and is carried upwards



'CHEVET' OF A FRENCH CHURCH

In French churches, though rarely in English, the apsidal east end of the old basilica was retained and the aisles were prolonged round it in a continuous path; the arrangement, one of conspicuous beauty, being known as a 'chevet.' Arches permit a view into the path and the radiating chapels beyond.

Photo, F. R. Boud

to the focal point just noticed, while the subsidiary forms of the architecture seem to have the same function. We are given an impression of forms that are in a sense alive, in which there is movement, and movement fraught with desire and purpose, and instinct with the spirit of aspiration. Gothic appeals to us as being romantic, and quickens the imagination and the poetic sense.

With equal truth the power of inspiration may be claimed for Gothic art. It moves us spiritually and uplifts the soul, and in exercising this power it shows

itself distinct in its emotional appeal from other architectural styles. It is not only in its intriguing complexity that Gothic differs from the older classical styles. There is a distinction more fundamental still that has been worked out in a striking study from the philosophical point of view by Dr. Wilhelm Worringer, an eminent German authority. Worringer points out that whereas in the classical styles (and also, of course, in Egypt) stone is used in a way to express its natural material qualities of weight, stability and power of resistance to a load, the Gothic use of it seems to ignore these qualities altogether and to treat it as if it were a thing of lightness and mobility, as if it went up to meet a load regarded as having no weight at all. He writes:

Greek architecture wins to expression with stone and by means of stone, Gothic expresses itself in spite of stone In the Gothic cathedral there is a movement to the vertical in which all the laws of weight seem abrogated. Vainly do we seek what our natural feeling demands—some suggestion of the relation between burden and strength to bear. One would say that no burden any longer existed, only freely acting forces that with a mighty impulse are striving upwards. It is clear that stone has here given up entirely its natural character and, in a word, has become dematerialised.

The prosaic fact that in Gothic building the stones as a rule are singularly small may be held to give colour to this rhapsody. This is largely due, no doubt, to difficulties of transport from quarry to mason's yard, but it certainly shows that the massiveness of stone did not appeal to the architect of this epoch as it appealed to Roman builders.

From this point of view we can justify what many would call merely fantastic—

the claim of Worringer that Gothic is 'in its innermost being irrational, super-rational, transcendental,' that to enter a Gothic building is to receive the impression of 'a mystical enchantment of the senses that is not of this world.' It may be repeated that we are treading here on somewhat dangerous ground, but what has been said above about the difference between Gothic and other architectural styles has a really sound basis of reason. There is something about it that the Germans call 'dämonisch'—the quality that

in the individual is genius as distinct from talent; and we may endorse the view of another philosophical writer that for the creation of Gothic a time was needed exceptionally rich in leaders of individuality and temperament, in workers of independence and strength of will. Such a time was the twelfth century, when Gothic came into being.

That century, one of the great formative epochs of the modern world, had set the stage for new movements in the political, social, religious and intellectual spheres,



UPWARD-SOARING PIERS THAT SUPPORT THE ABBEY CHURCH OF S. DENIS

In considering Gothic as the expression of its age, two views are possible: that it was the logical outcome of experiments with fixed mechanical laws, or that it resulted from preconceived artistic aims on the part of the builders. There is probably truth in both; but anyone standing in the nave of S. Denis must realize that its upward-straining quality, its 'verticality,' was intentional. Much of its west front is Romanesque, but what is shown here is in the fully developed Gothic style.

Photo, Giraudon

**ENRICHED KEYSTONE OF VAULT**

Another point to suggest that 'verticality' was the Gothic builder's aim is the ornate keystone where the diagonal ribs of the vault cross—its highest point. This example, from Exeter Cathedral, shows the murder of Becket.

Photo, C. H. Stokes

and in the domain of the imagination, the emotions and the softer graces of life. Every aspect of these movements has left its impress on the monuments in which the mobile thoughts and feelings of the age were crystallised in clear-cut and beautiful forms. It is largely because

Gothic is in this way charged with human interest that it has made so special an appeal to all who, in the last hundred years, have been lovers of architecture.

The new political movement was the rise to power of the French monarchy, a secular dominion based on nationality after the modern pattern. During the course of the twelfth century the French kings, whose capital was Paris, gradually extended the effective power of the crown over the various practically independent principalities and dukedoms into which feudalised France had been divided, and established their rule on a basis of rational give-and-take over subjects whose chief care was neither praying nor fighting, but the peaceable avocations of trade and agriculture. Of Philip Augustus, the chief representative of this new political order, Guizot remarks that 'he had a straightforward,

**LAY CRAFTSMEN WHO WERE THE REAL CREATORS OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE**

The largest churches of pre-Gothic times had usually been monastic. Much of the sudden uprush of joyous experiment that marks the Gothic age can be explained by the fact that the new cathedrals were town churches built by secular craftsmen. This stained glass window at Chartres was presented by the town's guild of masons and shows them cutting voussoirs and chiselling kings for the 'galerie des rois.' Above, the tombstone of the master mason Libergier, a layman, at Reims.



THREE KINGS FROM THE UPPER STAGES OF REIMS CATHEDRAL

French Gothic arose at a time when the monarchy was asserting itself over the particularist tendencies of feudalism, and the bishops for whom the great cathedrals were being built were its active allies. This fact finds expression not only in the conventional 'galleries des rois' across the west fronts, but at Reims in highly individualised single royal figures in the upper stages of the building, three of the best being here shown. That on the left is popularly identified with S. Louis.

Photos, Prof. Baldwin Brown

active mind ever full of a desire for order and progress.' 'He took the bourgeoisie,' it has been said, 'into partnership' and was the 'ally and protector of the communes.' As a result of this policy the towns, the seats of 'those strong republics of northern France,' as Luchaire has called them, rose rapidly in importance, and this was a fact of capital moment in connexion with Gothic architecture.

The Gothic cathedral was a town church, and differed in this respect from the great Romanesque churches of an earlier age; for they had been, as a rule, abbey churches, a part and parcel of the monastic system. As a town church it was the work not of monks, nor artisans under the direction of monks, but of the civilian craftsmen who were now organized in secular guilds in the cities. A stained-glass window at Chartres was presented by the guild of masons of the town, and at the bottom of it they have shown themselves in civilian dress, cutting and carving. The master of the works was not an ecclesiastic but a layman, and we have the portrait of such a one on the tombstone of Libergier at Reims.

The Gothic cathedral was also a bishop's church, and the bishop, the ecclesiastical head of the town, was

increasing in wealth and influence. The towns, most of them of Roman origin, had naturally possessed their bishops' churches or cathedrals from the first introduction of Christianity, but as the towns were poor these had been on a very modest scale. It is a happy chance that has preserved for us at Beauvais a specimen of these earlier bishops' churches. It lies under the shadow of the stupendous Gothic choir and transepts which, as we have seen, represent the most magnificently daring efforts of the new epoch.

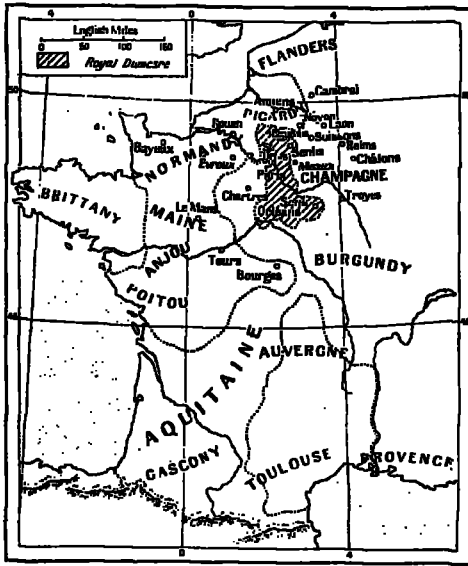
When the bishops started now to rebuild their episcopal seats on a vastly extended scale they had the advantage of the active support of the crown. The home **Bishops supported by the Monarchy** of the new building activity was the central district of France, the Royal Demesne, where the kings exercised effective authority. Their interest in the great town churches received a monumental recognition in the royal effigies. We may thus compose a historical setting for Gothic art and yet be very far from explaining it. The bishop might employ all his resources, which were sometimes very considerable, might exploit in full measure the royal patronage and commandeer all



GRACEFUL STATUARY THAT WAS ONE OF THE MANY SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GOTHIC CRAFTSMEN

There is something that foreshadows the Italian Renaissance in the detail and figure work of French Gothic—an observation of nature manifest in the foliage and flower ornament, and in the features and drapery of the statues; though their simple grace and winning sentiment belong to the Age of Faith. Left, Christ garbed as a pilgrim and a youthful pilgrim on the west front of Reims, and, centre, an Elder of the Apocalypse on the west front at Chartres; both of these twelfth century. The Visitation at Chartres on the right, however, has the affectedness that characterises late Gothic of the decline.

Photos, Prof. Baldwin Brown, 'The Builder' and Girardon



GOthic AND THE FRENCH MONARCHY

In the Royal Domesne, the district round Paris, the king's authority was unquestioned, and during the twelfth century it was being extended to the rest of France. The towns in this map are those with major Gothic churches.

the skill and artistry of the guilds of constructors and decorators, but a good deal more was needed before the cities could become the theatre of an extraordinary tectonic and artistic activity.

At the death of Philip Augustus in 1223 there were some twenty cathedrals, mostly of the first rank, erected or in the course of construction in this kingly patrimony of northern France. The map above shows the Royal Domesne, with the rest of France divided into the principalities over which the central authority was gradually being restored, and indicates the cities from Amiens to Bourges, from Le Mans to Reims, where these great churches were rising.

For the scope and character of the work, the ambition for great things that inspired it, the boldness with which (as at Beauvais) the most audacious feats of construction were attempted, the colossal scale of designs that could never

be fully carried out, we can find no other explanation than the spirit of the age, which in northern France, at any rate, was energetic in the extreme. Here were two great and very vital movements contrasting most markedly in character and aim, one charged with emotion, the other guided by reasoning; the first was the ardour of aspiration that found its outcome in the Crusades, the latter was the equally enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge, from which sprang the university of Paris and the scholastic philosophy.

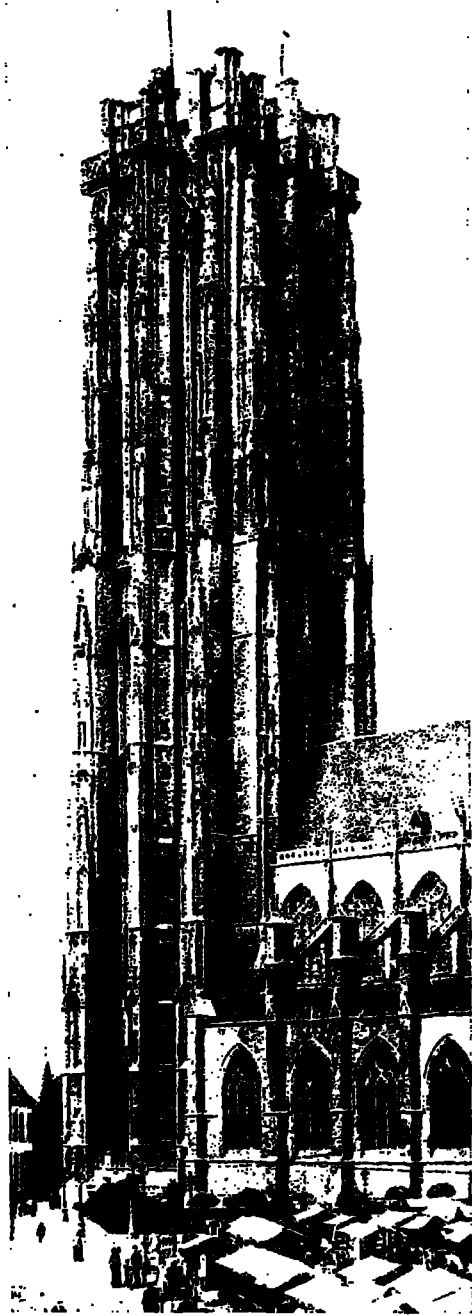
That the crusading movement was French in its origin and largely French in its conduct is generally understood. It was a symptom of an active religious revival, and it affected all classes of the community alike. The crusading armies were formed and recruited on a religious basis, but the pious enthusiasm of the age at the same time took other forms, and it was recognized that there was room for devotion and self-sacrifice in other fields than that of Mars. He who assisted to rear a splendid temple to the glory of the heavenly king was doing His work as surely as if he were helping to rescue the divine heritage from the hands of the infidel. A contagious impulse seized on the minds of all classes of the population, and hurried them forward with the same fervour that was carrying others to the Crusades. Here is an extract



CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE SYNAGOGUE

The lovely figure at Reims on the left has been shattered by a shell in the Great War. She symbolised the Christian faith and was contrasted with another figure, blindfold and with crown awry, who, with something of arrogance yet something also of pathos, was made to stand for the Jewish synagogue.

Photo, Prof. Baldwin Brown



SPLENDID FLEMISH TOWER

The countries to which Gothic spread from France stamped each their own character on the style. Flanders is renowned for its towers; justly, as seen from the tower of S. Rumbold, Malines, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Photo, Donald McLeish

from a contemporary record dating from about the middle of the twelfth century :

In this year [1144], at Chartres, there were seen for the first time the faithful harnessing themselves to the wagons that were laden with stones, wood, provisions, and whatever else was needed for the works at the cathedral. As by the might of magic, its towers rose heavenward. . It was not only here, but well-nigh everywhere in France and Normandy and in other lands. Everywhere men were humbling themselves, everywhere doing penance and offering forgiveness to their enemies. Men and women were to be seen dragging heavy loads through swampy places, and in holy songs praising the wonderful works of God that He was doing before their eyes.

Another contemporary writes of—

great lords and princes of the world, puffed up with riches and honour, and even ladies of noble birth, bending their proud necks to the yoke, and, like beasts of burden, dragging to the workmen at a church cars laden with wine, and corn, and oil, with lime and stone and timber,

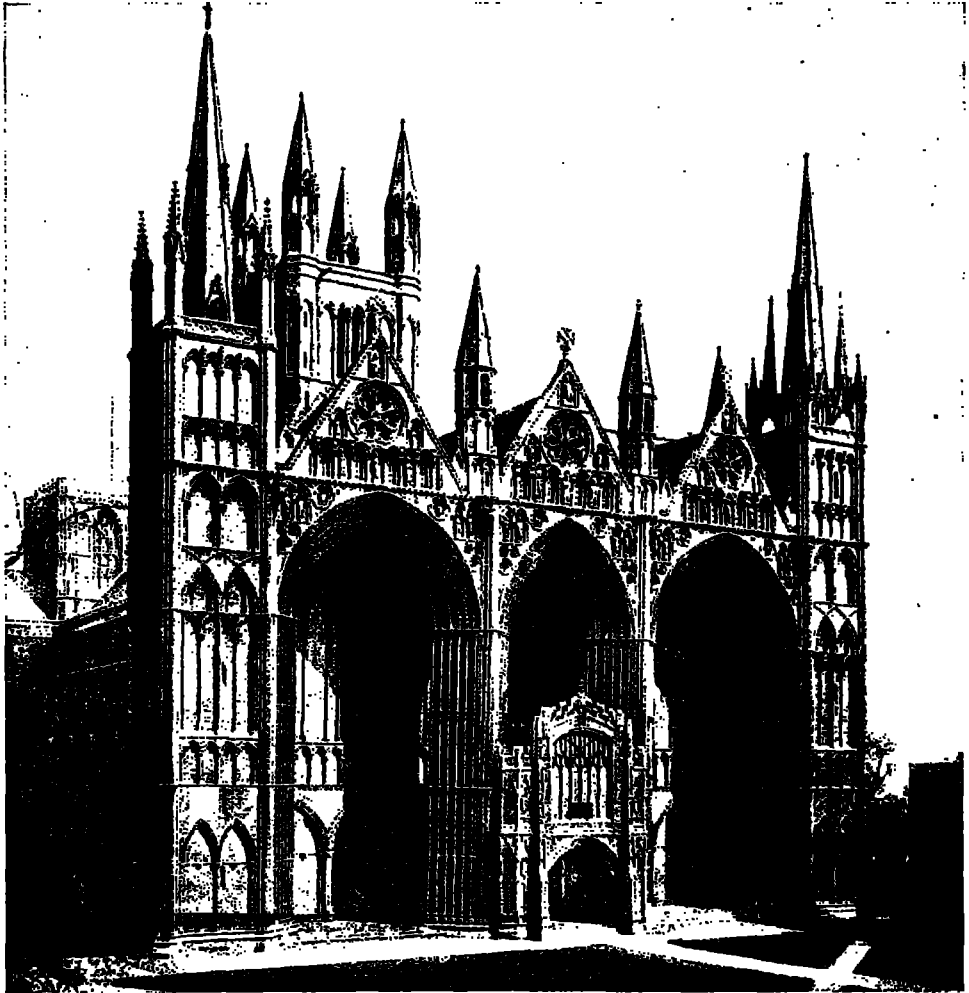
and the same writer describes the passage through the country of organized bands moving from one great building in progress to another to offer aid, as if under some crusading vow. We can stand to-day under those towers of Chartres that were 'rising heavenward' in 1144, and can realize that 'the might of magic' which drew them upwards was largely the excitement of religious feeling—not, perhaps, deep-seated nor lasting, but for the time intense and real—that was astir in French society just at the formative epoch when the Gothic style was coming into being. There seems to have been a lavish outpouring of effort; but it is essential to note that this was not mere profuseness, for, as we have seen, a severe logic controls the disposition of all the parts, and in this the intellectual temper of the age finds its architectural expression.

This twelfth century was the age of the founding of universities, of which that of Paris was acknowledged at the time to be the focus of Gothic and the sciences. A writer of Scholasticism the age of Philip Augustus makes no idle boast when he declares that Paris was attracting to herself more learners than did ever Athens or Alexan-

dria; and Paris was called, in a popular saying, 'the fountain of wisdom to which all the world came to draw supplies.' The intellectual ardour of the times materialised in the so-called scholastic philosophy, which was an attempt to elucidate the doctrines of the Church by the aid of the reasoning powers. The closest thought, the most ingenious subtlety in argument were devoted to the working out in detail of the funda-

mental doctrines which had been established on the authority of revelation.

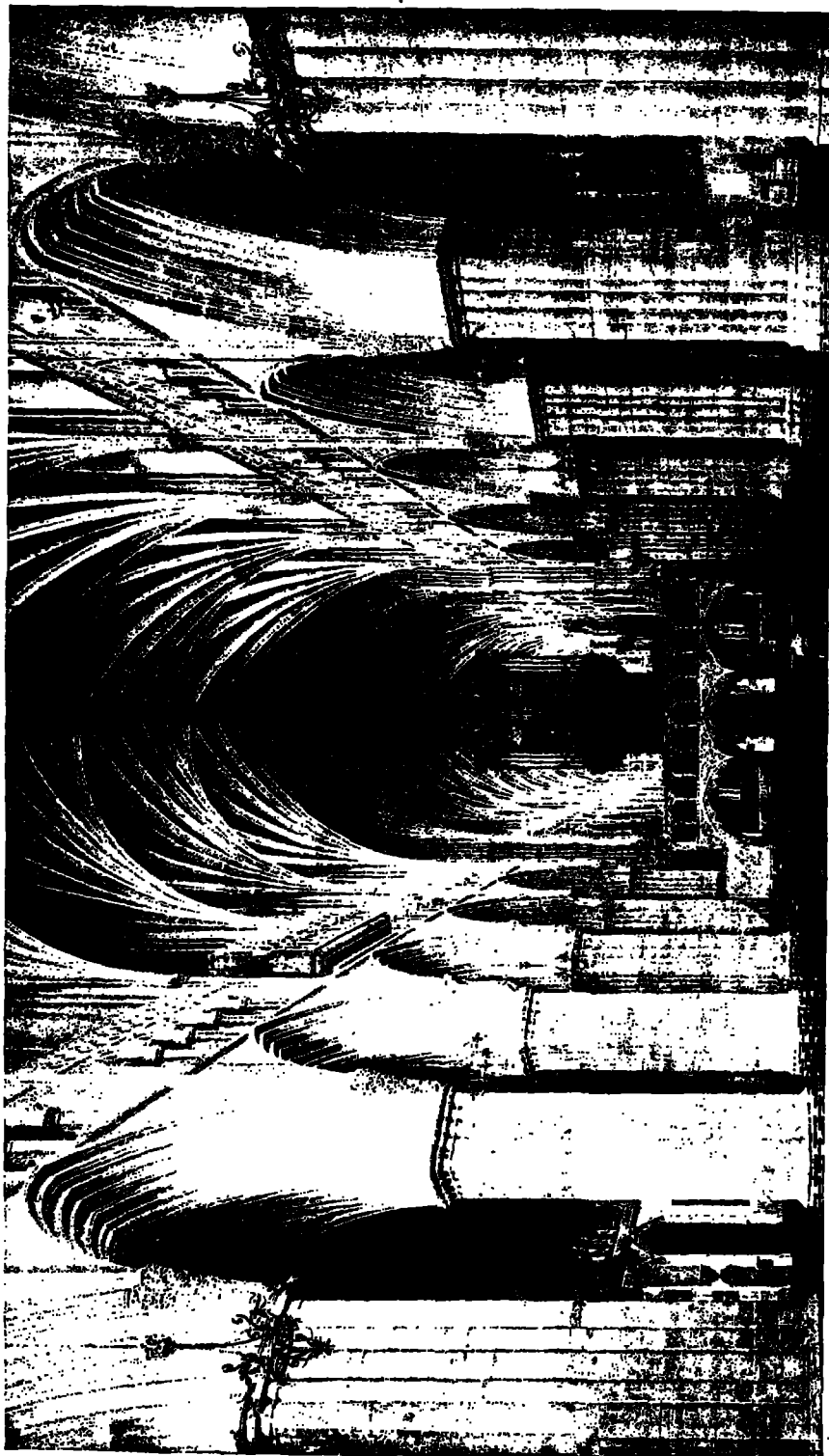
Now, Gothic has been called 'scholasticism in stone,' and it is perfectly true that, just as the romantic, aspiring spirit with which Gothic seems to be filled is only one form of the emotional fervour that found its most conspicuous outcome in the Crusades, so the logical consistency, the almost mathematical rigour in the carrying out into details of a single system,



PETERBOROUGH : ONE OF ENGLAND'S GRANDEST CATHEDRALS

What stamps English cathedrals is their smaller height but greater proportionate length, and, on the exterior at least, the fact that in many instances there was no such clean break with the Romanesque (Norman) tradition as in France. Peterborough, for instance (1118-1220) might be called Romanesque in spirit and Gothic in construction, but the great west front is unique in England for its adoption and development of the three arched doorways that we have seen to characterise French Gothic.

Photo, Donald McLeish



ELABORATION IN THE STONEWORK OF EXETER'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH

The interior of English Gothic churches differs less from the French than the exterior, except for the very much greater length of the choir. In this view of Exeter Cathedral from near the west door it can be seen how the choir stretches behind the organ like a second nave. Apart from this, there is something characteristic of English Gothic in the dispositions of the multiplied ribs of the vaulting, though they tend to conceal the underlying mechanical principles. The structure, except for its almost unique transeptal towers, was transformed from Norman to Gothic between 1280 and 1370.

Photo, C. H. Stokes

in some of these early French churches justifies the description just quoted, pointed out by Dehio.

A quality in Gothic more attractive to the general student than this logical formalism with which Gothic has been said to have 'bewitched itself' is its humanity and tenderness, for the quickened life of the age was just as manifest on the side of sentiment as on that of logical thought. For proof of this we turn rather to the decorative figure and foliage sculpture than to the structure, though we must always remember that structure and decoration bear an intimate relationship the one to the other. In this sculpture, which we may see at its best at Reims, we recognize a truth, a human sentiment, a winning grace, a touching appeal, to which our hearts open in response. To this time belong the ideas of chivalry, of the devotion to the feminine ideal, knight errantry, and the like. About chivalry there may have been a good deal that seems to us fanciful or

even fantastic, but these ideas had the advantage that they called men out of themselves and set their thoughts on pure and unselfish aims.

Refinement in manners also advanced, and Dante, in the early part of the fourteenth century, still looks to France as the centre of social culture, the home of luxury and of the elegancies of life. With all this coincided a new literary movement, and the twelfth century in France witnessed the rise of a vernacular literature in the form of romances and love songs in old French that expressed the emotional temperament of the people. This same vein of romance runs through Gothic decoration, a special feature of which is also the fresh love of nature, so marked in connexion with the artistic treatment of the human countenance and also in the leaf and flower ornament.

The illustrations in pages 2864 and 2886 give some idea of the artistic merit of pieces of sculpture as studies of the figure and drapery, of their expressiveness in



THE CATHEDRAL THAT BROODS OVER THE ANCIENT TOWN OF LINCOLN

A comparison of Lincoln Cathedral with such structures as Reims or Chartres (pages 2873 and 2875), all three Gothic, will show how a national spirit can impose itself on fairly rigid mechanical necessities. Of the various styles in which it is built—the process extended between 1086 and c. 1500—Norman survives in the central part of the west front and the lower halves of the west towers. The windows of the upper halves are 'Perpendicular,' an old-fashioned term that merits retention.

Photo, J. Valentine & Sons

gesture and action, and of the facility and finish of their execution. In their expression of tender but fresh and unaffected sentiment the works of the best period possess an ineffable charm. Later, a certain mannered grace of pose and a sentimental, almost simpering, amiability characterise the figures, but these symptoms of decline are hardly apparent in the noble compositions of the twelfth and earlier thirteenth centuries, such as the western portals of Chartres, Amiens and Reims. The well known Mary of the Visitation at Reims, seen in page 2864, is pre-eminent for its classic dignity and repose, the amplitude of the modelling being quite Greek in feeling. This figure has fortunately escaped injury, but a fragment of a shell shattered what was perhaps a still lovelier work, the 'Faith' of the southern transept, a form as

stately as it is beautiful, that presents the ideal of the Christian Church in contrast to the Jewish Synagogue, symbolised by another female figure blinded and in a woeful plight.

The effort after expression in these Gothic figures is in later work often carried too far, and we can see a symptom of this exaggeration in some of the figures on the north jamb of the central portal at Reims, also shown in page 2864 (top). But there is no need to follow in the direction of its decline this most attractive phase of Gothic art.

The foregoing has dealt with Gothic in its essential qualities as seen in the land where it had its first home and achieved its greatest triumphs. Gothic, however, spread to other lands, and in the British Isles, at any rate, it may claim to have sent down a thin thread



TOWERS OF ELY THAT DOMINATE THE EAST ANGLIAN FENS

Ely Cathedral and its precincts are an architectural museum of almost every phase through which English building passed between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. Rising on its hill above the surrounding fenlands, it shows off to splendid advantage the massive west tower, almost Romanesque in its solidity, and the graceful octagon or lantern built in 1328 to replace a fallen central tower. From the interior the latter is an unusual and beautiful feature.

Photo, J. Valentin

that lasted till the so-called 'Gothic revival' of modern times. Here Gothic developed to forms of beauty that give this insular phase of the art a position next in importance to that of France. This is said with a full appreciation of the magnificence of the great German Gothic monument, Cologne Cathedral, though in the matter of proportion it is severely criticised, and there is a mechanical hardness in its details. Into Germany Gothic was imported ready-made from France, and was not developed naturally, as in England, out of the earlier Romanesque; and this gives it a certain artificiality, so that on the whole it is rather lacking in aesthetic charm.

Belgian ecclesiastical Gothic approaches French forms and is especially good in its towers, such as those of Antwerp, Malines and S. Gudule, Brussels. In Spain, however, we come up against a really imposing phase of the art, fully Gothic in feeling; there is a certain rugged grandeur about the

Gothic in foreign lands exterior of Burgos, while Toledo, a larger church, follows French examples in its interior lay-out, and exhibits a remarkably scientific vaulting scheme round the 'pourtour' of the choir. The massive stone screens that rather block up the interiors of the greater Spanish churches are characteristic, and the abundance of decorative details on the exteriors is traced to Moorish influence. In the crusading period French Gothic art made its way to Cyprus (see page 2814) and Syria, and in some of the vast stone castles of the latter country, such as the Castle of the Knights near Homs, the chapels show elegant and pure Gothic forms.

This was, however, an accidental importation of the forms of northern Gothic into the south and east. It is when we come to the Mediterranean land of Italy that it is forced in upon us that Gothic belongs to the north, and never has had any hold on the south, where, as Coleridge



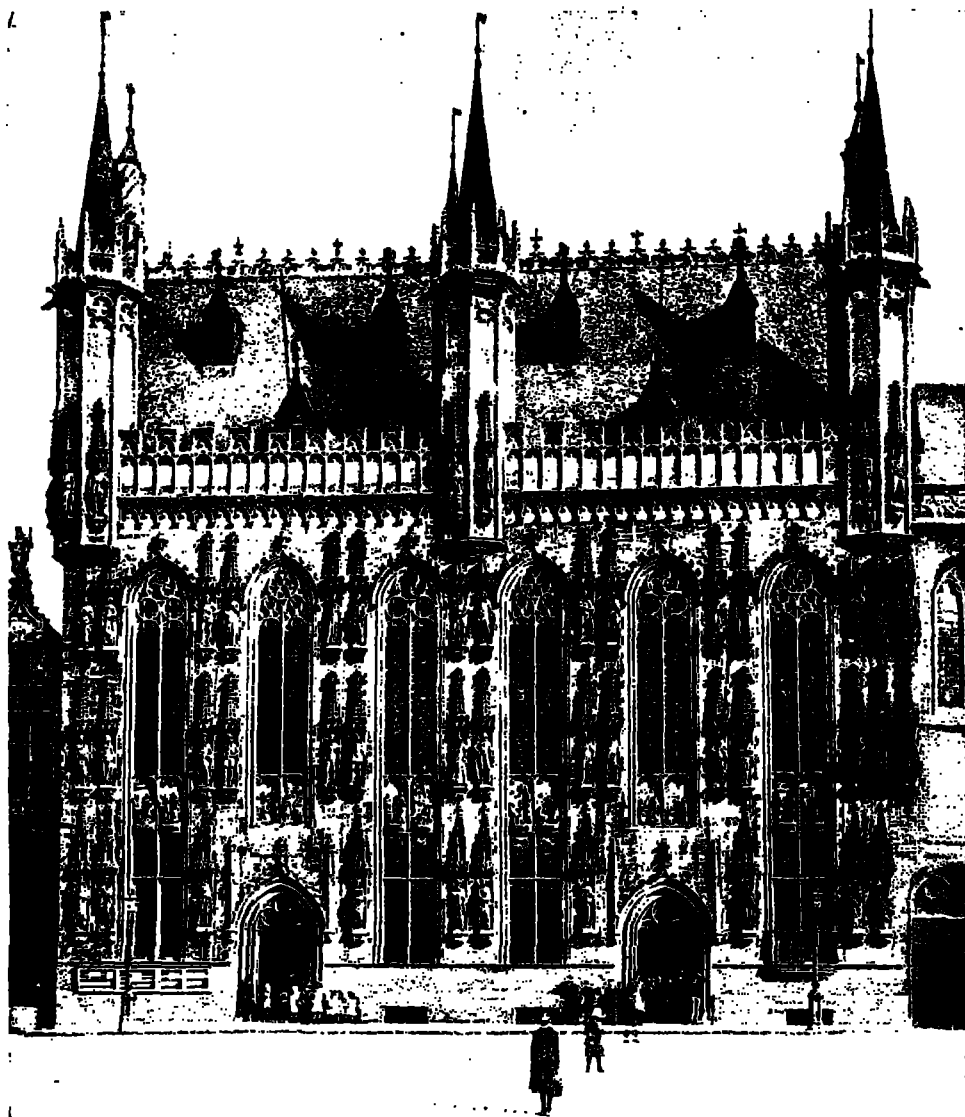
CHASTE BEAUTY OF ENGLISH GOTHIC

S. Mary's Benedictine Abbey, close to the cathedral at York, was a Norman foundation of the eleventh century, but the extant remains are mostly of the purest English Gothic. This piece of arcading shows the sense of proportion in ornament and moulding that was the chief merit of the English builder.

Photo, Prof. Baldwin Brown

once pointed out, the feeling for romance and mystery, those essential elements in Gothic, is almost absent. Though the Italians have always been quite skilful at vaulting, they never took up the characteristic Gothic construction, for the wall which lends itself so well to fresco decoration could not be sacrificed; while a distinct failure is their neglect of that constructive consistency which secures that an exterior shall be the expression of the interior.

In the British form of Gothic art there is not so much constructive interest as we have found in France, and, apart from logic of construction, there are important features in which the inferiority of British Gothic to French is universally admitted. There is, save at Peterborough, nothing imposing and symbolic in the western façades or their portals, and for the poetry of the French 'chevet' there are only the prosaic square east ends. A difference that works both ways is that the British buildings, except in length, are of lesser dimensions than the French. Hence while the vast mass of Amiens or Beauvais rears itself up colossally imposing before the awe-struck spectator, the latter is able beside an English minster, such as Lichfield or Wells, to take in

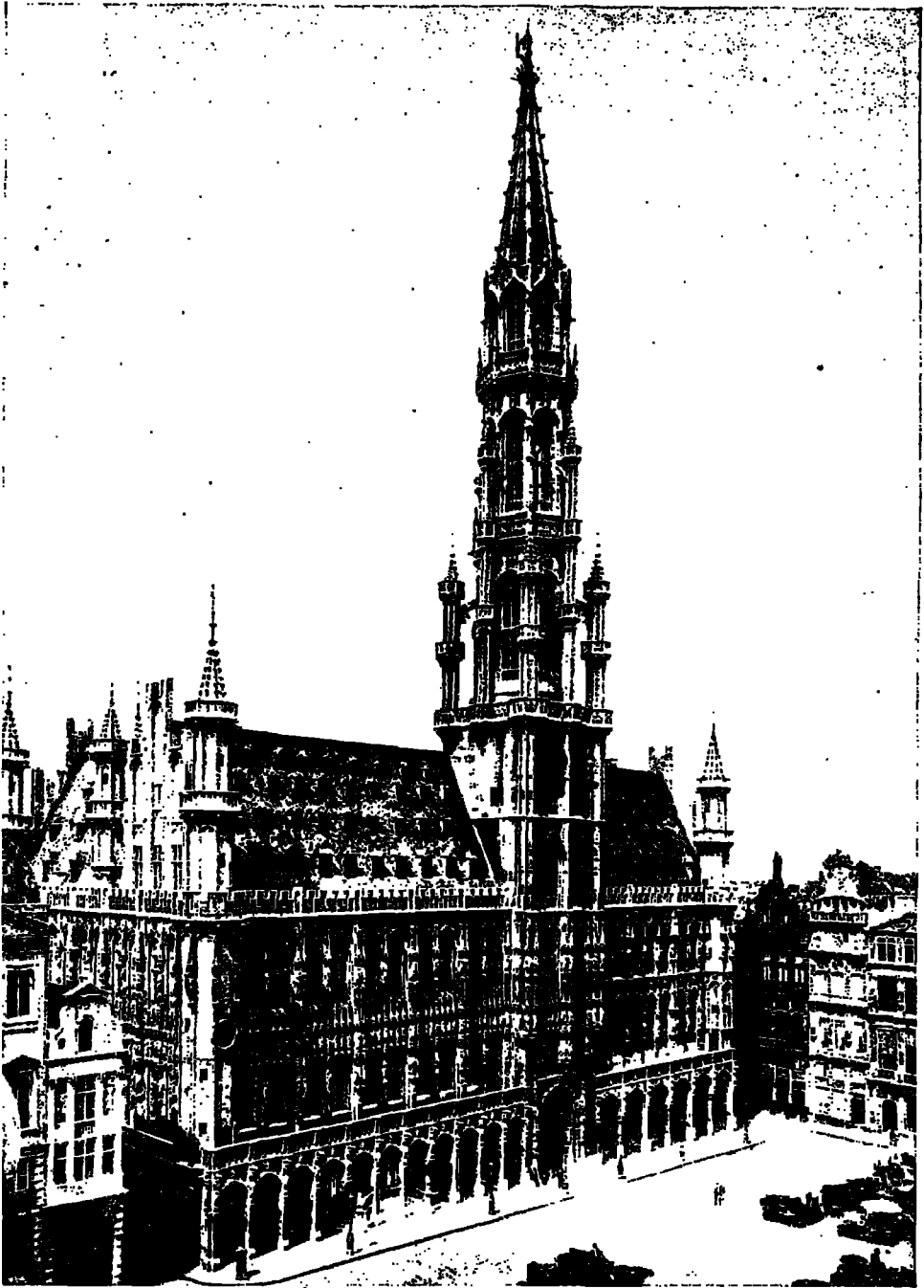


SECULAR GOTHIC IN FLANDERS : THE ORNATE TOWN HALL OF BRUGES

Gothic architecture used for secular purposes finds its highest expression in Flanders. The town hall of Bruges, begun in 1376, is a fairly early specimen of its class, and shows the limitations imposed by a too close adherence to ecclesiastical models. The tall windows, for instance, are unsuited for secular purposes, and the three pinnacles, imitated from buttress pinnacles, look functionless. The statuary, too, lacks the unifying scheme of cathedral groups, and gives an impression of floridity.

the building as a whole. And it is largely due to their monastic origin that so many English cathedrals stand apart from urban life in park-like 'closes,' walled in and entered through guarded gates. This gives to some, as at Salisbury (see page 2878), a foliage setting that enhances their picturesque charm.

But it is when we approach more closely that we see why British Gothic holds its own even by the side of its august French compeer. In variety and beauty of architectural detail it is unrivalled. Even in figure sculpture, though the French display on exteriors is on a far grander scale than anything across the Channel,



NOBLE GOTHIC EDIFICE THAT SERVES BRUSSELS AS TOWN HALL

The later fifteenth-century town hall of Brussels is a more successful adaptation of Gothic to secular ends than that at Bruges. The tower, a happy modification of such a central pinnacle as we have seen at Bruges rather than an imitation of a steeple, ennobles the whole building, while the smaller windows with horizontal transoms are an improvement. The disparity in enrichment between the two wings is due to the different dates (1410-1443) at which they were erected.

the incomparable series of monumental effigies on tombs is an asset to England. English mouldings, especially of the early Gothic age, have an accent, a brightness, that surpass the French, and in foliage sculpture of the same early epoch, while the French were too naturalistic, the English carvers introduced the just amount of conventionalisation to suit the architectural setting. The sense of proportion is so well developed in the designer that a piece of simple arcading, like that on the exquisite ruin of S. Mary's Abbey, York, is a never-failing delight to the eye.

The old epithets for the successive phases of British Gothic, 'Early English,' 'Decorated,' etc., are now abjured by the best authorities, for it is recognized that the process of change from simpler to more complicated forms was for a long time continuous, and this fundamental fact is obscured by the marking off of distinct periods.

Professor Lethaby suggests a simplification by pointing out that 'Gothic' in Britain can be given an effective life of four centuries, the central point of which is 1350, which on the old-fashioned reckoning is half-way through the so-called 'Decorated' period, considered to cover the fourteenth century. The two centuries before this, from 1150, mark the inception and growth to perfection of the style, while the two later, down to 1550, cover its after developments, which are marked by the emergence about 1400 of the one really national phase of British Gothic, so distinctive that it will fight hard to keep its old familiar name 'Perpendicular.'

The name suggests height, and this quality is certainly in evidence, especially in towers which are numerous and of great excellence; but of more moment for the future is the new importance of the horizontal line, which, when it came into use for the tops of windows, at once fitted the style for domestic and generally for secular use. The last half century of Lethaby's whole Gothic epoch, 1500 to 1550, we may call if we like the 'Tudor'

period, and it produced work of specially English character, well seen in many of the Colleges of Oxford, that really survived in modest forms throughout the period when, from the Restoration to the early nineteenth century, Renaissance forms were dominant.

This 'Tudor' style introduces the question of the secular use of Gothic, and brings us naturally to the great civic and merchant halls of the cities of Flanders, which, with some of the Venetian palaces, are the most conspicuous examples of the style in its non-ecclesiastical aspects.

The early church architecture of the Netherlands had been comparatively unimportant, but in the last half of the fourteenth century a new demand was made on the architect by the merchants, who required buildings for trade purposes and for official meetings. The Cloth Hall at Ypres (page 3080) was the earliest and exhibited the severe simplicity of the incipient Gothic style. Specially instructive, however, is the later but still early Town Hall at Bruges, the first of its kind, for this emphasises the fact that Gothic had been an essentially ecclesiastical style. The architect at Bruges had no secular type on which to mould his design, but only church forms. Hence the high-pitched roof with decorative balustrade, the central and two corner pinnacles and above all the tall narrow windows, almost as high as the façade, are entirely ecclesiastical. Later on, the finest of these town halls, that of Brussels, keeps the ecclesiastical roof, but has secularised the windows and carried up the central of the three pinnacles into a lofty tower. Civic towers, such as the Belfry of Bruges (page 2907), now become important elements in the architecture of the Flemish cities.

There is no doubt that, love as we may the Gothic style, we should be wrong to claim for it secular value, especially if it keeps its pointed windows. Lord Palmerston was quite right when he tabooed Gothic for the Foreign Office in Whitehall. Neither the Houses of Parliament nor the London Law Courts are successful buildings.

Adaptations for
secular ends

THE GUILDS AND MEDIEVAL COMMERCE

The Life of Craftsman and Merchant and the Bustle along the Trade Ways of Europe and Asia

By EILEEN POWER D.Lit.

Lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science and Reader in Economic History at London University; Author of *Medieval English Nunneries*, etc.

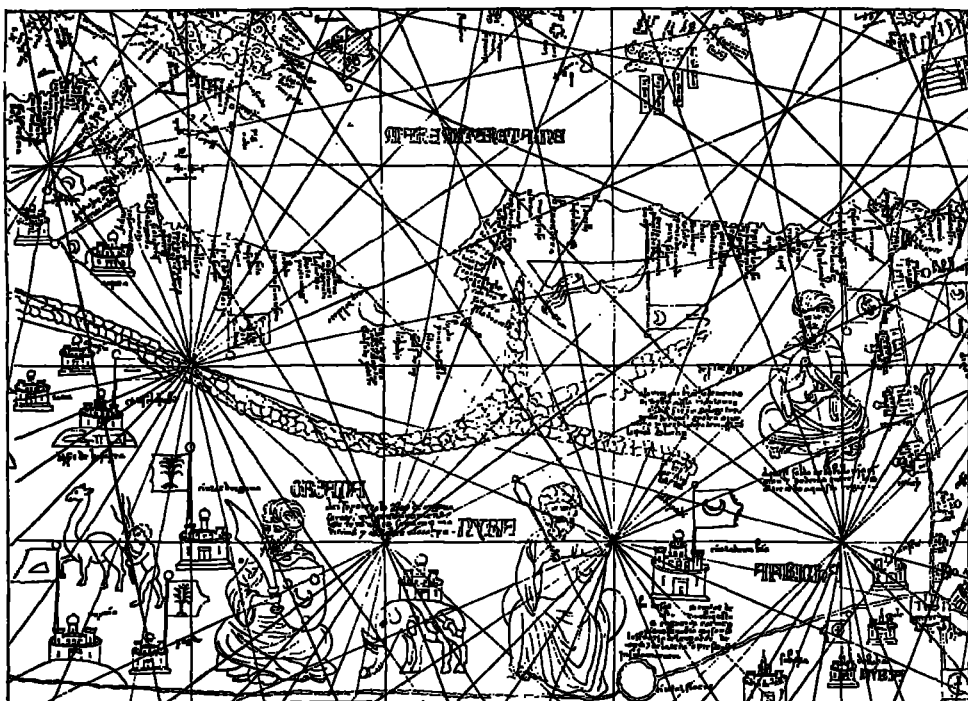
ONE of the most remarkable characteristics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the great development of large-scale commerce by which the period is marked. This development was due to a variety of interacting causes. The establishment of strong national and feudal governments meant protection for the merchant, and the enlightened policy of kings and of such rulers as the counts of Flanders and of Champagne did much to foster international trade. Another and even more potent cause was the rapid development of towns; though here, indeed, it is difficult to disentangle cause and effect, for the towns were at once the creation and the creators of trade. The later Middle Ages saw the efflorescence of a remarkable town civilization, based upon the twin foundations of industry and commerce, and totally different from the feudal civilization of lord and peasant. This was particularly marked in Italy, Germany and Flanders, where the towns attained a political autonomy and power which enabled them to dictate to kings; and when they united in such associations as the Lombard League and the Hansa League they were often irresistible.

To this development certain political events gave an impetus, and of these the most important was the crusading movement, which not only enabled many towns to buy charters from impecunious kings and lords anxious to lead an army against the infidel, but also re-established Christian control over the whole of the Mediterranean sea and greatly promoted trade between Europe and the East. It was, indeed, the Italian cities that gained most from the Crusades. Venice, Genoa and

Pisa had given their aid to the Crusaders for no other reason and were now able to establish their depots in all the important ports of the Levant and the Black Sea, and to tap the whole of the wealth of Asia as it debouched at these outlets.

The development of commerce was further promoted by a number of improvements in what may be called the technique of trade, among which may be cited the improvements in shipbuilding, the making of increasingly accurate sea charts by *Shipbuilding, Charts Italian and Catalan and Maritime Law* sailors and the introduction, through the Arabs, of the compass. It is to this period, too, that there belong certain important codifications of maritime law, such as the famous Sea Laws of Oléron (1266), accepted by France, Flanders, certain northern cities and Castile, the 'Consulate of the Sea,' which was accepted in the Mediterranean, and the Ordinances of Visby, which governed navigation in the Baltic.

There were similar improvements in the methods and conditions of inland transport. Most important of all were the advances which were made in the financing of trade and in credit operations. It is true that the Church forbade all interest as 'usury,' but there were a hundred devices for evading the prohibition and gradually Christian financiers took the place of Jews in large-scale financial operations. The Templars, with their commanderies in many countries, and the Lombard banking houses, with depots wherever Italian trade was active, were able to transfer money by means of letters of credit and bills of exchange and to



PORTOLANO CHART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

In the fourteenth century very careful attempts were being made to produce accurate maps and charts on the basis of facts actually ascertained by experienced travellers and navigators. Especially notable were the charts illustrating the Portolani, or sailing directions, in use among Italian and Catalan seamen navigating the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. One of the most famous examples is the Catalan Atlas of 1375, now at Paris, from which this map of the North African coast lands is taken.

make loans. Men might cry out against them as usurers, but the pope took the Italian bankers under his protection and they financed wars, trade, building and private extravagance alike.

The result of these various forces was the appearance in Europe of a great international export trade. The Italian firms became rich and famous both as financiers and as merchants; they exported the produce of all the lands on the shores of the Mediterranean and, above all, they monopolised almost the whole of the rich trade with the East, so that Europe depended on them alone for its silks and its spices, its alum and its dyestuffs and a hundred other articles of luxury, which were increasingly in demand as wealth grew and standards of comfort became higher. The Spaniards exported iron, wool from their great wandering flocks of merino sheep and leather goods from Córdoba. From the cities of the

south of France came olives and wine and from those of the north cloth, linen, salt and foodstuffs. Of the South German cities some, like Nuremberg, grew rich in distributing the oriental trade which came to them over the Alps; others, like the Rhenish cities, on wine and on the carrying trade, for which their great river gave them such an advantage; others, like Goslar and Freiburg, on their metals, or like Salzburg on their salt. The North German cities surpassed even these by their trade in corn and beer, and above all in the timber, wax, furs and other produce of the Scandinavian countries and Russia and in the herrings from the famous fisheries of the Baltic, over which sea their Hansa League established a monopoly as complete as the Italian monopoly over the Mediterranean. Flanders and Brabant owed their fame as the home of flourishing cities above all to their great cloth manufacture. as

well as to their position as the 'exchange and mart' par excellence of all Europe. England's contribution to international commerce was her incomparable wool, her tin, her foodstuffs and, as time went on, her cloth, which before the end of the Middle Ages had ousted that of Flanders from its pre-eminence in the world market.

In all the important trading cities, both large and small, there sprang up guilds or associations of merchants, and there arose also powerful city leagues for the purpose of extending trade. Such was the federation or Hansa of sixty cities of Flanders and the north of France which rose to facilitate trade at the Champagne fairs, and the 'Hansa of London,' which was formed by seventeen Flemish cities to organize their wool trade with England; but the greatest



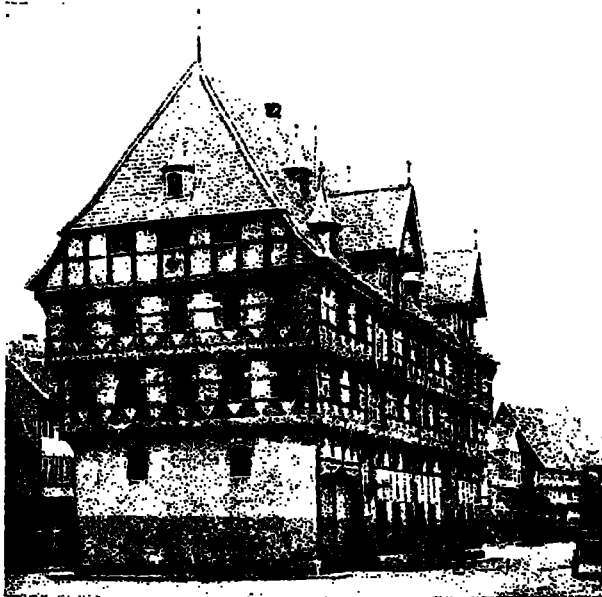
LATE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN BANKERS

It was because the Church regarded usury as grievous sin that money lending was long the monopoly of the Jews. By the thirteenth century, however, the business had been taken up by Christian Italian financiers. The standing figures in this miniature are pledging valuables in return for a loan.

British Museum, Additional MS. 27695

of all was the famous German Hansa League which arose later and, as we saw, monopolised traffic between the northern countries and the west. Trading companies also appeared, like the Merchants of the Staple, who managed the English wool trade, and the Merchant Adventurers, who soon outdistanced them by carrying English cloth all over northern Europe.

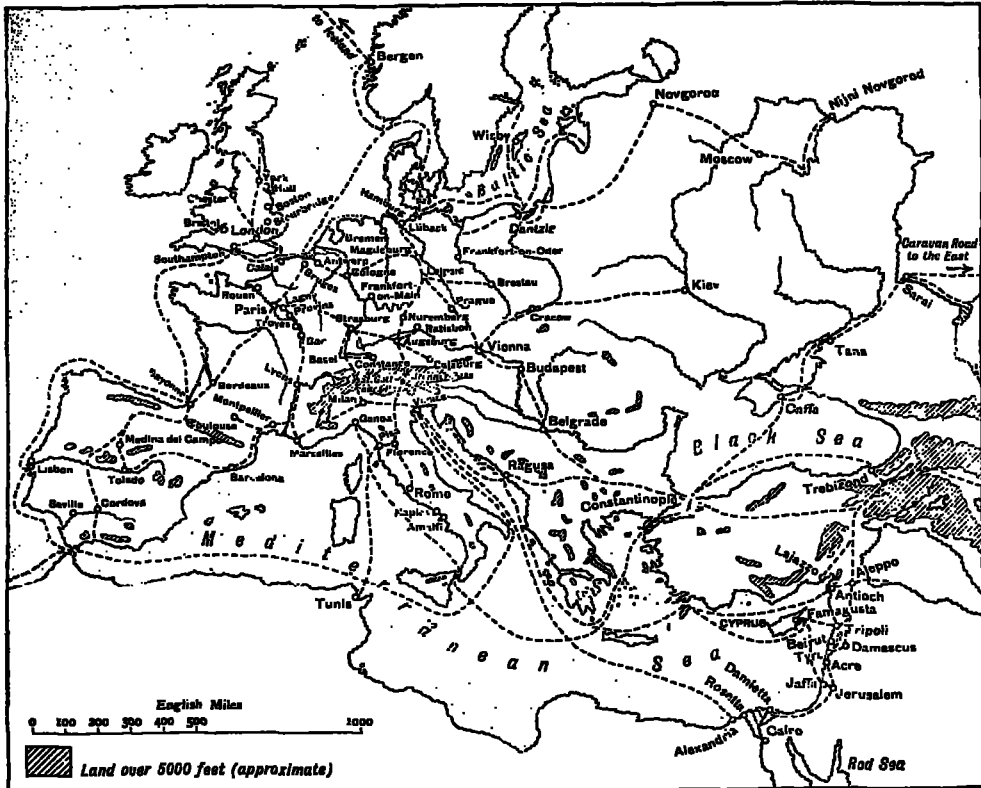
The nature and main direction of this commerce remained constant until the discovery of new routes brought new hemispheres into the circle of European commerce at the end of the Middle Ages. The centres of commerce were two almost land-locked seas, the Mediterranean and the Baltic, joined to each other by long ribbons of road and river. The great stream of trade ran north and south, and its basis was the exchange of northern raw materials and articles of necessity (including cloth) for southern luxuries and finer manufactures. But a hundred little tributaries took it east and west until the whole of Europe was irrigated by it, from the Baltic to the



BRUNSWICK'S MEDIEVAL STAPLE HOUSE

Brunswick rose to importance under the patronage of Henry the Lion, gradually attained to almost complete independence, and in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries was a prominent member of the German Hansa League. Its timbered Alte Wage, or old staple house, in the Burgplatz dates from 1534.

Photo, Pöterly



MAIN TRADE ROUTES ACROSS EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In general trade flowed north and south from ports on the coasts of the Baltic, North Sea and English Channel to ports on the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Black Sea, with Venice (chiefly) collecting merchandise from the East at Alexandria and various depots on the Syrian coast. Eastward, important trade routes extended from Danzig to Novgorod and Nijni Novgorod, and from Vienna to Kiev. The Iberian Peninsula was intersected by highways linked up with Bayonne and Marseilles.

Mediterranean and from the Atlantic coast to the most recently colonised lands of Prussia, Poland and Hungary.

Europe is particularly well provided with navigable rivers, and from an early date her merchants began to make use of them, for it was easier to send bulky goods by water than by land. Many great towns, such as Cologne and Frankfort-on-Main, owed their rise to the fact that they were river ports, and a constant stream of ships and barges, laden with every kind of commodity, crowded all the navigable rivers. A great deal of traffic also went by road, and even to-day, when the motor lorry is restoring the road to the commercial importance of which the railway robbed it, it is difficult for us to picture to ourselves the trains of

wagons and pack horses which dragged their slow length over the Alpine passes and along all the main roads of Europe during the summer season. Caravans belong to the East to-day, but Europe, too, knew them in the thirteenth century; knew the bands of merchants with their armed guards, the halt at inns and way stations, and the village women coming out to hear the news. This caravan trade is a proof that medieval roads were much better than is commonly supposed.

The chief medium of exchange for international commerce during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the great fair. Trade was not at first large enough to allow of a permanent international trade going on all the year round as it does to-day. It had to be concentrated

at certain times and in certain places, and the institution of fairs was the means by which this was done. But, in a sense, trade was permanent, because such fairs were held at regular intervals throughout the year, with time for merchants to get from one to another with a new set of goods. It was only rarely that a big merchant would complete all his transactions and pay and collect all his debts at the same fair. Normally he would pay a certain sum down, amounting to a third or a half of the total price, and give the seller a bill for the balance payable at the next fair in four or five months' time; and at the next fair both would meet again and the money would be paid, with interest (disguised under some ingenious fiction).

But while the fairs were thus the first great international centres of trade, the business going on in certain large towns, especially seaports, was steadily growing greater, and they were becoming the centre of a permanent trade. In the last two centuries of the Middle Ages the fairs in western Europe were already losing importance, for this and other reasons.

The two great centres of fairs in the west were Flanders and Champagne, which were particularly suited for such

Fairs in Flanders and Champagne gatherings by reason of their geographical position and of the wise policy of their feudal rulers. Flanders kept its pre-eminence in this matter throughout the Middle Ages, and indeed long afterwards, because, with its long coast line, its rivers and its land routes, it was equally happily placed for sea and land transport, while its own cloth manufacture gave it a commodity which attracted merchants.

'The estate and sustenance of the county of Flanders,' wrote its count in a manifesto to his suzerain, the king of France, in 1297, 'is in the merchandise which cometh to it from all parts of the world, by sea and by land.' A document drawn up for the use of merchants about the same time cites more than thirty different countries, both Moslem and Christian, whose merchandise came to Bruges, and adds 'no land is to be compared as to merchandise with the land of Flanders.' The oldest of the

Flemish fairs was that of Thorout, which gave its customs to many others; but by the end of the thirteenth century it had been supplanted in importance by the fair of Bruges.

The other great centre of the fairs was the Champagne country, which also owed its importance in this respect largely to its geographical position in the heart of commercial Europe, half-way between the North Sea and the Mediterranean, touching Germany on the east and communicating with the Channel on the west by the Marne and the Somme. There were also other important French fairs, notably in the adjacent district of the Ile de France round Paris, where were held the royal and ancient fairs of St. Denis (the 'Lendit' fair) and St. Germain-des-Prés. In the fifteenth century they were all surpassed by the fair of Lyons.

But every European country had its fairs. In England the most famous were those of S. Giles (Winchester), S. Ives (in Huntingdon), S. Bartholomew (Smithfield), S. Botolph (Boston), Northampton and Stourbridge;

the latter continued to be a great centre of trade, particularly in cloth, well into the eighteenth century. The Spanish fairs at Seville and Medina del Campo and the German fairs at Leipzig, Frankfort-on-Main, Frankfort-on-Oder and Nuremberg also deserve mention. The Russian fair of Nijni Novgorod was not founded until 1524.

The great fairs of Champagne deserve some description, because of the prominent part which they played in European commerce from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, and because their organization may be taken as typical. There were six of them, each lasting from sixteen to sixty days and between them spreading over the whole year, with intervals for preparation and transport. They were held at Lagny, Bar, Provins and Troyes, the last two having two each at different times; the most important were the May Fair of Provins and the 'Warm Fair' or S. John's Fair of Troyes, held in the warm summer weather when roads were dry.

To these fairs came merchants from all parts of Europe. Stout and comfortable

Flemings brought their fine cloth in bales on the backs of packhorses, each town sending its own speciality, marked with its own mark. Italians came with pepper and cloves and spices from the East, Chinese silks and Persian carpets and brocades from their own looms. There were sold English wool and tin, the famous 'dinanderies' or copper goods of Dinant, sacks of corn and barrels of beer from Germany, and casks of sunny wine from the Rhineland and the Moselle and even Greece (for those who liked it sweet). Cordovan leather, stamped and dyed, came from Spain, fine inlaid and damascened swords from Moorish workshops, bales of fur from Russia, barrels of salted herring from the fisheries of Skaane, dates and raisins from the Mediterranean coast, Arab horses and droves of cattle. Even slaves were sometimes to be bought there, usually Tatars brought by the Genoese

from the Crimea, for Tatar slaves were a common sight in Italian cities at the end of the thirteenth century.

These things were all in charge of merchants and their agents, and with them came an auxiliary army of dealers in food-

stuffs, sumpter beasts and carts, packers and servants. Among them, too, came the financiers, without whom business could not have been carried on for a day: the exchangers, on the one hand, who set out their tables and scales to attend to the business of weighing and exchanging coins (for many kinds of money were current at the fair) and, on the other hand, the big financiers, agents of the various Italian banking houses, who conducted large operations of credit. Last of all came a whole host of quacks and jugglers and itinerant entertainers, all that remains in our fairs to-day of this mighty gathering.

Obviously to house merchants and merchandise on so large a scale and to allow business to be carried

on expeditiously very careful organization was necessary. For weeks before the fair opened the merchandise had been crawling in caravans down roads and disembarking from rivers, and suddenly, on the appointed day, there would spring up a mushroom town on the fair field, with rows of wooden booths, houses and warehouses, surrounded by a high fence; and when the merchandise began to arrive it would be distributed in carefully allotted places, sometimes according to the nature of the goods, sometimes according to the nationality of the merchant, for the different nations kept together and the merchants of each recognized a common responsibility for each other, so that sometimes all

the men of Genoa would find their goods attached to meet the bad debt of some absconding Genoese.

The lord who owned the fair made a great deal out of stall rents and entry tolls, and careful watch was kept to see that merchants and purchasers came in at the toll gates, for dishonest folk had been known to burrow under the fence or climb over it, and it was illegal to carry on business anywhere save in the precincts of the fair. All the shops in the town were closed during fair season, and all other trade within a certain radius was stopped:



FUN OF THE FAIR IN OLD ENGLAND

All manner of strolling players and showmen flocked to the fairs in medieval times, as still to-day. These pictures show a performance by trained monkeys (top, from the Tenison Psalter) and bear baiting by great English bulldogs (from the Luttrell Psalter). Both belong to the fourteenth century.

British Museum, Add. MSS., 24586, and Vainute Monuments



SCENES OF THE MART AND BUSY STREETS

A vivid little scene of town life in the fifteenth century is given in this illustration from a history of Charlemagne illuminated by Jean le Tavernier in 1460 for Philip the Good. A notable figure in the picture is the money changer, seated inside the city gate with his tables and scales—an indispensable person in the markets and fairs of Continental towns in days when many kinds of money were necessarily carried. Outside the gate are the temporary stalls of various small traders.

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS. 9066

but the townsmen would usually take stalls in the fair for the occasion and often neighbouring landowners would do the same and send their bailiffs to sell their surplus agricultural produce: even

monastic houses had their booths, and many an abbey did well out of its annual sale of corn and wine. The fair had an army of officials to keep order and supervise these operations, under a chancellor

or 'garde de foire,' and a special law court of its own to settle all disputes which arose there.

It will be seen that by a fair the Middle Ages understood something very different from a mere place of amusement. The Champagne fairs were perhaps the most important centre of international traffic in western Europe until the end of the thirteenth century, but in the fourteenth they declined for a variety of reasons. One of these was the disturbance of trade routes brought about by the Hundred Years' War, which made it unsafe for merchants to bring their goods to Troyes

and Provins for fear of pillage. The ravages of the 'free companies' were as fatal to commerce as they were to agriculture. Froissart has a vivid passage in which he makes a retired brigand, Aimerigot Marchès, bewail, with lyric ardour, the splendid days of robbery which have now ended for him, since in a weak moment he sold the castle in Auvergne from which he terrorised the countryside:

There is no season, no delight nor glory in the world like to that of men-at-arms, who fight as we have fought. Glad were we when we rode forth to adventure, and on the road we found peradventure a rich abbot, a rich prior or merchant, or a train of mules



SHOP-KEEPERS AND CUSTOMERS IN A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TOWN

Multiple stores were unknown in the Middle Ages when craft guilds jealously safeguarded the rights and interests of their respective trades. Four several shops are depicted in this illustration from a fifteenth-century Bible. On the left a draper, with finished garments ready for sale and at work on others; on the right a grocer with sugar-loaf beside him and over his head an advertisement of 'Good Hippocras'; in the centre a barber is shaving a customer and in the background is a furrier.

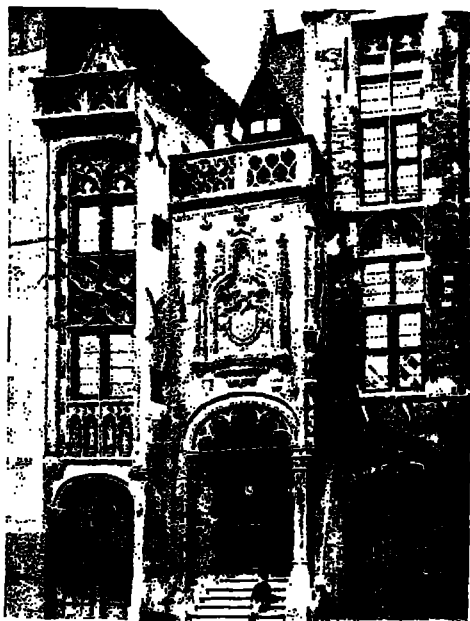
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris: MS. 700, 3062

from Montpellier, Narbonne, Limoux, Fougans, Béziers, Toulouse, Carcassonne, laden with cloth of Brussels or Moustier-Villiers, or with furs coming from the Lendit Fair, or with spices from Bruges, or with silken stuffs from Damascus or Alexandria. All was ours, or ransomed at our will. Every day we had new money.

It is plain enough why the French fairs declined.

But there was also another reason. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Italians began, for the first time, to send goods to England and Flanders by sea. The disturbance of the land routes no doubt promoted the popularity of this method, but it was bound to increase as navigation improved, and though a certain amount of the traffic between the Mediterranean countries and the north-west of Europe continued to go by road, more and more of it began to go by sea. This new route finally made the fortune of Bruges, and Flanders far outdistanced Champagne as a permanent centre of trade. Bretons and Gascons, Italians and Spaniards, English and Hansards could all reach it easily by sea and a constant traffic came from central Europe along its rivers and roads; the merchants came there as much to meet each other as to buy the cloth of Ypres and Ghent and Bruges; and Flemish merchants ceased to sail the seas themselves, but sat at home and waited for the traffic of the world to come to them, and grew rich, as the great historian of Flanders has expressed it, 'by exploiting commerce rather than by practising it.'

By the middle of the fourteenth century Bruges had become an entrepôt for the most diverse merchandise and the money market of Europe. All the important trading communities had their depots and consuls there (the house of the Genoese merchants may still be seen), and all the important banking houses their branches. These strangers took a great part in the social and artistic life of the town; Van Eyck painted the Luchese Arnolfini and his wife (his masterpiece is now in the National Gallery), and Portinari, agent of the bank of the Medici, was the protector of Van der Goes. In the manifold processions and 'joyous entries' of the luxurious fifteenth century foreign mer-



THE OLD TONLIEU OF BRUGES

Many of the finest monuments of the golden age of the Flemish communes are preserved at Bruges. The Tonlieu, or Customs House, dates from the fourteenth century, when the city was at the height of its prosperity.

Photo, Donald McLeish

chants vied with wealthy citizens. Pirenne, the historian of Belgium, writes:

In 1468, in the suite of Margaret of York, there marched the different 'nations,' the Venetians represented by deputations of horsemen clad in crimson velvet or scarlet cloth and fifty torchbearers on foot; the Florentines by four pages, ten merchants, ten factors and twenty-four yeomen on horseback dressed in blue; the Spaniards by sixty torchbearers, thirty-four merchants in pourpoints of black satin and twenty-four pages; the Easterlings by a hundred and eight mounted merchants, clad in violet, and six pages. . . . In 1457 there were seen at one moment in the port of Sluys three Venetian galleys, a Portuguese hulk, two Spanish carvels, six Scottish ships, forty-two Breton carvels, twelve vessels from Hamburg, to say nothing of four whalers and thirty-six to forty herring 'busses.'

To describe the merchants who crowded the streets of Bruges in the fourteenth century would be, indeed, to give a synopsis of medieval commerce; but three 'nations' deserve special consideration: the Easterlings or Hansards, who had one



A MEDIEVAL MERCHANT PRINCE

Lucca held its own with Venice and Genoa in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, and its great merchants had close relations, both in business and in social life, with Bruges, the 'Venice of the North.' Among them was Jean Arnolfini, who, with his wife (and terrier), was painted by Jan Van Eyck in 1434.

National Gallery, London

of their most famous 'factories' or foreign settlements there, and so made Bruges an entrepôt for the Northern trade; the Italians, who came every year with their oriental cargoes and made it the spice market of Europe; and the English, who brought their wool from across the narrow seas to Calais, which was within easy reach of it, and whose custom was admitted to be the mainstay of the Flemish marts in the fifteenth century. It is unnecessary to speak further of the Hansards, who are dealt with in Chapter 119, but something must be said about the English and the Lombards.

The English had traded actively from early times, but until the fourteenth

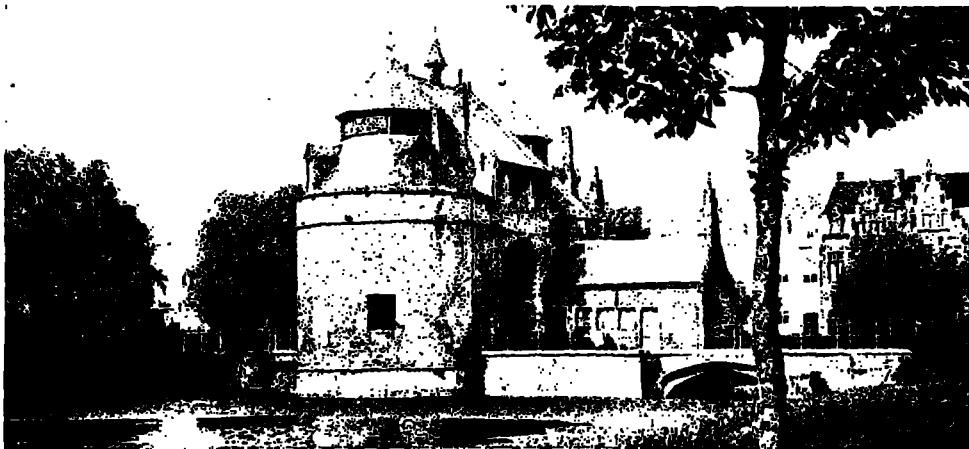
century a good deal (though by no means all) of their commerce was carried in foreign bottoms. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, the English merchants were more than able to hold their own, because they had in their own hands the staple English trades of wool and then of cloth. All through the Middle Ages the importance of England in the world of international commerce was based upon her wool. The English wool was the best in the world, far surpassing in quality even the fine wool of Spain, and this made it essential to every cloth-producing country in Europe. The great cloth-making cities of Flanders and to a less extent those of Italy were entirely dependent upon it; it is as wool buyers that we first meet the Italian and Flemish merchants in England, and if for some reason the supply of it were cut off unemployment and starvation fell upon the workers in the cloth industry of Flanders. Thus wool became a political weapon of great importance in the hands of the English kings; it was the reason for which the Flemish towns supported Edward III in the early years of the Hun-

dred Years' War, and in the later years of that struggle the tangled politics of the Burgundian alliance are also mingled with wool. Well might the poet Gower apostrophise his country's commodity:

O wool, O noble dame, you are the goddess of merchants and to serve you all are ready. You make some to mount the height of riches and fortune, others to fall to ruin. O wool, Christians and pagans and Saracens alike seek to have you and confess you. . . . O beautiful, O white, O delightful one, the love of you stings and binds, so that the hearts of those who make merchandise of you cannot escape you. Many a scheme they hatch, many a trap they lay to catch you. They make you cross the sea, queen of their ships, and envy and covetousness hie them to bargain for you and to have you.



Built in 1399, the House of the Genoese in the Rue Flamand is a well preserved monument of the importance of Bruges in the medieval commercial world.



Improvement of navigation in the fourteenth century led to a greatly increased use of the sea as a trade route between the Mediterranean countries and Flanders, and a growth in the already great importance of Bruges as an international market. The existing sixteenth-century Halles (top left) incorporate remains of the earlier Market Hall contemporary with the thirteenth-fourteenth-century Belfry. The Porte d'Ostende (bottom) is one of its several fortified gates.

ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS OF THE GOLDEN AGE OF BRUGES

Photos, Donald McLeish and E.N.A.

In order to control this important trade, it was the policy of the English crown in the later Middle Ages to fix a certain town or towns as a 'staple' through which all the wool exported from the country must pass, and from the middle of the fourteenth century this staple town was usually Calais. To Calais went all the English wool, with the exception of the inferior wools of the northern counties, which the merchants of Newcastle were allowed to take straight to the Netherlands, and the wool which Italians exported from Southampton in their galleys and carracks by sea to Italy. The great mass of the trade, however, went through the staple and was in the hands of a powerful company of traders known as the Fellowship of the Staple, who, with depots in England and Calais, managed the whole business, from the collection of the wool from wool growers or wool dealers in England to its sale to the various foreign merchants who journeyed to seek it in Calais.

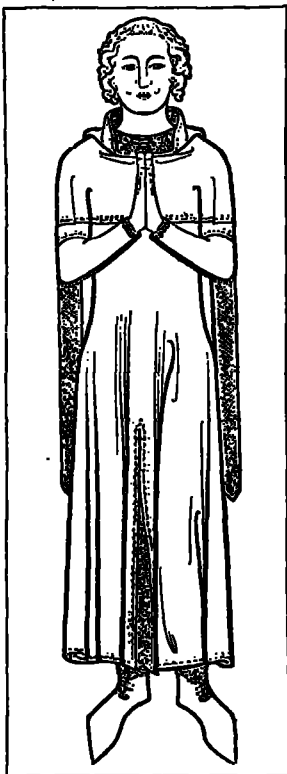
By degrees, however, another English export began slowly to catch up and then to outstrip the export of wool. One of the most remarkable phenomena in English history during the later Middle Ages is the rapid rise of the English cloth manufacture. From the middle of the fourteenth century English fine cloth began to rival the hitherto unrivalled fine cloth of the Netherlands. All English readers will remember Chaucer's Wife of Bath :

Of clooth making she hadde swiche an haunt,
She passed hem of Ypres and of Gaunt.

During the fifteenth century the export of cloth was in the hands of another great company of traders known as the Merchant Adventurers, who slowly began to make

their way all over northern Europe with their bales of cloth. They were disliked by the Staplers, to whose interest it was that raw wool should be taken abroad and not made up into cloth at home, and they

were also disliked by the Hansards, with whom they began to compete in the Baltic and in Prussia, markets where hitherto the Hansa League had had no rival. Still more were they hated by the cloth makers of the Netherlands, who saw their livelihood being slowly drained away. By the end of the fifteenth century the Flemish cloth industry was moribund. Worst of all, Bruges, the great international port, the 'Venice of the North,' was in a decline from which nothing could save her. For the Hansards, who had been one of her mainstays, were a decaying power, and the rising power of the Merchant Adventurers had fixed its depot at Antwerp, a town whose free-trade policy gradually attracted to it all the merchants who had once swarmed to Bruges. The silting up of the Zwyn only completed a process begun by the natural movement of commerce. Antwerp was the money market and commercial centre of Europe in the sixteenth century and Bruges was



A MERCHANT OF LYNN

This figure of Robert Braunch, the merchant mayor of Lynn who entertained Edward III to dinner, is taken from his brass (dated 1364) in St. Margaret's Church, Lynn.

already sinking into the sleepy little town, dreaming of its past, that we know to-day.

So far we have been considering a purely European commerce. When we turn to consider the Italian merchants, who together with the Hansards and the English were the mainstay of Bruges at its height and dealt in the richest, if not the most important, trade of the Middle Ages, it is essential to consider also the commerce of Asia

For the main function of the merchants of Venice and Genoa and Pisa was to act as intermediaries between Europe and Asia ; and the main importance of the Mediterranean Sea lay less in the produce of the lands which surrounded it than in the fact that it was the outlet into which poured all the trade of the hidden East. For if European commerce was active during the Middle Ages, it was far surpassed by the commercial activity of China, India and the Moslem Near East, lands which at the beginning of the thirteenth century were hardly so much as a legend to the Europeans, who received their priceless commodities only at the Levantine and Black Sea ports and were rigidly restricted to this terminus trade.

But to gain a true historical perspective, it is necessary to understand something of the nature and extent of this oriental commerce which was going on behind the veil which separated Europe from the East. The great ports of China and India equalled and sometimes outshone the



WHEN CALAIS WAS A STAPLE TOWN

In the reign of Richard II Calais was established as the sole base on the Continent for the English export trade in wool. The Fellowship, or Merchants of the Staple, collected all the wool in England from the wool growers and wool dealers and consigned to Calais the supplies destined for foreign merchants.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Aug. 1. vi 70

famous trading cities of the West ; and their splendour and activity were considerably older. During the brief Tatar period, when Europeans visited the empire of the Great Khan in person, nothing struck them more than its busy trade and multifarious shipping. The good friar Oderic of Pordenone, telling of the marvels of Cynkalon (Canton), remarks : ' 'Tis a city as big as three Venices, . . . and this city hath shipping so great and vast in amount that to some it would seem well-nigh incredible. Indeed all Italy hath not the amount of craft that this one city hath ' ; and elsewhere he adds, ' indeed it is something hard to believe when you hear of, or even when you see, the vast scale of the shipping in these parts.' Even when allowance has been made for medieval hyperbole, the impression remains of something which had dazzled even an Italian, familiar with the great marts of Venice and Genoa.

Moslem travellers had the same tale to tell. Ibn Batuta, a traveller who is to the Moslem what Marco Polo is to the Christian world, remarks of Zaiton : ' The harbour is one of the greatest in the world



SOUTHAMPTON'S ANCIENT WOOL HOUSE

Southampton was excepted from the rigid staple regulation which required shippers to give security to deliver wool only at Calais ; for Italian merchants were allowed to carry wool from Southampton in their own vessels to Italy by sea. The fourteenth century wool house is still standing in Bugle Street.

Photo, Professor F. Clarke

—I am wrong, it is *the* greatest. I have seen there about a hundred first-class junks together; as for the small ones, they were past counting.' Both he and Marco Polo have left admirable descriptions of the great junks which put out from these ports, and were capable of holding some seven hundred men together with the sailors and passengers.

The long sea road followed by these junks in their westward journey was much the same as that followed by a liner sailing home from China to the Suez Canal to-day. Starting from Cynkalon (Canton), Zaiton (Tsuenchow), Kinsai (Hangchow), or some other port on the Chinese coast, and laden with magnificent silks and porcelain, ginger and rhubarb and Tibetan musk, they put in to Indo-China to take on board the ebony and precious woods of those parts and called at Java or Sumatra to collect the pepper, cloves and spices of the Archipelago. Thence they sailed to Ceylon, or to one of the great ports of Malabar or Travancore, usually Quilon or Calicut, where they met Indian traders and also Arab merchantmen, coming laden with the goods of Europe and the Near East to exchange for those of China and India.

The Arabs were great traders and had been so from the earliest times; but with their political advance under the banner of Islam trade had followed the flag. Their merchants had penetrated all over the Near East and were seen in the ports of India, Ceylon and China. They had pushed their way into central Asia. They had sailed across the Black Sea and up the Volga into the heart of Russia and there had met the Norse traders coming down the river. They had exploited the north and east coasts of Africa and, until the crusaders had partially curtailed

their activities, they had dominated the western Mediterranean from their seat in Spain and the islands. They, and the other Near Eastern races which acknowledged Mahomet, continued throughout the Middle Ages to act as middlemen between Asia and Europe.

Southern India, where the Chinese junks now met them (though often enough they took their own ships to China), was the half-way house for the traffic coming in both directions, as well as the great mart for Indian produce, and it impressed travellers who saw it for the first time almost as much as the empire of the Great Khan. Here the junks put off their cargo and took aboard cats'-eyes from Ceylon, pearls from the Persian gulf, diamonds from Golconda, pepper from Malabar, and those famous Telugu muslins, of which Marco Polo said, 'in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web; there is no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them,' and so sailed back to China. But the Arab and Indian ships took aboard Chinese and Indian goods and set sail with them for the West.

From India these goods reached Europe by one of two main routes. The oldest went by Persia and Syria. The ships sailed up the Persian gulf to Basra, or (under the Tatar regime) unladed at Ormuz at its mouth. Thence they went by caravan to the various marts of that rich district and above all to Bagdad, which, until the fall of the Abbasid Khalifate before the Tatars, was the greatest entrepôt of the Near East, its bazaars heaped with all the wealth of Asia and its caravans setting off every week for Trebizond and Damascus, Basra and Samarkand. The Gulistan of Sadi in 1258 speaks of a rich merchant of Keich who says that he is going to take

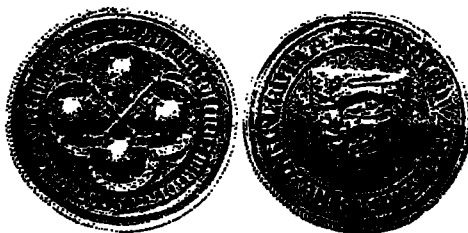


A STAPLER OF CALAIS

His brass records that John Field, who died in 1474, was 'sometyme alderman of London, a merchant of the Stapull of Caley's.' As such he was of the aristocracy of commerce.

the sulphur of Persia to China, after which he will send Chinese porcelain to Greece, Greek brocades to India, Indian steel to Aleppo, Aleppo glass to Yemen and Yemen stuffs to Persia; so international was the trade of Persian merchants. From Bagdad goods destined for the West were carried to Aleppo and Damascus and thence to Antioch, Tyre or some other Syrian port, or else to Trebizond, an independent Greek city on the shore of the Black Sea; and it was at these ports that the Venetian and Genoese ships awaited them.

The other route taken by goods going from India to Europe was by way of Egypt. From Calicut the Indian and Arab ships sailed across to Aden, which was the terminus for the Indian merchantmen. The goods were transhipped here and sailed up the Red Sea to Aidab or Berenice in Upper Egypt. There they were landed and went by caravan across the desert to the Nile and then by boat to Rosetta and Damietta at its two mouths, or by canal and road to Alexandria, which was the great mart of Egypt. Alexandria had been a city of the first importance ever since ancient times and



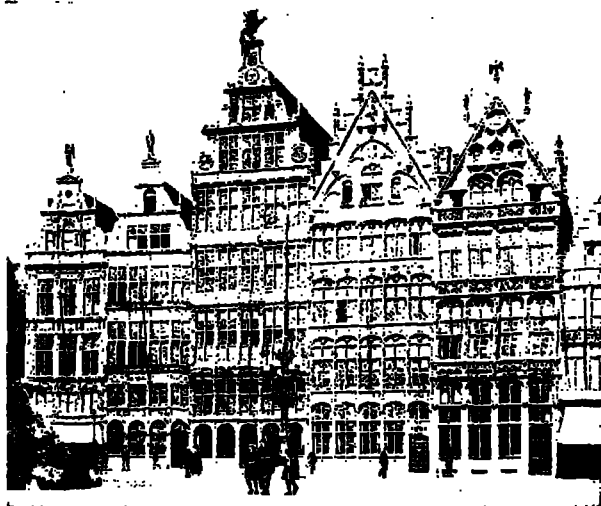
SEALS ILLUSTRATING ENGLISH TRADE

Here, left, is the seal of the Mayoralty of the Staple of Westminster, dated 1393 (note the four woolpacks), and, right, the seal for the customs on wool and hides at King's Lynn in the reign of Edward I.

British Museum

from the time of the Crusades most of the Mediterranean peoples visited it regularly, in spite of the ban on trade and alliance with the Moslems. A twelfth-century Jewish traveller says that he saw there the merchants of twenty-eight countries and towns, including many from Europe, and there was a proverb that you could buy everything at Alexandria except snow. In the later Middle Ages both the Venetians and the Genoese sent an annual fleet there to collect the Eastern trade, and the trade of Africa itself.

In this way goods coming from the farthest ends of the earth reached Europe at last by the long sea route, with its two land vestibules, Persia and Egypt. But there was also a third route, which in time of peace was quicker and more convenient for the trade of northern China and much of the trade of northern India, too, and that was the great land route which ran right across central Asia, one of the oldest and most romantic caravan roads in the world. Along this road every year came thousands of camels bearing the marvellous silks of China to the West. From China there were three main caravan roads, all of which came at last to the great cities of Samarkand and Bokhara, where all the trade routes of Asia converged. There the silk caravans from China met the caravans



ANTWERP'S PALATIAL GUILD HOUSES

Antwerp's Golden Age of commercial prosperity began at the end of the 15th century, when the Merchant Adventurers made that port their headquarters. In the 16th century, when the Guild Houses in the Grand Place were built, six nations were represented in Antwerp and 1,000 foreign merchants resided there.

Photo, Donald McLeish

coming up from India and Afghanistan by the Khyber Pass, or by Kandahar, Kabul and Balkh, and there, too, they met, coming along the great road from the west, merchants and pilgrims from Bagdad and Trebizond, who were making 'the golden journey to Samarkand,' for soul's or purse's sake.

Just as on the long sea route southern India was the entrepôt for the lands to east and west of it, so on the long land route the entrepôt was this fertile district of Bactria and Sogdiana, which Alexander the Great was perhaps the first European to see. Full of famous cities, it could not help but flourish, for geography had made

it the natural meeting place where China, India and the Hellenised or Moslem East exchanged their goods, their ideas, their religion and their art. From it the roads to the West ran south of the Caspian and so either to Bagdad and the Syrian ports, or to Tabriz and Trebizond, or north of the Caspian to the Volga, where some of the trade went down the river to Astrachan, some up it to Moscow, and some on to Tana (Azov) and the Crimea, where Italian merchants had their depots and Italian ships awaited it.

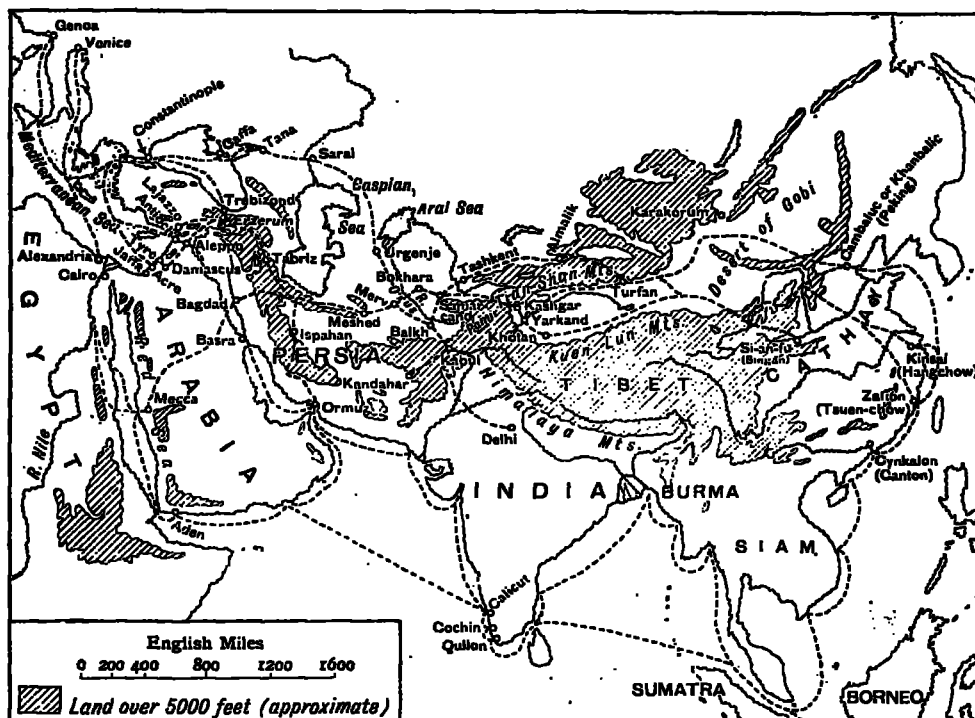
These, then, were the three routes, by Persia, by Egypt or across Asia, by which the trade of the East reached Europe in



A CONTINENTAL SEAPORT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The seaports of Europe were crowded with merchant ships loading and unloading their cargoes in the later Middle Ages, for trade was extremely active. This illustration, from a French manuscript executed towards the end of the fifteenth century, presents with some realism the animation at a continental seaport in that age. The artist intended to depict an Eastern scene, but in the background he set a walled European town such as he had often seen with his own eyes.

British Museum, Egerton MS. 1063



TRADE ROUTES BY LAND AND SEA FROM THE FAR EAST

Ships from Peking followed the coast of China, Siam and India as far as Calicut. Thence one route went to Ormuz, where all goods were unladed and sent overland to Bagdad, Damascus and the Syrian coast; the other went to Aden, where goods were transhipped and taken up the Red Sea to Upper Egypt and thence to Alexandria. The third great trade route was overland, across the desert of Gobi to Samarkand, where all the trade routes of Asia linked up with the main road to the West.

the Middle Ages. It must, however, be observed that throughout medieval times, with the exception of a period lasting for about a century (c. 1245 to c. 1345) at the height of the Tatar power, European merchants were never in direct contact with the East. Their ships waited at Alexandria, Aleppo, Antioch, Tyre or Trebizond for the goods which came there, but they received those goods from Moslem middlemen, who sternly closed the trade routes to Christian merchants. They did not know whence the silks and spices came, where the weary camels had first received their loads, who had laden the Nile boats far up that mysterious river. In the vivid phrase of R. H.

Tawney, 'tapping the wealth of the east by way of the narrow apertures in the Levant it [medieval Europe] resembled,



ENTREPÔT FOR AFRICA AND THE EAST

In the Middle Ages Alexandria enjoyed great commercial prosperity. It was at once the mart of Egypt and one of the Mediterranean ports to which merchandise was consigned from the East, there to be collected by fleets from Venice and Genoa. This wood engraving was produced in the sixteenth century.

From an engraving of 1568



LANDING OF THE POLOS AT ORMUZ ON THEIR RETURN FROM CHINA

Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, was the terminus of one of the two ocean routes to Europe from the Far East (see map in preceding page), the other being Aden. It was at Ormuz that the Polos landed about 1294 on their return from the court of Kublai Khan, an incident depicted in this illustration from a fifteenth-century manuscript of Marco Polo's *Livre des Merveilles*. Thence they proceeded overland to Persia and by way of Tabriz, Trebizond and Constantinople to Venice.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. fr. 2810

in the rigidity of the limits imposed on its commercial strategy, a giant fed through the chinks of a wall.'

This remained strictly true until the middle of the thirteenth century, when for a moment the chinks widened and became doors, through which the merchants and explorers of Europe passed. This sudden change was due to the Tatar conquests, which brought the whole of Asia, from the Yellow River to the Danube and from the south of Russia to the Persian Gulf, under one rule. The Tatars, barbarous as they were in the act of conquest, showed themselves in many ways enlightened rulers, when they settled down in their four great khanates, and one of their chief merits was the protection which they accorded to trade and the welcome which they extended to European merchants. It has been remarked with truth by a French historian that 'the unification of Asia by the Mongols was as important a fact for the commerce of the Middle Ages as the discovery of America was for the men of the Renaissance: it was the discovery of Asia'; and for the first time two of the

three chief roads to the East were thrown open to Europeans.

The Egyptian road, it is true, remained in Moslem hands, but since, unlike the Mameluke sultans of Egypt, the ilkhans of Persia did not impose heavy tolls on trade, but policed the roads and allowed traders to move freely along them, it is small wonder that the Persian for a time ousted the Egyptian route. Soon European merchants, landing at Trebizond or at Lajazzo on the Gulf of Alexandretta (where Marco Polo began his famous journey) made their way to the great marts of Persia and in their wake came missionaries, mostly Franciscan friars, who founded several houses there. They took ship, too, at Ormuz and sailed to India, and by 1320 the Genoese had established trading stations on the Gujarat and Malabar coasts and a Christian bishopric had been founded at Quilon. From India, too, merchants and missionaries could now board the great junks for China; two houses of Franciscans were founded in the Chinese port of Zaiton, and the friars there kept a lodging house for the use of Genoese merchants.

It was the same with the great trans-Asiatic land route, along which Marco Polo and many another European traveller now passed. Soon there were Christian churches and a Christian archbishop in Peking and mission houses at all the main stations along the caravan road. During this period the most important branch line to the West was that which ran north of the Caspian to the Sea of Azov. In 1266 the Mongol khan of Kipchak authorised the Genoese to establish a colony at Caffa (Kaffa) in the Crimea; the Venetians had one at Soldaia, while later both had establishments at Tana too. The district grew steadily in importance as a mart both for the Russian trade in furs and foodstuffs and for the Eastern caravan trade, and here and in Trebizond the Genoese played the most important part, although the Venetians were not far behind. When in 1343 the Kipchak khan quarrelled with the Italians, seized Tana and laid siege to Caffa, there was a dearth of corn and foodstuffs all through the Byzantine Empire, and the price of silks and spices doubled in Italy. Caffa was brought even more disastrously to the notice of the West in 1348, for it was here that the Black Death first appeared in Europe, a deadly merchandise brought from the East by the traders and carried to Italy in a ship from Caffa laden with their goods.

It was during this Tatar period that Marco Polo and other famous travellers made their way to the East and have left

us excellent descriptions of Eastern trade of Persia, India and in Tatar Times China. The bulk of the trade, however, was still carried by oriental middlemen and the Eastern trade routes were open to Western merchants only for a comparatively short period. By the end of the fourteenth century a variety of circumstances had combined to close them again. In China the Tatar regime fell before the native dynasty of the Mings, and in Persia, too, the Tatar rulers had first been converted to Islam and then fallen. Central Asia had become definitely Moslem and anti-Christian, and the disturbance into which it was thrown by the conquests of Timur and the anarchy after his death, followed by the advance of the Ottoman

Turks, all made it plain that Europeans could no longer hope for direct access to the East by the Persian or trans-Asiatic roads. The Egyptian route recovered its old importance, and the Europeans were driven back to the termini, especially to Alexandria.

It will be seen from this brief account of the oriental trade that its nature, and the monopoly which their situation in the Mediterranean allowed

them to establish over it, explain the important part played by the Italian cities in medieval trade. Though the cities of Catalonia and the south of France took some share in it, that share was infinitesimal compared with the trade of Venice, Genoa, Pisa and, to a less extent, Florence. Of these cities Venice was the queen, and Creighton has well observed of her policy and organization that 'the state of Venice was a joint stock company for the exploitation of the East.' By the fourteenth century she was sending out three fleets annually, to the Black Sea, to Beyrout and to Alexandria, to collect the merchandise coming from the East. She distributed it to Europe, either overland by the St. Gothard and Brenner Passes, or by sea in her famous fleet of 'Flanders galleys.' In the overland trade, however, a considerable share was taken by Nuremberg and other great South German cities, whose merchants had a settlement, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (see page 3043), in Venice, where they traded under the strictest supervision and many restrictions.

The great rival of Venice was Genoa, whose most important trade was in the Black Sea; the Genoese were so active in Asia Minor that to this day the Turks are wont to attribute to them any old stone building of which the origin is unknown, and their business in the Crimea was so extensive that they had a special department of government called the *Officium Gazarie*, or Crimean Office, to deal with it. They too distributed goods to Europe across the Alpine passes or by sea through the Strait of Gibraltar, but they were weakened by a long struggle with the Venetians and never regained their strength after their defeat in the war of Chioggia, 1378-81 (see page 3034).

Another active trading city was Pisa, but her most important trade was with Africa, and she had a special quarter at Tunis, where Pisan gentlemen used sometimes to send their sons to Arab schools to be educated. Pisan trade, however, declined after a disastrous defeat by the Genoese fleet in 1284, and was finally ousted by that of Florence. The economic importance of this city before the fifteenth century rested partly on her cloth industry and partly on her banking business. She was long weak at sea, having neither fleet nor port of her own, and until the end of the fourteenth century most of her carrying trade was done by Pisa. But the two cities were on bad terms throughout that century and in 1407 Florence besieged and took Pisa and got direct access to the sea. She then persuaded Genoa to sell her the port of Leghorn and took the place of Pisa all over the Levant, becoming the leading power in the North African trade and the chief rival of Venice. Her ships were now a familiar sight in Southampton and Bruges.

All these Italian cities were bitter rivals and, unlike the North German cities, which found strength by uniting, they never

ceased fighting. Their quarrels, first with Constantinople and then with each other, had a fatal result, for by a just and terrible Nemesis they thereby prepared the way for their own downfall, by weakening their power to stand out against the Turks. It was largely owing to these internecine struggles that Constantinople was weakened and finally fell in 1453 and that Venice was unable to put up a more successful resistance. She had destroyed the Genoese fleet, which might have helped her, and the Genoese and Florentines had destroyed that of Pisa.

Moreover, the monopolistic policy of Venice led to a further result. The desire of the newly active powers of the north and west of Europe for a share in the Eastern trade could not for ever be thwarted by the Venetian stranglehold on Alexandria; ever since the beginning of the century Portuguese sailors had been feeling their way down the western coast of Africa. It is difficult to say which was the greater impetus to the discovery of new trade routes, the advance of the Turks or the monopoly of Venice. But, at all events, once Vasco da Gama's route round the Cape of Good Hope was found,



FLORENTINE GOLDSMITHS' SHOPS UPON THE PONTE VECCHIO

Before the fifteenth century Florence owed her commercial prosperity to her cloth industry and her banking business. The Ponte Vecchio over the Arno was built in 1462 and the shops upon the bridge have belonged ever since to the goldsmiths, then one of the wealthiest guilds. In 1407 Florence took Pisa and bought Leghorn, and, having thus secured access to the sea, engaged actively in the maritime trade in the Mediterranean and the Levant, becoming a serious rival to Venice.

Photo, Donald McLeish



A MASTER GOLDSMITH AND HIS WIFE IN MEDIEVAL GHENT

Much detail of the goldsmiths' craft in Ghent is contained in this miniature painting by Alexander Bennink, dating from about 1480. In show-cases at the back of the shop choice specimens of plate are displayed, and below these can be distinguished necklaces, pendants and other trinkets. Rings and gems being submitted for the customers' inspection by the goldsmith and his wife are laid on white cloths on the counter. One would say that a monkey was an unsuitable pet in a jewel shop.

Victoria and Albert Museum

the doom of the Italian cities was sounded, for then, for the first time in history, the Mediterranean ceased to be the commercial centre of the Western world and the outlet of the chief trade routes between Europe and the East. The giant would be fed through cracks no longer; he had found the back door to India and China.

If commerce was thus steadily advancing and enriching all who took part in it during the last four centuries of the Middle Ages, so also was industry, the second of the two pillars upon which the town civilization rested. In the economic history of the European towns mercantile capital preceded industrial capital and mercantile societies showed the way to industrial societies; but industry grew steadily in importance, not merely the 'small' industry which served a town market, but the 'great' industry, which provided international trade with some of its most important products, with Cordovan leather work, the copper goods

of Dinant, Flemish and English cloth, French linen and Italian silk.

The methods which were gradually evolved to organize this industry form an interesting study, but it is important to observe the distinction which existed, then as now, between the small industry working for a local market and the great industry working for export, and to observe also the steady expansion of the latter at the expense of the former, as trade increased and markets widened. The small industry was always more or less democratic in organization and carried on by small master craftsmen, who were at once makers and sellers of the commodity in which they dealt and who enjoyed considerable economic independence. The great industry was highly capitalistic, because it was organizing production on a large scale, sometimes getting its raw material from a distance or by means of operations which demanded an expensive plant (as in the case of the

cloth and metallurgical industries respectively), and always distributing its goods to distant markets; so that the whole industry tended to fall into dependence upon the dealer who collected the raw material, or the merchant who organized the distribution of the finished article, or the big entrepreneur who undertook both functions at once.

With every increase in the size of the market, even within the radius of the growing towns, and still more when export trade was concerned, the organization of the industries affected became steadily less democratic and more oligarchic and a widening gulf appeared between the capitalist entrepreneur and the wage-earning worker.

The most widespread form of industrial organization in the Middle Ages was the 'craft.' Craft guilds appeared somewhat

later than the merchant guilds, which arose in most towns in the twelfth century and which were associations to promote and regulate the trading activities of the town, more particularly the privilege of buying and selling retail and free of toll which belonged to its members. At first these merchant guilds included industrial workers as well as traders, for the distinction between the two was not as yet clearly marked; all were buyers and sellers, 'mercatores.' But as both trade and industry developed there grew up considerable differences in wealth and importance among the burgesses, and a marked distinction appeared between a class of rich bourgeois, whose wealth was based upon the possession of landed property and the occupation of trade or large-scale industry, and the small craftsmen and retailers of the town.



LAVENHAM'S BEAUTIFUL TIMBER-FRAMED GUILDHALL

England has not a few surviving examples of medieval guildhalls, but this one at Lavenham in Suffolk is notable as being perhaps the finest old timber-framed building in the country. It was originally the hall of one of the guilds—that of Corpus Christi—and is a memorial of Lavenham's importance in the fifteenth century as a centre of the cloth trade. The contemporary Wool Hall is also still standing at Lavenham, together with a number of other medieval buildings.

Photo. Edgar and Winifred Ward

In all cities of any importance there appeared this distinction between 'majores' and 'minores,' great and small folk. The 'majores' formed a patriciate which dominated town life during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Proud and luxurious in their social life, it was they who organized most of the important merchant guilds, hansas and fraternities, and by degrees they squeezed out retailers and artisans. After the end of the twelfth century the guilds of the Flemish towns were corporations of big merchants and industrialists engaged in wholesale business, demanding high entrance fees and deliberately excluding 'shopkeepers weighing at the public weighing machine' and artisans, contemptuously termed 'blue nails.' The patricians also monopolised the town governments and excluded the 'minores,' either tacitly or openly.

They were in many ways an intelligent oligarchy, upholding municipal autonomy against all outside powers, devising a machinery of government and caring passionately for the beauty of their cities. But their rigid regulation of industry became a burden, when the regulators were not artisans themselves but merchants whose interests were

First beginning of trade friction often directly opposed to those of the craftsmen and who would allow the craftsmen no share in the government. The result was that in almost all the large continental towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there took place a violent struggle between the merchant guilds and the craft guilds, which the artisans had begun to organize among themselves, and this widespread civic faction ended in many towns in the defeat of the patricians and the establishment of the control of the crafts over municipal government. This struggle, however, belongs to the history of big industrial and commercial towns, in whose economic affairs capital had begun to play a great part. In many little towns a single guild merchant continued to suffice for the organization of industry and trade; in many more, craft guilds grew up as specialised bodies, which gradually and without a struggle superseded the functions of the guild merchant, and remained under

the control of the town government. There was an infinite variety of development, dictated by the size of the market.

In the majority of towns of any size, from the thirteenth century onwards, the workers in the different industries were organized in separate crafts. The craft guild, in its ideal, was intended to serve a small and perfectly stable market, the market of the town; and its organization rarely survived unimpaired any extension of that market, either by a considerable growth in the size of the town or by the necessity of serving an export trade. The ideal was based upon a number of conceptions which are unfamiliar to-day.

To begin with, production and distribution were in the same hands. The work was done in numerous small workshops, the masters of which both made and sold the commodities in which they dealt, either buying their own raw material or making up that of the customer; middleman there was none. Again, capital and labour, to-day so clearly separated, were merged in the person of the master craftsman. There were three classes of workers in the craft, apprentices, journeymen and masters, and through these grades all members had to pass, except in some cases (for instance in certain English guilds) when the journeyman stage was omitted.

Apprenticeship, which lasted for terms varying in different crafts, but usually for about seven years, comprised not merely a thorough technical training but a social training in manners and morals, and occasionally, in the superior grade of crafts, a training in letters. The master provided his apprentice with bed, board and instruction in his own house, chastising him if he misbehaved, and the apprentice had to promise obedience and fidelity to his master, to abjure thieving, adultery and the frequenting of taverns, and to be ready to do menial offices about the house as well as in the workshop. Normally, he would be treated as a member of his master's family.

The journeyman was an apprentice who had completed his training. He was expected to serve with a master for two or three years at a wage, so as to acquire



THE CRAFT GUILD EXAMINATION

Craft guilds consisted of masters, journeymen and apprentices. Before a man could set up as a master he had to satisfy his guild wardens of his efficiency—as a freemason and a carpenter are here shown doing.

British Museum, Royal MS. 15, E. 11

experience and a little capital before setting up on his own account; on the Continent he often had a 'wander year,' hiring himself out in different cities to see the world and learn what it had to teach him. Finally, he was formally admitted into the craft as a master, on payment of a fee and often on presentation of a 'masterpiece' to prove his efficiency, and was eligible to set up his own workshop, take apprentices and journeymen and be elected to all the offices of the craft.

The essence of the system was the ease with which a boy could move from one stage to the next, by an almost automatic process. There was no difference in social status between masters, apprentices and journeymen. G. K. Chesterton has aptly pointed out that they were like the corresponding degrees in a university, grades through which all could pass. 'They were not social classes, they were degrees and not castes. That is the whole

point about the apprentice marrying his master's daughter. The master would not be surprised at such a thing; any more than an M.A. would swell with aristocratic indignation when his daughter married a B.A.'

The craft in its ideal existed to safeguard the interests of both producers and consumers. It protected the consumer by endeavouring to secure a sound standard of workmanship, not only by the system of apprenticeship, which ensured a thorough training, but also by a detailed collection of regulations in every craft, designed to standardise the quality of wares and the conditions of sale. There were regulations against every kind of fraud, the use of inferior materials and variations in the size and quality of goods, regulations against night work (not because it was bad for the worker but because 'no man can work so neatly by night as by day') and ordering all work to be done openly in the workshops where it could be inspected, regulations against displaying goods by candlelight, or using other than standard weights and measures. These regulations were there because they were needed, for, as has been well said, 'the medieval craftsman was a man of craft,' and by no means above making an illicit profit when he could.

The craft, however, had its warden and council to make such rules as were required and to have them passed by the town council, and its machinery for the detection of **Penalties for dishonest brethren.** Overseers were selected to inspect the workshops and present offending masters for punishment; for the first offence they were usually fined and the inferior goods confiscated; for the second they had to stand in the pillory; for the third they were sometimes expelled from the craft. The interest of the producer was more particularly served by a series of regulations which aimed at securing the monopoly of the town market for the members of the craft. There were strict regulations against strangers, although sometimes a craftsman from another town might be allowed to purchase entry into a craft, and in some towns there were rules to prevent

the secret of certain processes from being divulged to foreigners. The essence of medieval industry was monopoly.

The crafts also had regulations to promote equality of opportunity among masters. The cornering of raw material and of labour was forbidden; there were rules against enticing away another man's customer or apprentice and rules that all alike should cease working on holidays. Prices were also regulated by the craft, with the object of securing a 'just price,' based on the cost of raw materials, together with a fair profit which would enable the masters to live decently in their station. The idea of competition was alien to the ideal, though in practice, as we shall see, the medieval world was as familiar with competition as it was with labour struggles.

Every craft undertook also a responsibility for the social and religious welfare of its members. It was a fraternity as well as a craft and had charitable and convivial as well as economic functions. There were regulations for mutual assistance,

and for arbitration in disputes between craftsmen, so as to obviate lawsuits.

Help was provided for poor brethren in sickness or distress, pensions for their widows, dowries for their daughters, schooling for their sons; and on the death of a member all his brethren attended his funeral. Some guilds founded grammar schools, almshouses and hospitals. Each craft usually had its patron saint and kept candles burning on his altar, and on great occasions the craftsmen, dressed in their liveries, would march in procession through the town with music and banners.

Medieval town chronicles abound in descriptions of these guild processions, as brilliantly coloured as pre-Raphaelite paintings, coronation processions in London, processions on the election of a doge in Venice, 'joyous entries' at Bruges. On Corpus Christi Day, in some countries, the guilds used to organize the performance of mystery plays, which were borne round the town on carts and played at different stations, each craft being responsible for one, so that between them the whole of Biblical history from the Creation to the triumph of Christ in heaven was

represented. Cycles of mystery plays for four English towns have survived, and they undoubtedly played an important part in the evolution of the drama.

Every age in history has a right to be judged by its ideals as well as by its practice, and the ideal of the craft guild is one which has attracted many modern thinkers, from William Morris to the guild socialists. It must, however, be observed that it was neither so widespread nor so democratic in its working as has sometimes been supposed. There never was a period in medieval history in which guilds flourished everywhere and controlled the whole of industry. They appeared early in large towns; but in others, where a body of specialised industries was slow to develop, they grew up much later, and in others there never were specialised groups of sufficient size to support a craft organization; while the whole mass of country workers was outside the system. Moreover, we know of important towns, such as Cambridge and Lyons, where one would certainly have expected to find crafts, but where this organization never appeared. Even in occupations which were so organized it seems clear that there existed in most towns workers who did not go through a formal apprenticeship, but yet worked as 'servants' in the workshops and supplemented the labour of the journeymen, and others who took work home and delivered it to the masters when completed, a system of out-work which was destined to grow rapidly. There was a long struggle in France between these independent workers ('chambrelans') and the crafts.

Moreover, the craft guilds of the great towns were by no means all of the simple and democratic type described above. They differed greatly in character, owing in part to the complicated nature of certain finished articles, which forced a number of guilds to collaborate in their manufacture, and in part to the early appearance of capitalism in the more important industries. The ideal craft guild depended for success upon a small, stable market and an approximate equality of wealth among masters. It was, indeed, unsuited to any

other conditions and quite incapable of dealing with an export trade. But these conditions were breaking down as early as the thirteenth century in those towns and industries in which work was being done for an international market, or even for an exceptionally large town or district market. The result was a growing divergence of wealth between craft and craft and between master and master, which inevitably brought about a change in the two chief characteristics of the ideal guild system. Production and distribution were separated, the artisan was ousted from trade, the market created the middleman, and the identity of interests, and indeed of personnel, between capital and labour was broken by the growth of a permanent wage-earning class.

A marked difference in organization between crafts is already apparent in the thirteenth century.

Different types of organization There is a simple type, such as has been described as the ideal craft, a democratic institution, in which masters are equal and passage from grade to grade is easy. Associations of this type were always the most numerous in medieval towns, but they were by no means the most important, being found only in the small industry, working for a small market; and they were continually being disrupted from within. There is another and more complex type, which consists in a kind of union of guilds, made up of several trades grouped into a federation, in which each member has its own identity, officials and statutes, but is limited by its membership of a larger body. The famous 'arti' of Florence were formed in this way of several members; one art grouped together the doctors, apothecaries and haberdashers, and of these component parts the apothecaries had several subordinate members and the haberdashers were united with the saddlers. The result was a constant struggle for mastery and a tendency for the subordinate crafts to fall into the position of wage-earners employed by the superior crafts.

The process can be traced very clearly in London. Certain articles were the joint product of a number of crafts;

in making a saddle, for instance, the joiners provided the woodwork, the painters painted it, the lorimers did the metal work and the saddlers the leather work and general finishing. All these four crafts were separately organized at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but, since only one could sell the finished saddle, they could not all be in direct touch with the public. What happened was that the saddlers sold the saddle and the lorimers, painters and joiners were allowed to work only for members of the saddlers' company, so that in the latter the mercantile element was strong as compared with the handicraft element. This resulted in growing wealth on the part of the saddlers and a growing tendency to exploit the subordinate trades, which led to strikes.

Throughout the fourteenth century there can be traced in large towns a steady tendency for industrial crafts to fall into groups round an employer craft, which really ceased to be an association of handicraftsmen and became one of merchants and middlemen. In the end the result was almost always the same: the subordinate crafts were swallowed by the employing body, lost their separate organization and persisted only as subordinate associations of wage-earners. Such is the ancestry of the 'yeomanry' of the London livery companies in the sixteenth century.

Just as there was a differentiation in organization between simple and complex crafts, so there was a differentiation in their power and importance.

Graded Importance of the Guilds

In the large towns the guilds were by no means of equal importance; they were arranged in a sort of hierarchy, at the head of which stood the aristocratic crafts which required brain work rather than manual labour (such as university professors, judges, notaries, physicians), and the plutocratic crafts, dealing in the 'great' industry and in export trade (such as goldsmiths, bankers and money changers, cloth and silk manufacturers, haberdashers and dealers in furs and spices).

In every large city this separation can be seen. London had its twelve livery companies, standing head and shoulders

above the fifty lesser crafts and monopolising the city government; Paris had its six merchant corporations, forming an aristocracy of trade; Basel its 'herrenzünfte'; Florence its three-fold division into major, middle and minor arts. Their interests were in trade rather than in industry and the gulf between the large and the small industry led to that severe constitutional struggle already described, in which the small crafts set to work to drive the merchants and big industrialists out of the town governments.

Moreover, it was not only by drawing a gulf between guild and guild that the widening market and growing importance of capital played havoc with the democratic theory of craft organization. It also played havoc inside the guilds, by creating differences in wealth between master and master and between master and journeyman. The divergence between large and small masters appeared everywhere; in England it took the form of the development of a body of industrial capitalists among the masters, who controlled the craft from within and changed it from a democracy to an oligarchy. There gradually emerged two classes in the more important companies, an upper rank of freemen 'in the livery,' who alone had the right to wear the expensive livery of the craft, and a lower rank of freemen 'out of the livery,' who had no share in the government. The small masters were driven farther and farther down until they tended to approximate to the journeymen, working for wages for the big masters.

An even more notable development was the rapid spread of a permanent journeyman class and the rise of a large class of workers who had served no apprenticeship. The desire of the rich masters to amass capital and to monopolise the market caused them to adopt a more and more exclusive policy. They did all in their power to keep down the number of apprentices (so that some crafts became almost hereditary preserves) and to prevent journeymen from setting up as masters, by exacting extortionate fees and by limiting the number of masters who

might practise a craft. By degrees the typical craftsman became not a master, who united in his person the elements of capital and labour, but a wage-earner in the pay of an employer.

This increasing and fundamental divergence of interests between capital and labour had all the results with which we are familiar in a more intensified form to-day. It showed itself first in the big Strikes in the industries which worked Middle Ages for an international market, notably in the cloth manufacturing towns of Italy and the Netherlands, but it spread to all towns and industries which were of any size and importance. The most interesting phenomenon in the guild history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries all over Europe was, indeed, the journeyman problem, and everywhere a struggle raged between masters and men over wages, hours of labour and holidays. The strike was a weapon which medieval capitalists often had to meet. In 1350 the London master shearmen complain that

heretofore if there was any dispute between a master and his man, such man has been wont to go to all the men within the city of the said trade and then, by covin and conspiracy between them made, they would order that no one among them should work or serve his own master until the said master and his servant or man had come to an agreement, by reason whereof the masters in the said trade have been in great trouble and the people kept unserved.

Occasionally, on the Continent, the journeymen withdrew in a body from the town, as did the journeymen furriers of Cologne, to the accompaniment of drum and fife, in 1423. Nor did the journeymen confine themselves to striking; they also set to work to organize themselves into fraternities, which resembled modern trade unions in that, unlike the craft guilds (which were associations of masters), they were associations of wage-earners, and mainly concerned with keeping up wages.

This movement of association among wage-earners attained its greatest force on the Continent, where it was helped by the prevalent custom by which journeymen wandered about from town to town, hiring out their services, a practice which does



WORKING TAILORS OF LONG AGO

These quaint carvings, one depicting a man rolling a length of cloth and another a man cutting cloth, date from the fourteenth century. The English cloth industry was fully organized then, and these medallions, probably saved from some demolished church, may have been made for a local craft of tailors.

Archaeological Museum, Cambridge

not seem to have prevailed in England, except among masons. In France journeymen, or 'compagnons,' making the 'tour de France,' joined societies, each of which had special passwords, patronised special inns and had a careful organization for helping its wandering members at each town where they worked. These 'compagnonnages' are found in almost every important French city in the fifteenth century, and the movement had been well established as early as the thirteenth; in 1292 alliances of 'compagnons' against masters and masters against 'compagnons' had been forbidden at Reims.

But the movement was more vigorous still in the highly industrialised and rather overcrowded German cities, where the masters pursued a particularly active policy of limiting entries to the crafts. The continual passage of journeymen from city to city to find employment led to the foundation in many cities of strong associations known as 'gesellenverhände,' which were organized on the same lines as the masters' guilds, exercised strict control over their members and fought the masters on hours and wages. So powerful were these societies that the masters retaliated by forming unions of cities, or of certain crafts in a number of cities, to take common action and control the travelling workmen. In the fifteenth century industrial Germany fell into a number of zones, in each of which the cities were thus bound together. In North Germany such

unions are to be found among six important crafts in the cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Stettin and Sunde. In Prussia the master tailors had an organization embracing twenty-four cities, and when in 1423 the journeymen tailors formed a coalition to organize a strike at Mainz, that city formed a federation with twenty other Rhenish towns for twenty-eight years.

The masters did not always try to prevent the formation of journeymen's societies, but sometimes sought only to control them and to set up

arbitration courts for the adjustment of disputes between masters and men. Such courts were fairly common in Germany and show the strength of the journeyman movement there. In general, however, the masters managed to establish some sort of control over the journeymen's associations. In England these lost all independence and became absorbed as a subordinate yeomanry into the livery companies, and, although they were able to retain more power on the Continent, Europe had to wait for many centuries before an effective trade union movement grew up among the workers.

Thus the power of capital made itself felt with the widening market, in many towns and in many crafts. But it can be seen most actively at work in the cloth industry. Cloth was produced for export in many parts of Europe, but the international market was fed in particular from three cloth-producing areas, the Netherlands, the Italian cities (notably Florence) and (at a later date) England.

The basin of the Scheldt had been important as a cloth-making district from early times; its central position for trade, its proximity to the great wool-producing country, England, the density of its population and the geological quality of its soil all foredoomed it to make cloth. From the Scheldt valley the industry spread along the rivers, and from the

Capital in the
Cloth Industry

eleventh to the thirteenth centuries its main centre was in Artois and the south of Flanders, especially the towns of Arras, St. Omer and Douai. From the beginning of the fourteenth century it began to move north and concentrated especially in Ypres, Ghent and Bruges, spreading at the same time into Brabant. In the fifteenth century the Dutch manufacture also began to forge ahead.

In Florence the cloth manufacture was in the hands of two great guilds, the

Arte della Lana and the Calimala; the former was a cloth-making body and the latter a cloth-finishing body, which imported unfinished foreign cloth, dyed it and finished it, bringing this art to an unrivalled perfection. The members of the Arte della Lana were great entrepreneurs, who controlled the different branches of the industry, employed brokers to give out the raw material and collect the finished cloth, employed the workers in the different processes in different workshops, provided their tools and fixed their wages. For its own members it acted as a middleman, buying wool, alum and oil wholesale for distribution to them and owning warehouses and dyehouses; in the later Middle Ages it even had its own ships.

The Calimala employed an entirely different set of workers from the Arte della Lana, and no one was allowed to work for both. One of its most important operations being that of dyeing the unfinished cloth, it held the sole right of selling dyes, and so important a matter was the acquisition of dyes and alum to the state of Florence that it once went to war with Volterra for the possession of some alum pits. The Calimala had an extremely elaborate organization for collecting the unfinished and selling the finished cloth, and kept agents in all the chief cloth-buying and wool-selling countries of Europe. Its opportunities for making money were so great, and its network of foreign depots so wide, that it is not surprising that the earliest Florentine banking houses rose in connexion with it.

The cloth industry of both Flanders and Florence, however, declined towards the end of the Middle Ages, as a result of

internal disturbances, both political and industrial, and of the competition of the growing English cloth industry, which by 1500 was already supreme. The chief centres of this industry in the Middle Ages and for long afterwards were the west of England and East Anglia, with Yorkshire at some distance after them; and its main characteristic was (as we shall see) the growth of the rural at the expense of the urban cloth industry.

As it was organized in Florence and Flanders in the thirteenth century and in England in the second part of the fourteenth, the cloth industry had nothing in common with the organization of simple crafts, carried on by master craftsmen in the framework of guilds for a town market. It had every characteristic (on a small scale) of the great industry as we know it to-day, alike in the extent of its operations,



WOMEN'S HOME INDUSTRIES

Carding, spinning and weaving were the staple home employment of women. The woman on the right here is using a 'stock card,' her companion in the centre two 'hand cards.' The lady above is weaving at a loom.

British Museum, Royal MS. 16, G.9.

the division of labour and the complete control exercised over wage-earning workers by big capitalist entrepreneurs.

The reasons for this early capitalistic development will have already been clear to the reader. They are three. First, in Italy and Flanders at least, the cloth manufacturer was working on imported raw material. In neither country was the use of native wool allowed for the best kinds of cloth; only English wool, supplemented by that of Spain and Portugal, which produced the next best quality, was allowed. Consequently the importation of wool came to be organized on a large scale by capitalistic dealers, who forced the craftsmen into dependence.

Secondly, the industry was producing for an international market, and the distribution of the cloth was as complicated a business as the provision of the wool and equally demanded capitalistic organization on a large scale; and again the craftsman was driven into dependence on the merchant draper who sold his cloth.

Thirdly, the cloth industry was a highly complicated one, involving a large number of different processes, first in the preparation of the wool by certain preliminary operations (washing, combing, oiling), then in the preparation of the yarn (carding, spinning and winding), and finally in the manufacture of the cloth itself (weaving, fulling, dyeing and finishing). The processes concerned with preparing the wool and spinning the yarn were often unorganized by-industries, carried on by women and children in their homes, but the three main operations of weaving, fulling and dyeing were early organized into crafts. There was, however, a tendency for one to act as employer of the others, and in time one or other of the crafts would emerge as the controlling organization, and by degrees the successful capitalist group within it would form a body of entrepreneurs, until

at last the whole industry would become dependent on a small group of men.

The result of this dependence of the cloth industry on big industrial entrepreneurs was most marked in Florence and in Flanders, but it was everywhere much the same. Wherever the cloth industry flourished on a large scale workers were to be found in complete dependence upon their masters, exploited, underpaid and sometimes living in great misery, constantly struggling, by strikes and other means, to obtain better wages, the right of association and some share in the town government.

It will be seen that the craft organization in this 'great industry' was being replaced by a sort of domestic or out-work system, by which employers gave out work to men working in their own homes. This form of industrial organization brought with it a universal tendency for industry to move out of the towns into the country districts. The early struggles of the town against the country industry were particularly violent in Flanders, where the artisans of the great cloth towns would sally forth and break the looms and dye vats of the villages near by and tear the cloth from their tenters. But in the end the country industry was too strong, because it fitted with the interests of the big entrepreneurs, who liked the complete freedom from guild or town control which they enjoyed outside the city walls. By the end of the Middle Ages the cloth industry in Flanders and England was mainly rural, and the typical figure was the big clothier, who set the countryside to work, sending his factors round with wool to the spinners, collecting their yarn and taking it to the dyers, fullers, weavers and finishers to be made into cloth and, finally, collecting the cloth and marketing it; and this out-work system prevailed in most of the larger export industries.



A DYEING VAT

In the Middle Ages dyeing was a close industry—the subject of many regulations. In this fifteenth-century miniature cloth is being put through the vat.

British Museum, Royal MS. 15, E.61

MEDIEVAL ARMS AND WARFARE

The Implements and Methods of War from
Norman times to the Introduction of Firearms

C. J. FFOULKES and Sir JOHN FORTESCUE

I. ARMS

By Charles J. ffoulkes F.S.A.

Curator of the Tower Armouries and the Imperial War Museum

FROM the earliest periods of civilization the contest between the maker of weapons and the maker of armour has continued without intermission up to the present day. Primitive man began by inventing crude weapons, but very soon turned his attention to the provision of defences against those weapons, and so this competition went on age after age, invariably to the advantage of the maker of armour. For whatever state of perfection was reached by the maker of sword, spear or firearm, the armourer invariably countered it with a satisfactory defence. The armour of the seventeenth century was always proof against early firearms, and it is within the bounds of possibility that armour could be produced for battleships which would be proof against the heaviest guns; but in both these cases the excellence of the defence becomes so insupportably heavy that it ceases to be of practical use.

The periods of defensive armour in England, after the Roman and Saxon periods, with which we are here not directly concerned, may be broadly divided as follows:

The Age of Mail from 1000 to about 1300.
The Age of Transition from Mail to Plate from 1300 to 1400.

The Age of Plate from 1400 to 1600.

The Decadence from 1600 to 1700.

Our most important guide for the armour of Norman times is to be found in the Bayeux Tapestry, which, although crude and almost childish in execution, gives certain valuable suggestions of the different types of defence worn by the Normans (see also page 2608). The helmet, which is conical, appears to have been made in two or four pieces joined vertically and set in a rim, on which was riveted a 'nasal,' or

protection for the nose. The body defences consisted very largely of padded fabric or leather garments, but there are suggestions of circular forms which may be intended to represent small applied plates or rings of metal; or they may have been the artist's attempt to reproduce the complicated texture of what is known as 'mail' (see pages 2607 and 2721).

This fabric of interlaced rings derives its name from the Latin 'macula,' from which we get the Italian 'maglia,' signifying a net, and thence 'mail.' It is probable that this defence originated in the East, continuing in use to the end of the sixteenth century; even at the present day it is used as a defence against assassination, and was tested in the war of 1914-18 for visors to protect the eyes from shrapnel.

The disadvantages of this fabric of mail are obvious. The whole weight of the hauberk, or shirt, was borne upon the shoulders, and the weight of the sleeves was such **Disadvantages of** that it must have been **Mail armour** extremely difficult to use the sword arm vigorously. In addition to this, it has been found by practical experience that the folds of the mail at the bend of the arm prevent the lower arm being used effectively. As the result of a blow from lance, sword or axe would have the effect of crushing the fabric of interlaced rings into the flesh and aggravating the wound considerably, it was found necessary to wear under the mail a thick quilted or padded garment, which still further hindered the fighting man.

The cost of such a defence as mail was considerable, and for many years even the most notable leaders seem to have preferred fabric or leather defences, with



The Norman conical helmet with 'nasal' is figured in the great seal of Henry II (above). Over the hauberk a surcoat was usually worn, and in the thirteenth century the great helm shown in the seal of Henry III (right) replaced the Norman casque.

From Hazell, 'Ancient Armour and Weapons'



The earliest English monumental brass shows Sir John D'Abernon (left), who died in 1277, equipped in mail from head to foot. The next brass (c. 1320) shows knee-cops, shin-guards and arm-pieces added to the mail of a de Bacon who still wears the round hood of chain mail. The brass of another D'Abernon (1327) shows the complete equipment of the period. The armour (right) of an unnamed knight at Laughton, c. 1400, is entirely of plate, save for the camail attached to the conical helmet.

GRADUAL TRANSITION FROM CHAIN MAIL TO PLATE ARMOUR

From Holmes, 'Manual of Monumental Brasses'

perhaps a heavy plate of metal to guard the heart and chest. Over the metal or other defence was generally worn a surcoat, which in the thirteenth century was long and frequently slit in front and behind to the waist for convenience on horseback. This surcoat served two purposes: it kept the rain and damp from the armour, and it was used for



EARLY GREAVES

Greaves first appeared in the thirteenth century, and, especially in southern Europe, were often highly ornamented.

Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 6728

the display of armorial designs (see page 2980) by which the wearer could be identified in battle, which was particularly necessary in the thirteenth century when the nasal helmet of the Norman gave place to the great helm covering the head of the wearer. This helm was frequently surmounted by a crest of leather or light wood, which served as the rallying point in battle.

As has been stated above, the fabric or leather defences were further reinforced with small plates of metal, but by degrees the armourer became more expert in his craft and larger and more intricate defences were designed. These first appeared on the knee, for this was very vulnerable to the attack of the foot soldier and could not be protected on both sides by the shield. Very soon the knee defences were prolonged downwards in the form of greaves, or shin-guards, and so the evolution of the complete suit of plate began. Alongside this form of armour chain mail continued to develop, until in the thirteenth century we find from the monument of William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, that the wearer is completely covered with mail protecting head, body, arms, hands and legs.

Our best authorities for the armour at this, the transitional, period are the monumental brasses and effigies to be found in churches all over England, the earliest being the brass to Sir John D'Abernon, 1277, at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, whereon

the knight is equipped in mail from head to foot, with decorated knee-cops, which may be plate or possibly toughened leather known as cuir-bouilli. On the brass of a member of the de Bacon family, 1320, at Gorleston, Suffolk, we find the knee-cops, the shin-guards and the arm-pieces also added to the mail. On the brass of Sir John D'Abernon the second, 1327, also at Stoke D'Abernon, we find defences more elaborate in form with the addition of laminated solerets, or defences for the feet.

This particular brass is of great value, for it shows the complete equipment of the knight, which must have been almost insupportable in the heat of battle. He wears first of all a quilted garment or 'gambeson' to protect his body from the bruising of the mail; over this he wears a hauberk of chain mail with sleeves; over this again he wears a pourpoint or padded and quilted defence; and over all a surcoat, his legs being cased in mail under the metal knee-cops, greaves and solerets (see illustration opposite).

By the year 1400 these defences had become still more elaborate, and we find on the brass of an unknown knight at Laughton, Lincolnshire, that the whole suit of plate has been evolved: the head protected by a bascinet, or conical helmet, to which is attached the camail or mail hood; the body covered by the hauberk; the arm pieces laminated, that is, composed of small strips of metal riveted together to allow certain ease of movement; and



COMPLETE COVER

As worn by William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, who died in 1227, chain mail covered every part of the body except eyes and nose. From Gardiner, 'Student's History of England'

the lower legs, knees and thighs completely encased in plate, the feet being covered with laminated solerets. The only part of his equipment which is hidden is the body armour, for this is covered by a surcoat; but from the form of the surcoat the defence would appear to be a rigid breast—and probably back—plate.

The helmet which is typical of the fourteenth century is the bascinet. At first this was, as the name implies, basin-like in form, more of the nature of a skull cap. Later on, the crown became higher and more pointed and the neck and sides were prolonged downwards. Later still, it was worn with a steel collar which protected the neck and chin, or with a hood of mail, called the camail, which was attached to the helmet. By the middle of the fifteenth century the bascinet was provided with a visor, occasionally hinged over the forehead, but more generally pivoted at the sides. The most popular form of visor was that which displayed a pointed beak, from which this variety of bascinet has come to be known as the 'pig-faced' bascinet. This type of helmet lasted to the second half of the fifteenth century.

The weapons of this period differ only in form from those used by the Saxons. The sword is heavy and very unwieldy,



HEAVY ARMED ARCHERS

Both in battle and in sieges the longbow was a most important weapon, in the former performing duties of preliminary fighting now done by artillery bombardment. In the 13th century archers appear fully armed in hauberk and helm.

British Museum; Royal MS. 20, D.1



PIG-FACED BASCINET

This French bascinet, with camail, dates from about 1400. It has a conical skull and long, acutely pointed visor, with breathing holes and a flanged aperture for the sight.

Wallace Collection

only of use for cutting blows. It was badly balanced, and had a short grip and cruciform 'quillons.' It was worn attached to a baldric, or sword belt, at the left side, with a dagger on the right. The lance was the principal weapon used by the mounted man, and the shorter spear by the foot soldier. Both the mace and the axe (see page 2607) were used alike by the mounted knight and the foot man, the latter often from force of circumstances using weapons that approximated more nearly to agricultural implements (see the military flail in page 2822).

The bow has ever been a favoured weapon for long-distance fighting from the earliest periods of history, and in the twelfth century we first hear of the crossbow. At this date it was considered so unfair a weapon that the popes forbade its use. Innocent II expressed himself strongly against this barbarous weapon in 1139, but he compromised by permitting its use by Christians against infidels. By the end of the thirteenth century the crossbow came into general use, but it always had certain disadvantages. Whereas the longbow could be kept strung in battle and always ready for action, the crossbow

had to be set for every bolt that was fired, and this process of setting placed the archer at the mercy of his antagonist.

The crossbow in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was probably a very primitive weapon, and consisted simply in the fixing of the ordinary bow in a stock with a primitive trigger for releasing the string. In the fourteenth century the stock was provided with an iron stirrup at the fore end, and the archer with a hook attached to his belt; in order to set the bow he placed it point downwards on the ground with his foot in the stirrup, leant down, engaged the string in the hook and, by raising himself upright, stretched the bow till the string could be set in the notch ready for discharge. The drawbacks to the crossbow will be obvious when we realize that the longbowman could, if need be, in wet weather carry his bow unstrung, string it in a very short time, and, with his arrows in quiver or belt, or placed on the ground in front of him, make a number of discharges while the crossbowman was going through the tiresome operations of setting his bow and aiming. It was necessary to carry the crossbow strung, and this was a serious drawback in wet weather, as the Genoese at Crécy and Agincourt found to their cost.



CROSSBOWS IN SIEGE WORK

Crossbows came into general use late in the thirteenth century, but had the great disadvantage of requiring re-setting for every bolt discharged. This picture illustrates the tedious method of setting the crossbow by a windlass.

British Museum; Royal MS. 14, E.10

Many contemporary writers urged that the longbow was far more effectual than the early firearms, which were always uncertain of aim, and for their range depended upon the manufacture of the powder, which was at best mixed in a somewhat haphazard fashion. The firing of the match-lock, wheel-lock or flint-lock was always a matter of some uncertainty, whereas the archer was never faced with either of these difficulties. Strenuous efforts were made in the reign of Henry VIII



IRON-CLAD BATTLE HORSES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Although known in much earlier days, the practice of providing armour for horses did not become general in Europe until the thirteenth century, when chain mail, cuir-bouilli and quilting were all used for the purpose. The wall painting (left) from the Painted Chamber, Westminster, shows a horse completely covered in chain mail. In the fourteenth-century ivory chessman (right) the horse has a chanfron, or headpiece, and chain mail with trappings of white fabric over neck and body.

From Valusia Monumenta and (right) Hewitt, 'Ancient Armour'

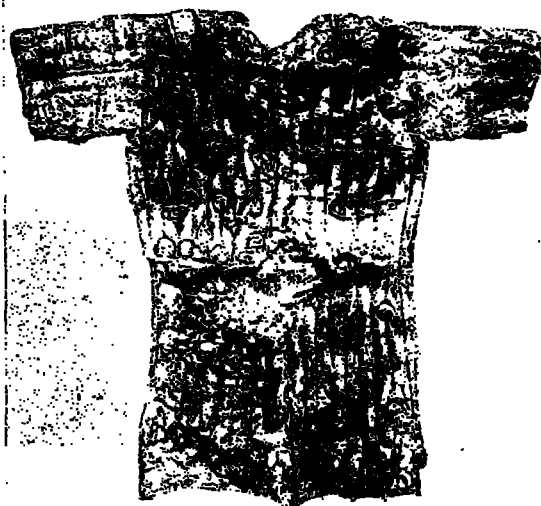
to popularise archery, but by degrees the firearm won the day. As late as the reign of Charles I archers were occasionally used in battle, and during the siege of Oxford the king had a regiment of archers drawn from members of the university.

Parallel to the development of armour for the man we find the evolution of protection for the horse. As early as the Norman Conquest we have references to William the Conqueror riding a horse covered with iron; but against this we should note that no such armour appears on the Bayeux Tapestry, which must be considered to be in many respects a very faithful rendering of the military equipment of the period. On a wall painting of the thirteenth century formerly in the Painted Chamber, Westminster, a horse

appears completely clad in mail, but it is more usual to find trappings or housings of fabric shown as the defence for the horse. In illuminated manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these frequently appear to be padded, and while the folds of the fabric would give a certain amount of protection to the horse, they must have considerably hampered his movements in battle.

The shield in Norman times was long and kite-shaped, and thus, though of some practical use for the foot man, must have been extremely inconvenient for the mounted man, as it entirely crippled the use of his left arm and was so heavy that it could not easily be moved for defending his legs or his head. By the thirteenth century we find that the shield is very much smaller and is of what is known as the 'heater' or 'flat-iron' shape. Covering as it did only the arm and shoulder, it could very easily be moved to protect the face or the body, but it was entirely inadequate for defending the legs. It was for this reason that the early additions of plate armour began at the knees and legs of the mounted man.

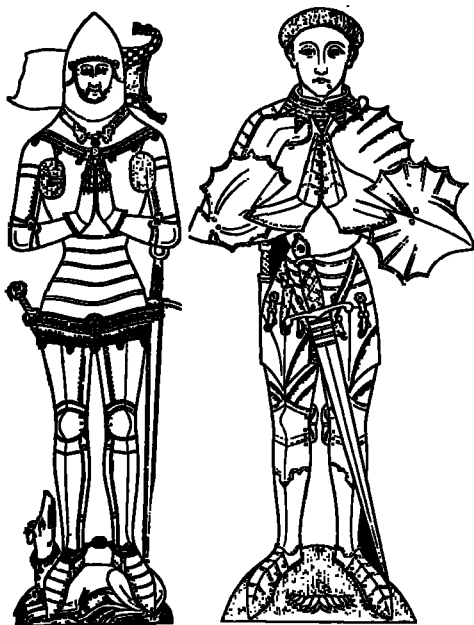
It has been stated above that none of the monumental effigies indicate the nature of the body defence worn under the surcoat, but an exception must be made with regard to the sculptured effigy of a knight in Ash Church, Kent, attributed to the thirteenth century. Here the surcoat is slit at the sides, showing



FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SURCOAT AND THE ARMOUR WORN BENEATH

This effigy in Ash Church, Kent, shows through side slits in the surcoat the 'splinted' body armour of horizontal plates riveted together worn beneath. The only actual example of a fourteenth-century surcoat is that of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral (top). It is a short-sleeved garment, laced up the back, of velvet, quarterly azure and gules, embroidered with the lion and fleur-de-lys, the whole quilted with cotton in narrow strips and lined with linen.

From Stokard, 'Monumental Effigies,' and (top) Valence Monuments



ARMOUR IN DECADENCE

The brass (left) of Sir John Wyclotes (1410) is the first that shows a complete suit of plate without any covering. Decadent subordination of utility to ornament appears in the armour (1460) of Thomas Quatremayne at Thame.

From Hewitt, 'Ancient Armour'

beneath horizontal plates riveted together. This form of body armour, which was known as 'splinted' armour, is very much the same as that used for the cuirass of the legionary of Roman times (see page 1723), which was light, flexible and in many respects more convenient than the more rigid cuirass, and with certain improvements in construction persisted as a part of military equipment up to the end of the sixteenth century.

The only survival, in England at any rate, of the surcoat, or 'jupon,' is that which forms part of the Black Prince's equipment in Canterbury Cathedral. This is composed of quilted silk and canvas and is embroidered with the royal arms of England in appliqué work. It is, in its present condition, sadly damaged from dust and age and will probably not survive very long unless properly cared for.

The earliest monumental brass which shows the complete suit of plate without any covering is that of Sir John Wyclotes, Great Tew, Oxfordshire, dated 1410. Here

we find that the camail, or cape of mail, has disappeared and in its place is a mail collar. Over this collar is worn a wide gorget of plate and the bascinet has been turned into a helm by the addition of a defence which covers the chin, throat and the neck. The bascinet of this period, when worn with a visor, is found in illuminated manuscripts of the period, but seldom, if ever, on monumental brasses, for the obvious reason that these are intended to show the portrait of the deceased, which would naturally be hidden if the visor were depicted.

The unprotected portion between the cuirass and the arm was known as the 'vif de l'harnois,' that is to say, the vulnerable part of the armour. This is protected by two small movable plates attached by straps, known as palettes, rondels or motons. Below the cuirass are a series of strips of metal riveted together, known as taces, which protected the hips.

In speaking of the making of armour we shall notice how the armourer when he had evolved a complete and satisfactory suit of plate turned to extravagances as a means of exhibiting his dexterity. We



FLUTED GOTHIC ARMOUR

A representation perfect in every detail of fluted 'Gothic' armour of the fifteenth century, here viewed from front and back, is preserved in S. Mary's Church, Warwick, in the effigy of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (d. 1439).

From Stothard, 'Monumental Effigies'

have examples of this, not in decoration but in form, as early as 1460 on the brass of Richard Quatremayne at Thame. Here the elbow pieces, which had normally been small and practical in design, are enlarged, thereby offering some slight additional protection, but at the same time being obviously a hindrance to the wearer, as their widespread margins would of necessity catch in other portions of the armour.

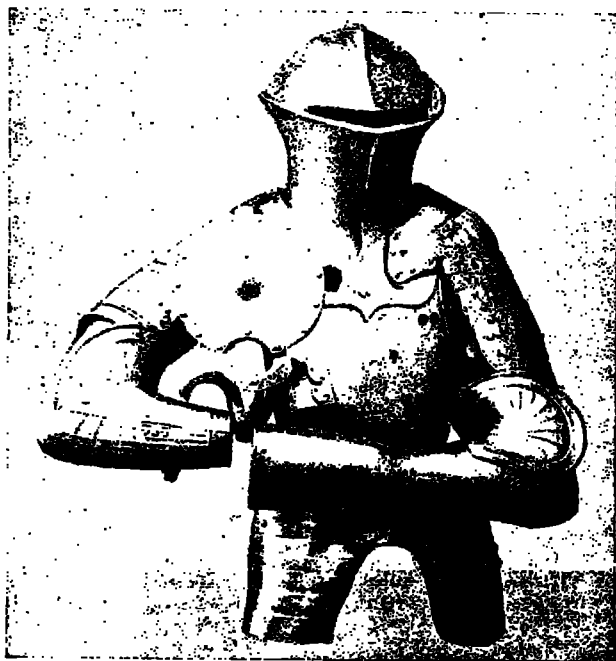
The most notable representation of the armour of the middle of the fifteenth century, not only in England but in the whole of Europe, is that of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, on his tomb in S. Mary's Church, Warwick. The earl died in 1439, but the effigy, which was made about the year 1454, rather suggests armour of a somewhat later period, though it is quite possible that Richard Beauchamp, who took part in many tournaments in Italy, had adopted a fashion of armour which was not yet popular in England. The effigy is perfect in every

respect. Every strap, buckle and fastening is shown with minute detail, and the back, which is normally hidden from view, is equally perfect. The important feature of this particular style of armour is the recessing, graceful fluted surfaces on the lines of a scallop shell. These, while not adding anything to the weight of the metal, gave it increased strength, as we find with the corrugated iron in use at the present day. This style of fluted armour has come to be known as 'Gothic,' and was in use for about fifty years.

The weapons of this period vary, but only in detail, from those of former years, the sword being lighter and the staff weapons assuming various shapes: the spear for thrusts and the halberd and axe for cutting.

By the sixteenth century we find new tactics in military operations. In the earlier periods battles were more in the nature of elaborate and extended raids, and in the absence of any heavy artillery (at this period including primitive firearms) the crossbow had not necessitated very weighty defensive equipment. But in the sixteenth century shock tactics were much in favour, and horse and man were very heavily protected, the total weight carried by the horse often exceeding 350 lb.

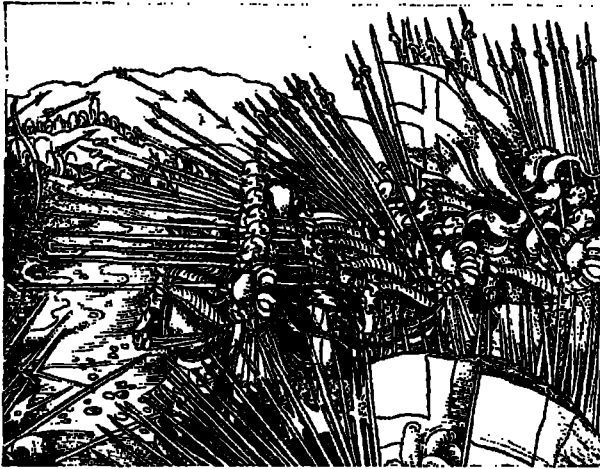
The light lance gave place to a heavier weapon, to carry which a bracket or lance rest was attached to the right side of the breast plate. The lance was invariably pointed across the horse's body to attack the left side of the oncoming enemy. It will easily be seen that the mounted man in this position, with his lance more or less fixed upon the lance rest, was obliged to trust entirely to the shock effect of himself and his horse and would be unable to defend himself from attacks of foot soldiers. For this reason the whole of the suit of armour became heavier and thicker, and the head was covered by a close helmet,



LANCE REST ON JOUSTING ARMOUR

In jousting the lance was couched on a curved rest below the notched disk on the right breast and lodged under the 'queue' behind. The shield was attached to the left of the breastplate and the left arm protected by bridle cuff, elbow guard and shoulder plate. The helmet was screwed to back and breast.

Nuremberg Museum



CHARGE OF LANCES ARMED CAP-A-PIE

As shown in this illustration to the Weiss Kunig, or Life of the emperor Maximilian (d. 1519), by Burgkmair, after Dürer, the lances, or mounted men at arms, still resembled medieval knights in being armed from head to foot and riding destriers protected by the armorial trapper and steel chanfron.

which, opening at the sides to admit the head, was closed with staple and hook. The visor, pivoted at the sides, was dropped in front of the face and closed in a similar manner. Thus the whole of the body, head, arms and legs of the mounted man was encased in articulated plates of metal, which were almost impervious to the ordinary weapons in use; but when dismounted the fallen knight was at the mercy of the foot soldier, who generally preferred to capture rather than kill a noble, whose ransom would be considerable.

The horse armour in the sixteenth century was as perfect as that of the man, perfect, that is to say, as far as it is possible to protect a horse and at the same time give him comparative ease of movement. The head was protected by the 'chanfron'—a long plate which covered the front of the horse's head, his ears and often his cheeks, the eyes being sometimes covered by perforated embossed plates. The neck was

encircled by the 'crinet,' a series of overlapping strips, or lames, either joined by rivets moving in slots or by leather straps. The chest piece, or 'peytral,' was a large semi-circular piece generally dished outwards in order to allow freedom for the horse's knees. Hanging from the saddle were the 'flanchards,' or flank defences, and the hinder part of the horse was completely covered by the crupper, formed of large plates of metal. The saddle was also reinforced by plates of metal on the fore and rear peaks.

That the craftsmen of the fifteenth century endeavoured to improve on this still further is shown in the portrait, dated



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HORSE ARMOUR

All the pieces of horse armour described in the text are exemplified in this suit adorned with badges of the emperor Maximilian: chanfron with eye-guards, lamellated crinet, peytral with glancing-bosses, flanchards under the saddle, and crupper. Notice also the metal rein guards on the saddlebow.

Tower of London



HORSE ARMOUR CARRIED TO EXTREMES

An extravagant development of horse armour is exhibited in this portrait of the master armourer, Albrecht, dated 1480. The horse's legs are covered with hinged and bolted metal defences, so that the animal is completely encased in plate except for apertures in the flanchards to admit the spur.

From J. Foulkes, 'The Armourer and His Craft'

1480, of 'harnischmeister' Albrecht, preserved in the War Museum in Vienna. Here the armourer Albrecht has covered not only the body of the horse, but also the legs, which are provided with hinged defences very similar to those of the armour for men. As a proof that this is not merely a fantastic idea of the painter we have a cuissard, or thigh piece, for a horse which is preserved in the Port de Hal, Brussels. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the horse armour was gradually discarded, the last piece to go being the chanfron.

In the age of Elizabeth, when extended campaigns were launched over Europe and overseas, the complete 'cap-à-pie' suit was a serious hindrance, and the leg armour, which had originally been the first to be introduced, was the first to be discarded. Then the cumbersome arm

pieces were given up in favour of a light mail shirt, and closed helmet gave place to open burgonet.

This discarding of armour was strongly criticised by many military experts. Sir John Smith, whose armour is still shown in the Tower of London, considered that even with the increased efficiency of fire-arms armour was still of practical use, and he mentions the case of Sir Philip Sidney who, after discarding his thigh pieces, was mortally wounded by a bullet, which would have been deflected had he retained his armour. As late as 1756 Marshal Maurice of Saxe considered that the wearing of armour was advantageous. Against this we should bear in mind that the armour of this period was always proof against musket or pistol shot, but in being proof it became insupportably heavy, and the fighting man preferred to risk a wound rather than to march for days, and often to sleep, in an insupportable weight of metal. Up to the end of the Civil War mounted men,

especially the Royalists, still wore three-quarter armour, with long leather thigh boots, but the foot soldier, from force of circumstances, discarded all that was non-essential and his equipment consisted of a wide-brimmed 'pot' helmet and a breast and back plate. The gauntlet of steel gave place to a gauntlet of leather, and the sword hand was protected by a complicated hilt of bars evolved to take the place of the gauntlet.

Thus piece by piece the suit of plate disappeared, and in England at least lingered only in the small decorative gilt gorget worn by officers up to the year 1830. The cuirass and helmet of the Household Cavalry of the present day are not survivals, for they were introduced into the army at the time of the coronation of George IV. For two hundred years, therefore, armour was relegated to

museums and theatrical performances, though we find certain revivals, as for instance in the American Civil War, when steel-lined vests were used by the Northern cavalry.

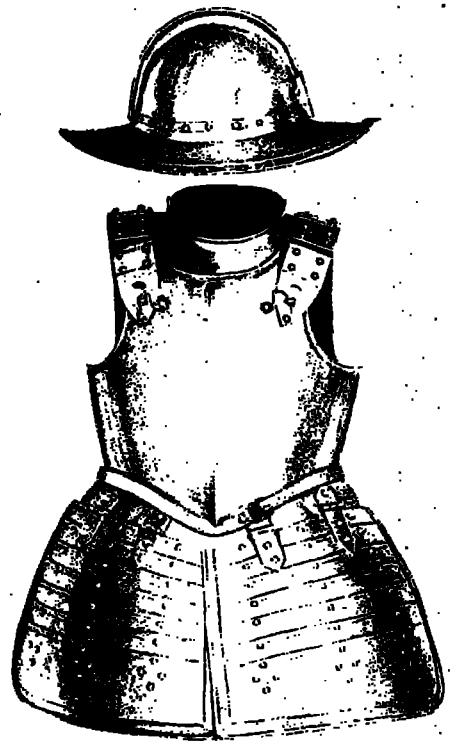
At the outbreak of the war of 1914-1918, however, owing to the system of trench warfare and the casualties caused by shrapnel, a steel helmet similar to the 'chapel-de-fer' was introduced, and some attempts were made to popularise tunics lined with steel, but with little success. The German army equipped their machine gunners and bombers with breast plates of great weight, similar to those used in the Cromwellian army, but these never found favour among the Allies, for precisely the same reasons which had caused armour to be discarded in the seventeenth century, namely, that risk of wound to the unarmed man was preferred rather than the extreme bodily discomfort and hindrance to mobility caused by continually wearing a heavy defence.

After considering the different types of plate armour it may be of interest to consider the practical reasons for employing certain forms, the constructional details and the manner in which armour was worn. Besides presenting a rigid plate of metal to the opposing weapon, the armourer found that it was most necessary to oppose a 'glancing' surface to lance, sword or arrow. This glancing surface is well shown on the Norman conical helmet; but, for some unexplained reason, in the thirteenth century the helm was made with a flat top, which must have been extremely unpractical, for the full force of the blow would be felt on the crown of the head. Later in the century the helm, which is known as the 'sugar-loaf' type, was made conical like the older helmet and therefore of a much more practical nature.

All the different parts of the full suit of plate armour were constructed on these lines. The cuirass, generally globular, presented a 'glancing' surface to the weapon, and at the edges there were 'turn-overs' or raised margins which would guide the point of lance or sword off the wearer's body. This glancing

surface is particularly noted in the armour made specially for tournaments, and in the later years of the sixteenth century large additional plates were added to the left side of the joust, which deflected the lance from his body.

A further consideration for the armourer was the convenience in use, for he had so to arrange the joints of arm, finger and leg pieces that they would coincide with the anatomy of the wearer. The suit of plate was invariably constructed so that the cuirass rested on the shoulders, and from the cuirass hung the arm pieces. The leg pieces, which may be subdivided into 'jambes,' or armour for the lower legs, 'knee-cops' for knee defences, and 'cuisses,' or thigh pieces, were attached to



PIKEMAN'S SUIT OF ARMOUR

The weight of armour was the true cause of its disuse, especially by foot soldiers, whom it chafed and impeded. In the sixteenth century the pikeman's armour was reduced to brimmed and combed cap, breast and back plates joined by flexible shoulder straps, and tassets.

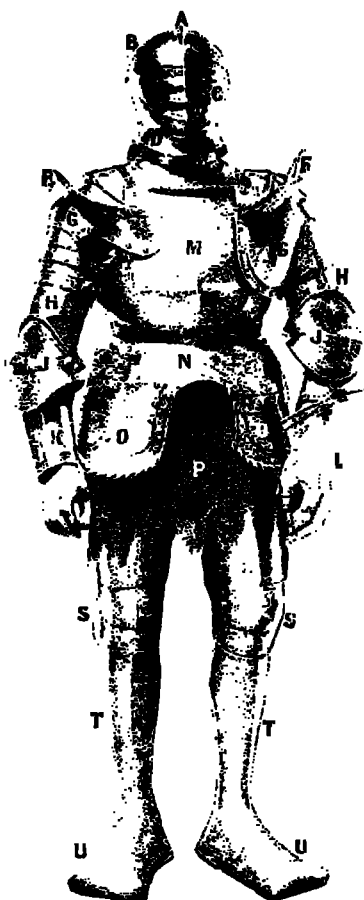
Tower of London

- Close Helmet (A. Crest
B. Skull
C. Visor
D. Beavor
E. Gorget
F. Shoulder-guards
G. Pauldrons
H. Rerebraces
J. Coudes or Elbow-cops
K. Vambraces
L. Gauntlets
M. Breast
N. Taces
O. Tassets
P. Breech
R. Cuisses
S. Genouillères or Knee-cops
T. Jams
U. Solerets

a waist belt, thus relieving the strain on the shoulders, which had been a serious disadvantage in the age of mail.

From a manuscript of the sixteenth century (reproduced in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LVII) we have a minute detailed account of how armour was worn. First the fighting man wore a shirt, then a doublet of fustian, cut with holes for ventilation. Upon this doublet were attached with laces small squares of mail, or gussets, to protect the armpit and the inner bend of the arm, which could not be satisfactorily covered with plate. He also wore a pair of thick worsted hose and short trunks of some blanket-like material, and his feet were shod with leather shoes.

His arming began with the feet, whereon his solerets were attached to the shoes with laces; then the leg armour was put on, the jams, or shin pieces, being hinged on the outside and joined with straps on the inside. So disposed, the straps would be nearest the horse, and would thus be protected from being cut. The thighs were covered by the cuisses and round the waist was a kilt or breech of mail. Above this the cuirass, which consisted of the breast and back plates, was joined at the top by metal straps and



PIECES OF PLATE ARMOUR

Armour has a technical terminology of its own. For reference, the pieces mentioned in this chapter are marked and named on this photograph of a fine German suit of about 1550.

Tower of London

at the waist either with leather straps or with small plates of metal. From the cuirass hung the arm pieces, which consisted of the 'pauldron,' or shoulder piece, the 'rerebrace,' or defence of the upper arm, the elbow-cop and the 'vambrace,' or defence of the lower arm. Then the helmet was put on, generally opening in front or at the side, and closing with a hook or spring, the face being protected by the 'mezzail,' or lower defence, and the visor, or upper defence. Last of all the gauntlets were put on.

The helmets of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century show great variety. The 'salade,' derived from the German 'schallern,' or shell, had many variants, and ranged from the light helmet more nearly allied to the original bascinet; the wide-brimmed helmet with long back peak and visor which appears in the drawings of Albrecht Dürer; and the Venetian *salade*, which was formed by prolonging the sides of the bascinet forwards till they almost reached the nose, leaving two

openings above for the eyes—a design which is strongly reminiscent of the visored helmets of ancient Greece

(see page 1234). For the foot soldier the favoured head pieces were the skull cap and the 'chapel-de-fer,' which was in many respects similar to the shrapnel helmet of 1915-18. Alongside the *salade* we find the 'armet' developed, in which the whole of the head of the wearer was encased, the side pieces being hinged over the ears and joined with a hook or strap at the chin. All these varieties are illustrated in the opposite page.

**Helmets of the
Sixteenth Century**

All through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find light, flexible armour used in addition to the heavier defences of plate. There were two main varieties. Firstly, the 'jack,' fashioned of padded canvas, to which were attached by string laces small plates of iron about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches

square, pierced with a hole in the centre. The whole of the defence was then covered again with padded canvas and strongly laced together with string. Frequently these jacks were soaked in vinegar as a preventive of rust, and also as a protection against vermin. The jack



VARIETIES OF HELMET OF THE FIFTEENTH-SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Of these helmets the earliest is the Italian 'salade' (bottom left) dating from about 1470; the German 'salade' (top left) is a heavy tournament helmet of the sixteenth century. Henry VIII's 'armet' (top right), with hinged side pieces fastened with a strap, dates from 1514; below it is his tournament helmet for fighting on foot—the inner plate was added later for further protection of the eyes. Latest in date (1590) is the helmet (centre) made by Jacob Halder for Sir Henry Lee.

Tower of London and courtesy of C. J. Boulkes

was, at best, a crude contrivance, easily made and worn without great discomfort. It was the ordinary armour of the foot soldier, with sometimes additions of plate on the arms and the knees. The other variety is known as the 'brigandine.' In this the foundation of stout canvas was the same, but small plates instead of being laced were riveted to the canvas, overlapping each other upwards, thereby ensuring greater ease of movement than would be the case if the plates overlapped downwards. The whole was covered with velvet, and was further strengthened with small, round-headed rivets, which were gilt, the result being a very useful and decorative defence.

As has been stated above, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the craft of the armourer was divided into two branches, namely, makers of fabric or leather defences known as the linen armourers, and makers of helms or helmets. The earliest records we have of armourers in London are to be found in a document dated 1322, which deals with the making of gambesons and other defences, padded and quilted. It also enjoins that no helmets are to be sold completely covered with silk or velvet, but that some portion of the metal must be visible in order to avoid faulty metal being hidden and sold as sound. This covering of armour persisted well on into the sixteenth century as a means of protecting the metal from rust and hiding the glitter of the polished surface from the enemy, and for displaying armorial bearings. In early days the makers of fabric defences could easily superimpose, by sewing or riveting, small plates of metal, but when it came to forging complicated pieces to fit the anatomy of the wearer their craft had perforce to give way to the metal worker.



ARCHER IN FIELD KIT

Being easily made and worn without discomfort the jack became the ordinary coat of fence of the rank and file. Its appearance is shown in this picture of an archer of the year 1485.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Julius E. 6

Thus there also existed a company of 'heaumers' or helmet makers, whose records date back to the year 1347. Although we have no definite information on the subject, from the fact that heaumers appear in the early records of the Armourers' Company it seems to suggest that the

two crafts co-existed for a short period, and in the end were merged into one guild. The guild of the Armourers in London was very powerful, and where other guilds were frequently called upon to provide guards and to carry out other civic duties, the Armourers were generally exempt as being what was known in the Great War as 'a reserved occupation.'

The Armourers had by their statutes a right of search which empowered them to examine all arms and armour in the City and pass them as serviceable; and this frequently brought them into collision with other guilds such as the Cutlers; for the dividing line between swords and domestic knives was a very fine one. One of the principal duties of the company was to stamp their mark—an 'A' under a crown—on all pieces that were passed, and this stamping of armour continued up to the time of Charles I. Armour was invariably proved by the most powerful weapon in existence at the time. In the earlier periods it was tested by a bolt shot from the crossbow or a stroke with the sword, and in later times by pistol shot. Many of the pieces of the seventeenth century bear this bullet mark on the breast.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the emperor Maximilian I and his chosen armourer Seusenhofer had evolved from the fluted Gothic suit a still more practical protection, now known as 'Maximilian' armour. In this all the surfaces are fluted and the fluting in many respects

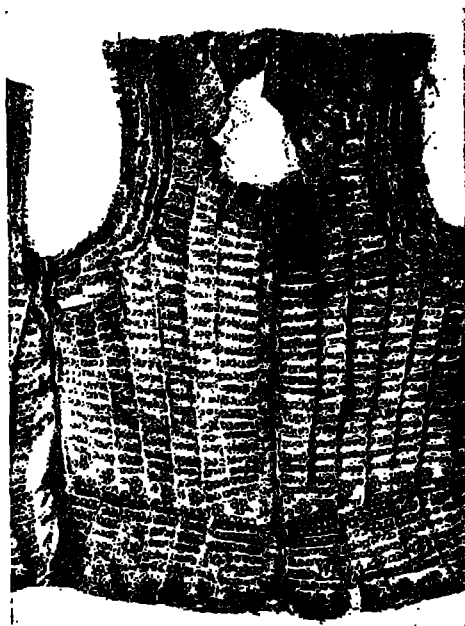
added to the efficacy of the 'glancing' surface, for the blow of the lance was deflected down one or other of these flutings to a place where it passed harmlessly off the body. Now a noticeable point in the design of armour is that the *solerets* almost invariably follow the design of the shoe in civilian life. In the fifteenth century when the shoes were so long that the toes had often to be supported by chains from the knees, the *soleret* followed on the same lines and additional toe pieces were attached after the knight had mounted, for they were so extravagantly long that it was quite impossible for him to mount wearing these appendages. But in the Maximilian armour of the sixteenth century, when the square-toed shoe came into fashion, the *solerets* were made with very broad square toes, so broad indeed that the stirrup had to be widened.

We have but little information as to the actual craftsmen who worked in England in the fifteenth century. But when Henry VIII came to the throne he was evidently seized with the desire to emulate the emperor Maximilian I, who employed the finest armourers in Europe in his service. To do this Henry imported foreign workmen, who were known as the 'Almain' or foreign armourers, to his Greenwich workshops, where according to the royal domestic accounts they must have produced some exceedingly fine armours. This Greenwich School, as it is now known, became definitely established and many of the craftsmen took out naturalisation papers. The only names which we can trace with any degree of certainty are those of Jacob Halder, who produced a magnificent suit for Sir Henry Lee, now in possession of the Armourers' Company, and William Pickering, who was responsible for the suit for Henry, Prince of Wales, in the collection of His Majesty the King.

The two principal schools of armour in Europe were those of Italy, which produced the famous families of Missaglia and Negroli, who made armour principally for the Spanish court and decorated it with a magnificence which in many cases turned it from defensive armour to jewelled metal work. In Germany the craftsmen were more practical and per-

haps rather more heavy in their design and decoration, but the works of Seusenhofer, who produced the superb suit of Henry VIII in the Tower of London, and Wolf of Landshut will each in their special province rank with the finest productions of Italy. This skilled craftsmanship, however, was in the end its own undoing, for, when the armourer had produced defences perfect in their protective qualities and perfect in construction, their followers found that there was little credit to be got in carrying on these fine traditions, and therefore they expended their energies on ornamenting the armour with engraving, gilding and finally embossing, till at last that valuable glancing surface which has been alluded to above was lost, and the plain polished surfaces were covered with intricate designs which entirely nullified the skill of the old and more practical craftsmen.

After the 'golden age' of armour, which lasted from the middle to the end of the sixteenth century, the craftsman



APPEARANCE OF THE BRIGANDINE

The brigandine was made of small steel plates, overlapping upwards, and riveted on to a canvas-lined garment. The plates were usually worn on the inside and the rivet heads exposed on the surface were often gilded.

From foulkes, 'Armour and Weapons'

seems to have fallen from grace for some unaccountable reason. Far from following the excellent constructive methods of his predecessors, he fashioned solerets in such a fashion, with the separate plates all overlapping downwards, as made it impossible for the wearer to walk; and even constructed the cuisses, or thigh pieces, so that they could only be put on when the

wearer was mounted, obviously a severe handicap to a horseman who might be dismounted in battle; and in general produced armour of poor design.

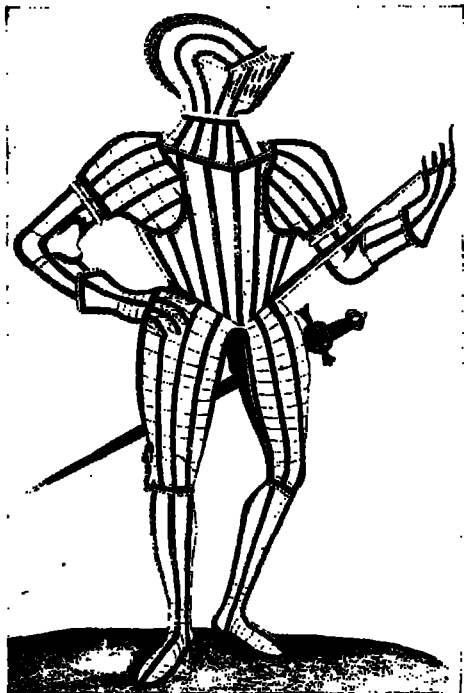
It is only in modern times that it has been possible to show that a school of craftsmen of the highest order was firmly established in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century. The pro-



MAXIMILIAN FIGHTING ARMOUR FOR MAN AND HORSE

'Maximilian' is the name given to a style of armour that was in fashion from about 1500 to 1540. Its distinctive feature is the radiating fluted channels, presenting a glancing surface off which the stroke of lance or sword must glide and also giving increased strength and rigidity without extra weight. The breastplate is globose, short and made in one piece; the pauldrons are larger, the neck-guards more pronounced and the knee and elbow cops smaller than in Gothic armour.

Tower of London



AN ARMOURER'S DESIGN

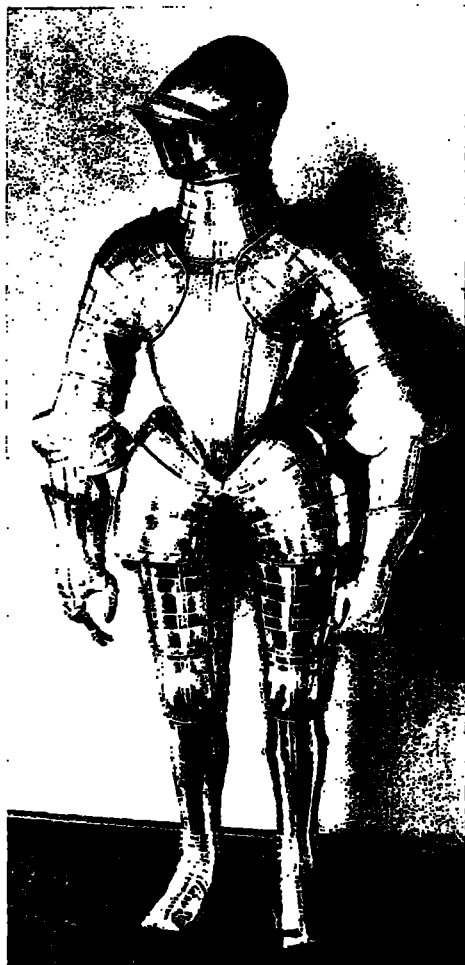
An armourer's sketchbook, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, contains designs for suits of armour, some of which have been identified. This is the drawing for the suit made by Jacob Halder, shown in the adjoining column.

From the 'Almain Armourers' Book'

ductions of Jacob Halder and Pickering that have been referred to above will compare favourably with those of any of the European schools, and they have this particular merit that they never indulged in eccentricities or extravagance of design. The Greenwich armour was always practical in the extreme, and any decoration which was added in no way detracts from the utility of the armour or its convenience in use. An interesting test has recently been made in order to discover the value of the actual material used, and it was found that on one of Jacob Halder's armours, now preserved by the Armourers' Company, the majority of pieces of the suit reacted to the test for mild steel, while the visor, which in the tournaments at any rate protected the most vital part of the wearer, was of hard steel. This affords evidence that the armourer studied very carefully the needs of his patron, and that, with the somewhat

primitive appliances at his disposal, he was able to make certain portions of the suit harder than others.

The metal used for armour generally came from abroad, the iron mines of Styria being especially favoured, possibly because there was some trace of manganese in the ore. Attempts were made to popularise English iron, but without result. A test made in the year 1590 proved conclusively that the foreign iron was unfortunately superior to the home product.



A FINISHED MASTERPIECE

Sir Henry Lee was Master of the Tower Armouries at the end of the sixteenth century, and this magnificent suit of plate was made for him by Jacob Halder—one of the few armourers whose work can be certainly identified.

Courtesy of Armourers' Company

II. WARFARE

By Hon. Sir John William Fortescue LL.D. Litt.D.

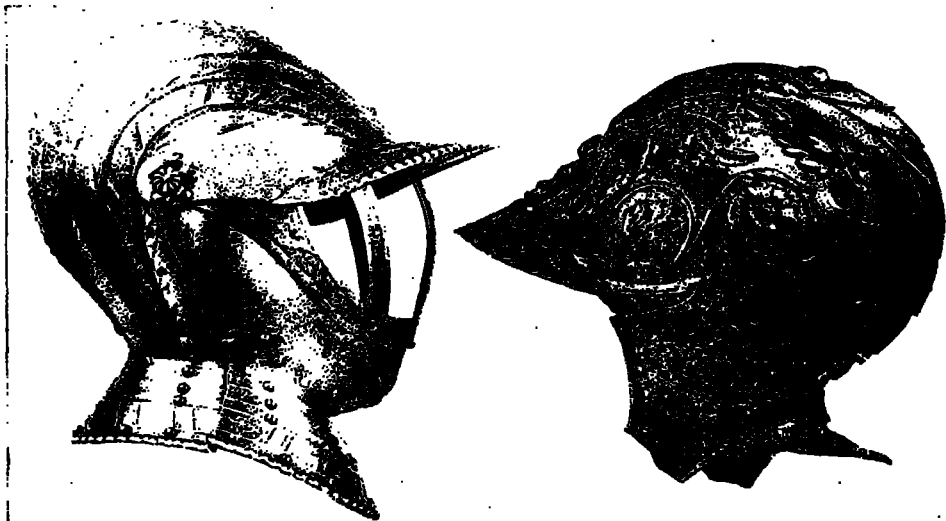
Late Librarian at Windsor Castle; Author of *History of the British Army*, etc.

WAR may be described as one form of organized struggle for advantage, not infrequently for material gain. Un-organized struggles of the same nature—called by the names of murder, robbery, theft, fraud, blackmail and the like—though not formally styled war, are dealt with according to the methods of war by a standing army known as the police, under a code of rules denominated laws. The only difference is that the words fine and imprisonment are substituted for ransom and captivity. So long as the police can restrict these un-organized struggles within certain limits, a country in which this state of things obtains is said to enjoy internal peace. This convention we may accept, though, owing to the essential, eternal and un-changeable inequality of man, the peace is only nominal. But if the struggle assumes an organized form in the shape of gangs of assassins or banditti, then,

whether the fact be admitted or not, there is no peace, but there is war.

Efficient national police are barely a century old. Before that no man went for even a short journey unarmed. In the times which are styled the Middle Ages, life and warfare were not far from being synonymous terms. Every town, every village, every homestead, was walled, and humble folk were glad to house themselves under the shelter of the fortified castle of some great feudal lord.

The man-at-arms, mounted on a Flemish war-horse and covered with metal in the style of his period as explained in the first section of this chapter, was the backbone of every medieval force. A medieval army, of course, included archers, mounted and afoot, and rude infantry armed with spears, knives or any weapon that they could produce, these being a part of the contingents to be furnished by the feudal tenants; but they were reckoned



RICHLY DECORATED HELMETS OF ITALIAN AND GERMAN WORKMANSHIP

In the sixteenth century armourers began to pay particular attention to surface decoration, plain engraving, niello, gold inlay and beaten ornament being frequently employed to enrich the armour of great men. Spirited decoration and excellent workmanship distinguish the embossed steel burgonet (right) produced c. 1550-60 by the Negroli family of Milanese armourers. The left-hand helmet, decorated with conventional foliage, is German, of the same date, probably by Wolf of Landshut.

Wallace Collection

of small account in comparison with the men-at-arms, who held them (except in England) in boundless contempt. Yet the men-at-arms had many elements of weakness. A tenant, in order to produce the full number of them required of him, was bound to equip many men of lower social scale than himself and even many serving men, so that there was jealousy and ill feeling within the ranks of each contingent. Moreover, it was rare for a feudal lord, unless of extraordinary wealth, to bring with him more than a few score of men-at-arms, wherefore the units composing the total force were small, and each of course jealous of the other. They utterly lacked discipline in the modern sense, and their formation for action does not suggest great moral strength.

It was the custom to divide them into three principal bodies, called the vanguard, battle and rearguard; but in each one of these three the men-at-arms were packed by hundreds into great squares or blunt-headed wedges, their depth as great as their front or even greater. And they were packed tightly, knee to knee and nose to croup, so much so that it was said of one body of French men-at-arms in the Crusades that an apple thrown into the midst of them would not have fallen to the ground. To manoeuvre such masses was out of the question. Even to move them rapidly was impossible. To keep them together on rain-sodden ground must have been very difficult. But the

moral effect of acres of mailed horsemen, some at least of them on mailed horses, with lances in rest, moving steadily forward, must have been very great; and their advance might well have seemed irresistible.

The men-at-arms were a cumbrous force, and they were also expensive to maintain. Each of them had two palfreys to ride on the march, his war-horse (which was led for him until the day of action) and at least one other horse for his baggage, four animals in all. Thus five thousand men-at-arms signified forage for twenty thousand horses. There were more animals with the archers and inferior troops, and there was an undisciplined rabble of footmen following them; and all of these hungry creatures must of course be fed. Equally, of course, they lived on the country, wastefully and destructively as is inevitable where there is neither order nor obedience; and the track of a medieval army

could be traced without difficulty by the broad line of desolation which it left behind it. Such desolation was the rule and is, in fact, an essential factor in primitive warfare, being found in every part of the world. It is, of course, as dangerous a procedure as it is primitive, for it forbids an army to retreat by the line of its advance. But invasions in those days necessarily took the form of raids; and winter put a stop to all operations.

Communications were little thought of. There were few paved roads except those left by the Romans. A leader might collect a certain amount of provisions



**ARMOUR AT ITS BEST:
A MAXIMILIAN SUIT**

This suit of armour presented by the emperor Maximilian to Henry VIII of England in 1514 is the work of Seusenhofer of Innsbruck, who stands in the front rank of armourers. Though lacking the usual flutings of 'Maximilian' armour, it is a masterpiece of design.

Tower of London



ARMOUR OF HENRY VIII

Made for fighting on foot, this is perhaps the most ingenious suit of armour extant. It is exactly adjusted to the anatomical construction of the body and completely covers every part.

It contains 235 pieces and weighs 93 lb.

Tower of London

before starting and load them up on pack-animals or on rude impressed wagons; but he could seldom spare men, even if he could have trusted them, to keep open a line of supply. He might, in certain circumstances, be compelled to take for himself an advanced base, as Edward III of England took Calais and Henry V captured Harfleur; and in that case the campaign of necessity began with a siege

(see colour plate facing page 2926). But medieval armies did not love sieges. They were prepared to conduct them with wooden towers, battering rams and other old-fashioned appliances for overthrowing masonry; and the English kings took with them Cornish miners for the business of undermining. But a siege kept the army stationary. The ground was speedily fouled by the men (for a sanitary camp was unknown except to the Jews) and they were swept off by scores and hundreds through dysentery. No army, medieval or other, which lives on the country can stay for long in one place without very heavy losses through sickness, famine and desertion. Massena, when he advanced into Portugal in 1810 and was arrested by the lines of Torres Vedras, went to work in the medieval style and suffered accordingly. Hence if a town offered stubborn resistance to a medieval army it was very severely dealt with when it ultimately surrendered. Queen Philippa, as we remember, interceded successfully for the burghers of Calais; but no intercession could save the inhabitants of Limoges from general massacre at the hands of the Black Prince.

Strangely enough, the first serious blow dealt at the prestige of the men-at-arms came from a section of themselves. It had been the practice ever since the eleventh century for the English to dismount their men-at-arms for action, and to use them as battalions of infantry armed with lances. It necessarily followed that there was not, in an English army, the same gulf between the men-at-arms and the footmen who fought by their side. Moreover, in England, feudal practice was not so strictly observed as on the Continent; and in the twelfth century Henry II introduced, under the name of scutage (see page 2721), a system of pecuniary payment in commutation of personal military service. With the money thus obtained mercenaries were hired; and so there grew up the practice of giving some individual a round sum to produce a contingent of armed men, no questions being asked as to their rank.

Meanwhile archery grew up among the English, and Edward I by statute made the

longbow a legitimate weapon for the less wealthy freemen. Therewith the archers gradually developed what may be called the technique of the longbow, until they made it a very formidable weapon. They did not bend it with strength of arm, but 'laid their body to the bow,' with the result that a really skilled archer could drive an arrow's point through a one-inch board at a range of two hundred and forty yards. Moreover, it was not necessary for the wielding of the weapons that the archers should be drawn up in a single thin line. They could be drawn up, loosely it is true, with a certain depth, because the men in rear could shoot over the heads of the men in front. The weapon itself was light and not easily damaged, for the string could be slipped off in a few seconds and pocketed to protect it from rain. The ammunition was light, for a single pack-pony could carry a great number of arrows. For the first time an efficient missile was about to



PLANTAGENET MOUNTED ARCHER

In Ireland, in Henry II's time, Richard, earl of Pembroke, known in history as Strongbow, made great use of Welsh bowmen, whom he mounted for purposes of guerilla warfare, and in 1360 Edward III again mounted his archers. Horse archers long constituted the most important part of Asiatic armies.

British Museum, Royal MS. 20 D.1

compete with weapons of shock, a missile easily loaded, so to speak, and easily discharged.

Thus, with archers drawn up in open formation upon the flanks of solid battalions



FOOT SKIRMISH BEFORE THE CLASH BETWEEN TWO BODIES OF MEN-AT-ARMS

For a long period mail-clad mounted men-at-arms, armed with long spears and moving steadily forward in heavy squadrons, were the most effective troops in battle. In the fourteenth century the Swiss introduced the pike, and, armed with these, infantry massed in quadrate formation presented a front of bristling points through which no men-at-arms could break, with the result that cavalry shock-tactics passed away and the advantage was transferred to troops that fought on foot.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 1374



'FRIGHTFULNESS' IN THE WAKE OF WAR

War is at best a brutal business; but in medieval times there was little attempt to keep its cruelties under control. For towns captured after resistance there was seldom any mercy. They were given up to pillage, as shown in this fifteenth-century picture, and civilians subjected to 'innumerable injuries.'

British Museum, Royal MS. 20, C.vii

of dismounted lancemen, the effective combination of shock action and missile action became possible. It is true that troops in such loose array offer opportunities for the shock attack of mounted men; and the archers were therefore ordered to furnish themselves with stakes which they could plant into the ground before them. It is true, likewise, that even an arrow from an English long-bow could not pierce good armour; and the archers therefore turned their shafts against the horses, rendering them unmanageable and thus not only depriving the mounted men-at-arms of their principal weapon, but even turning it against themselves. Mobs of French horses, maddened with wounds and uncontrollable, played a very important part in the victories both of Crécy and of Poitiers. Meanwhile the English men-at-arms perfected their system of combat by fighting their battle on foot and remounting their horses for pursuit. To all intent, in fact, they were mounted infantry, or, to call them by the name first used for mounted infantry, they were dragoons.

The English practice of dismounting for action soon found

imitation all over Europe, though not always with success, for the longbows, which were the complement of the dismounted battalions, were not generally forthcoming. Early in the fourteenth century the Swiss, weary of being overridden by masses of arrogant knights, devised for themselves a method by which men on foot could keep them at a distance. They had begun by inventing the halberd, a weapon which upon an eight-foot shaft carried a broad and heavy axe on one side, a hook on the other, and a sharp point at the end, so that they could

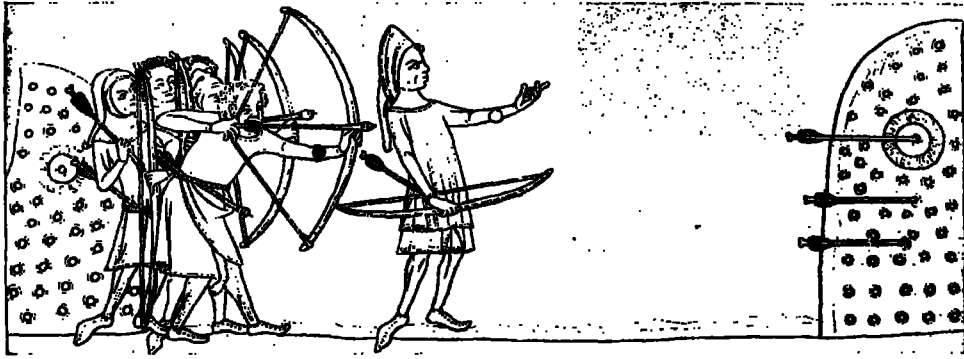
pull the mailed man out of his saddle with the hook and either hew him in pieces with the axe or pierce through the joints of his armour with the point. They went on to provide themselves with eighteen-foot pikes, which, wielded by a mass of men in quadrate formation, presented such a



DISMOUNTED MEN-AT-ARMS IN ACTION

Most noticeable in this early fifteenth-century miniature is the beaked bascinet worn by all the combatants. A specimen is shown in page 2930. The poleaxe was a favourite weapon with the rank and file in England, as also was the martel-de-fer, with hammer head either plain, as here, or dentated.

British Museum, Royal MS. 20, C.vii



PRACTICE WITH THE LONGBOW IN THE TIME OF EDWARD III

It was at the battle of Falkirk in 1298 that the longbow definitely established its supreme value and for centuries thereafter English archers were the most celebrated infantry in Europe. In 1363 Edward III ordered the practice of archery on Sundays and holidays, to the exclusion of all other sports, and until the time of Henry VIII it was the subject of statutory regulations. The longbow measured about 5 feet, its shaft was a clothyard long and its effective range more than a furlong.

From the Luttrell Psalter (Vetusta Monumenta)

bristling forest of steel points that no man-at-arms would face it. The pike was quickly adopted by other nations; and thus, as we shall presently see, shock action passed away for a time from the cavalry and was transferred to the hitherto despised individual who fought always upon his own feet.

Simultaneously, about the middle of the fourteenth century, firearms came into use. At the first these were clumsy enough, mere cylinders of metal, fixed on a wooden stock or laid on a wooden bed, with a hole bored through one end of the cylinder whereby the powder might be fired. For the larger pieces the system endured with little change almost to within the memory of living men, for mortars up to the middle of the nineteenth century were still fixed in beds and not on carriages. For the smaller pieces, however, it was soon found inconvenient. A man could do little with a hand-gun if he were obliged to hold it with one hand and put fire to it with the other, for necessarily the piece could not be very heavy nor very long nor easily aimed if but one hand were

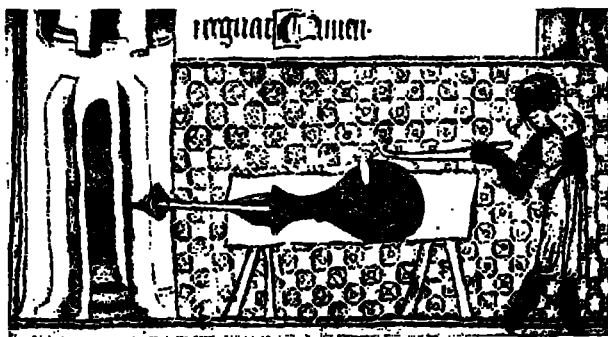
free to manipulate it. Not for many years did it occur to some man of genius to fix a lighted match in a catch upon the barrel in such wise that by the pressure of a finger the match could be lowered to the touch-hole. When once ingenuity enabled a man to devote both



SWISS HALBERDIER AND PIKEMAN

The halberd (left) was a sharp-pointed, eight-foot shaft, with a hook on one side with which a man could be pulled from his horse and an axe on the other with which he could be dispatched. Armed with these, and with pikes (right), sometimes eighteen feet long, Swiss infantry proved virtually invincible.

From 'Helvetiae Descriptio,' 1607; Additional MS. 16285



DAWN OF THE AGE OF FIREARMS

Contained in the Millimecke treatise, *De Officiis Regum*, dated 1326, this is the earliest representation of a cannon. Its origin in the ballista is suggested by the fact that the missile is a bolt, not a ball. The metal cylinder was fixed on a wooden bed and the powder fired through a hole at one end.

Photo, Dr. Charles Singer

his hands to his hand-gun, the progress of the weapon was very rapid.

Meanwhile in Bohemia a man of very great genius, John Ziska, was baffling some of the finest men-at-arms in Europe by meeting them with armoured wagons and a peasantry armed at first with only flails. Enforcing very strict discipline he trained his men to manoeuvre these wagons with great accuracy and skill so that at any moment they could be drawn into a ring, presenting an impregnable front on every side. It was a favourite manoeuvre of his to lure his enemy to the attack of apparently helpless wagons in front, and then, wheeling the outer wagons inwards, to enclose him and beat him to death with flails. The unit of organization was the wagon, to each of which was allotted a driver, two men appointed for his special protection, and seventeen others armed with missile weapons. Every thousand of his force was made up of nine hundred foot, one hundred horse and fifty wagons.

More important than these strange weapons was the rigid discipline which he enforced impartially upon all. 'He who disobeys orders shall be punished in body and goods be he prince, knight, noble, burgher, craftsman or peasant,

no one excepted.' Such discipline allied to religious fanaticism was irresistible, and it must be noticed here as another of the forces which helped to deprive a single wealthy class of the monopoly of military prowess and to place it within the reach of every man. It is commonly said to be firearms which have placed all fighting men on the same level; but the true leveller is military discipline.

Five years before Ziska's first campaign, in 1415, the English men-at-arms and archers won the last of their victories which is usually

remembered, at Agincourt. The French men-at-arms fought like the English, dismounted; but they kept two bodies mounted upon either flank to ride down the English archers, and this was their undoing. The ground, after a night of heavy rain, was a sea of mud. The mounted men could not break effectively through the hedges of stakes which covered the archers, and their horses, maddened by the pain of the arrows, plunged, ridden or riderless, into the dismounted mass of the men-at-arms. The archers, seeing the confusion, dropped their bows and with whatever weapon hung at their girdles—axe, hammer or



MEDIEVAL ARMOURD CAR

John Ziska, the Bohemian (1376-1424), originated the idea from which the modern tank has evolved, introducing armoured wagons carrying a company of men armed with missile weapons. This example from a M.S. dated 1485 has scythes on the wheels and the crew were armed with pike, bow, mace and hand-gun.

State Library, Munich, after Jähne

sword—fell upon the flank of the men-at-arms hand to hand. The French were so heavily weighted by their harness, which was designed to make them invulnerable, that they could not move; and the English, having beaten one battalion, simply took the helmets off the heads of their prisoners and let them stand while they dealt with the next battalion. This marked an early stage in the process which was eventually to issue in the discarding of all defensive armour.

It is, meanwhile, noteworthy that in this campaign of Agincourt both sides employed cannon. At the siege of Harfleur these were employed by Henry side by side with the old cumbrous appliances of very primitive times. At the battle of Agincourt the French could not bring their guns into position owing to the mud. But it was not difficult to foresee that, if cannon could be made easily mobile, they would make an end of formation in dense masses for shock action. As a matter of fact, cannon and hand-guns played

steadily a more important part in the wars that continued in France after the death of

Henry V, not less, as time progressed, on the French than on the English side. At Gerberoy, in 1434, the French handled the three arms—cavalry, infantry and artillery—in tactical combination with signal success. And the English archers, spoiled by a long career of victory, were much disconcerted when, instead of cavalry moving up hopelessly to their line of stakes, great stone shot came bounding through their trusted palisade. It was evident that the future of missile action lay with gunpowder and guns.

By the end of the fifteenth century the soldier of honour had been very nearly displaced by the soldier of hire. The English free companies had a century earlier set the example of forming themselves into mercenary bands for the benefit of any who would purchase their services, and among their leaders John Hawkwood was perhaps the greatest. The Swiss followed their pattern upon a much greater scale. Unexampled success had turned them into a nation of warriors, but had ruined their discipline and subordination. The rank and file would dictate to their leaders

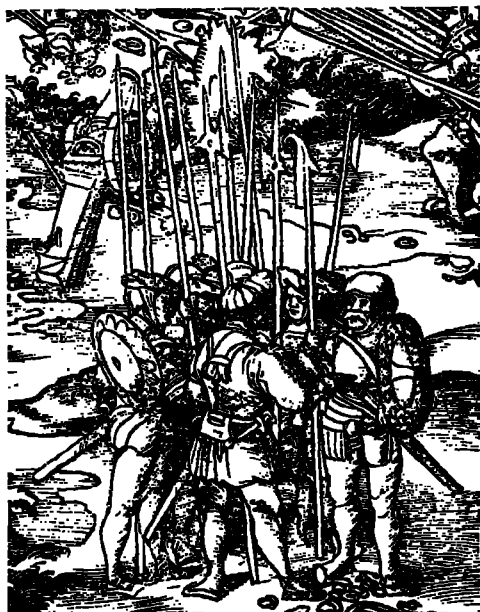


MEDLEY OF ARMS IN THE FRENCH WARS

For some time after the introduction of firearms all the older weapons remained in use. A large picture in Froissart's *Chronicles*, of which this is part, shows longbow, crossbow, portable fire-arms and wheeled cannon in action at once.

British Museum; Royal MS., 14 E.19

when and where they should fight, and their officers said plaintively that, could they but enforce obedience on their men, they could march through France from end to end. At last the best of them took service with the French, and formed the backbone of the army which invaded Italy in 1496. But the French had also trained infantry of their own, and had made a great step in advance with artillery. For they had heavy guns travelling on four wheels, of which two could be detached for action—the principle of the limber—and lighter pieces with but two wheels,



'LANCE-KNIGHTS OF ALMAIN'

Modelled upon the Swiss infantry the German landsknechte came into being early in the sixteenth century; they were Swabian infantry, usually mercenaries, armed with halberd and pike, with which they fought in mass formation.

From Burgkmair, Der Weiss Kunig

the team being attached to the trail. The French therefore seemed to possess preponderance in the resources both of shock action and of missile action, and it appeared as though any power which could enlist the Swiss infantry could dictate the law to Europe.

This situation called into being a rival infantry, the Swabian—mercenaries like the Swiss but encouraged for national objects by the emperor Maximilian. They are best known as the German 'lands-knechte' or, to use the contemporary English corruption, the 'lance-knights of Almain.' Looked upon solely as fighting men, they brought nothing very new to the art of war. Their favourite weapon was the pike, and Maximilian himself was not ashamed to be seen marching pike in hand in the streets; but they carried also halberds, two-handed swords and, in due time, firearms. They formed themselves, like the Swiss and the men-at-arms, into huge solid masses of great depth, the officers taking their places in front. Their drill was of a primitive sort and this business

was entrusted to sergeants employed for that special service. Indeed, though the chief officer might prescribe the formation of his battalion for action, only the sergeants knew how to carry the order into execution. The landsknechte were first seen in England on the battlefield of Stoke in 1487, where two thousand of them stood and fought until they were cut down to the very last man.

So far changes in the art of war had been introduced mainly by the Teutonic nations, but now the Latin nations came forward, and notably the Spaniards. A great leader, Gonsalvo da Córdoba, having suffered defeat at the hands of the Swiss in Italy in 1495, added pikes to the short swords and bucklers of the Spanish infantry and hired a band of landsknechte to teach them their business. In the matter of shock action he disconcerted the Swiss by training his nimble Spaniards to rush under the hedge of unwieldy eighteen-foot pikes, and to close with their enemy at stabbing distance with the short sword. But the whole of military progress in the sixteenth century tended steadily towards the development of missile action. In 1515 the French in a two days' battle quelled a mutiny of the Swiss by slaughtering them in thousands with artillery.

But cannon was still too clumsy and heavy to be a mobile force upon the battle-



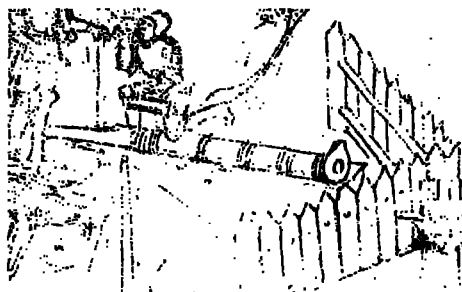
HEAVY SIEGE GUNS

Clumsy and inconvenient to work as the earliest cannon were, their introduction revolutionised warfare. Owing to difficulty in moving them rapidly they were used in siege operations years before they were employed for field work.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 4379

field. The powder was bad and burned slowly, so that great length of barrel was necessary to consume it; and from distrust of the infernal substance—for so gunpowder was esteemed—the barrels were made of great thickness. Hence an enormous weight of metal went to the propulsion of a very small projectile. The guns were therefore placed in position according to the commander's ideas of fighting an action, generally on the summit of a slope, because the shot travelled with greater velocity downhill. And there they remained, for better or worse, with all their clumsy paraphernalia of powder barrels, ladles, rammers and what not, with a sheepskin to cover the barrel before each discharge and so to avert a general explosion. Moreover the gunners were a jealous and insubordinate people, who brooked no interference with their own particular department. A famous landsknecht leader once trained and fired a gun with his own hand in action. The chief artillery officer came up, fined his insubordinate gunner a month's pay, and turning to the leader—his own commander-in-chief—bade him look after his own infantry and not meddle with other people's guns.

But in the matter of small arms great advance was made. The first step taken by the Spaniards was to lengthen the barrel of the hand-gun and support it on a rest, thereby increasing range and accuracy. This weapon, called the arquebus (a corruption of the German 'hakenbüchse'), was used with effect by the Marquis Pescara at the battle of Bicocca in 1522. He drew up his arquebusiers in small squares in front of his battalion of pikes, and so weakened the attacking Swiss pikemen



EARLY HOOPED CANNON

Owing to imperfection in metal casting the first molten guns were unreliable. Instead, metal bars were welded round a wooden core and then clamped together by hoops. The core was then withdrawn and a practicable gun resulted.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Julius E. 10

by missile action as they advanced that they were broken and half beaten before they came to shock action, and so were easily overcome. Three years later, at the battle of Pavia, he had the audacity to deploy fifteen hundred arquebusiers before his pikes in order to meet the onset of mounted French men-at-arms; and so effectually did these gall the mounted men, finally taking refuge under the hedge of the pikes, that the French attack was utterly and hopelessly defeated.

The next step was to fit the arquebus with a lock, to use the modern phrase, so that a lighted match-cord, pressed down by a trigger, should kindle the powder in the barrel. Thus, about the year 1531, there came in the match-lock, which after a century gave place to the flint-lock, and so to 'Brown Bess.' The convenience of making all arquebuses of the same bore soon became apparent, and these were denominated arquebuses of calibre, or, as the



BEGINNINGS OF SMALL ARMS

Small arms developed more rapidly than cannon. This fifteenth-century specimen is merely a cylinder attached to a staff supported by the left hand while a match is applied with the right.

British Museum, Burney MS. 169

English called them, calivers. It was then necessary only to make up charges of powder, which were carried in bandoliers, and to add a bag of bullets to make the equipment of the match-lockman complete, and therewith to establish the new infantry of, so to speak, the missile branch.

The new firearm reacted also upon the tactics of cavalry. By the end of the fifteenth century the huge, massive columns of mounted men-at-arms had been so thoroughly discredited that they had given place to a less cumbrous formation in line. Thereby cavalry had gained greater powers both of flexibility and of speed, rendering it far more dangerous to infantry in loose formation. But as against a bristling square of pikes it was still impotent until the introduction of a short match-lock hand-gun. First the petronel and presently the pistol gave it a

missile weapon which could be wielded with one hand. Then the cavalryman saw his chance of shooting down the pikemen from the saddle without venturing himself within reach of the pike; and cavalry tended to become actually a vehicle of missile action rather than of shock action. Therewith it began to revert to formation in column, or rather in clusters of small columns, rather than in line. The reason was this. From the first introduction of firearms the problem had been how to keep up a continuous and well-sustained fire. It was solved by Pescara, who formed his missile infantry into ten ranks, ordaining that the first rank should fire its volley first, file away to the rear and re-load, and so likewise all of the remaining ranks in succession, so that, by the time that the tenth rank had fired the first was once again in front and ready



PREDECESSORS OF THE RIFLE AND REVOLVER

In the sixteenth century the arquebus (left) was evolved, a long-barrelled hand-gun fitted with a trigger which pressed down a lighted match core to ignite the charge. From this the match-lock, flint-lock and 'Brown Bess' successively developed. Abbreviation of the match-lock hand-gun produced first the petronel and then the pistol (right), a weapon which, being wielded with one hand, was useful for cavalry. The earliest were single-barrelled, but double-barrelled ones soon appeared.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Augustus A.116 (left); and (right), Howitt, 'Ancient Armour'

to fire again. Now, it may be said that until the eighteenth century the drill of cavalry and of infantry was identical, no allowance being made for the fact that a horse has four legs and a man no more than two; and therefore exactly the same system of firing was adopted for the cavalry as for the infantry. In theory it was ingenious, but in practice it was found wanting for both arms; for men who had once fired their volley and doubled back to the rear were not very willing to come forward again. In fact the cavalry, who could move rather faster than the infantry, would sometimes go so far to the rear as to disappear from the field.

None the less the pikemen did not enjoy being fired at from the saddle, and began to clothe themselves with armour—helmet, back, breast and tassets. The mounted men, in equal dread of bullets, made their armour heavier and heavier, when they could afford it, and thus rendered themselves so helpless that they were of little use for any purpose. In due time, though not

Abandonment of defensive armour immediately, both horse and foot abandoned as hopeless the idea of making themselves invulnerable by missiles, since they could only do so by overweighting themselves beyond endurance; and so gradually at the end of the seventeenth century defensive armour disappeared—a tendency traced with full detail in the earlier section of this chapter. But the cavalry did not abandon their missile weapons and their deep formation until long after the period now under discussion, though they returned in some measure to shock action. When cavalry met cavalry, it was ordained that they should fire their pistol, throw the empty weapon in the enemy's face, and then strike in with the sword.

Reviewing the whole matter, one may say that medieval warfare differed in essence very little from other warfare carried on by the same description of people under the same conditions, that is to say by half-disciplined or wholly undisciplined bodies of men living on the country. Without decent means of communication—and there were none in the Middle Ages—an army must live on the



LIVING ON THE COUNTRY

The humour in this picture cannot blind the imagination to the wretchedness entailed in an age when lack of communication made organized provisioning of armies impossible. Warfare meant universal misery in the areas involved.

From a woodcut by Jost Amman

country and must be brought to a standstill during the winter. It must also find great—often insuperable—difficulties in staying for long in one place.

Provisions of course may be collected, and no doubt they were collected by medieval armies, sometimes by payment, though more often by seizure. The landsknechte, for instance, were always followed by a moving market, which was kept in existence by sutlers, or in other words by private adventurers, though the prices were fixed daily by a special officer called the provost. And it is probable that the landsknechte only utilised a system which they found already reigning. But wherever there is indiscipline there is plundering and marauding and waste. Want of food reacts against maintenance of discipline, and want of discipline against economy of food. As Napoleon found, it is almost impossible to maintain discipline in an army which lives on the country. The men will help themselves before the intendants have time to make a general

collection and distribution of victuals. The strong will take more than their share; the weak must go hungry and desert or die. As to the unfortunate inhabitants, with their cattle driven off and their little stores emptied, they must die by hundreds, while the survivors, with bitter rage in their hearts, lie in wait to murder every unwary soldier that they can see, or form themselves into gangs of banditti with their hand against every man. The story is always the same, whether in France during the Middle Ages, or in India after the fall of the Moguls, or in Spain in the early nineteenth century; and it will be the same, if conditions be the same, to the end of time. Mere weapons are a secondary matter.

The breaking down of the dominance of the men-at-arms is, of course, the most significant detail in the military history of the period, though its political is almost as great as its military importance. The process, as we have seen, was slow and gradual, being delayed in part by political considerations; for the French would have raised up as formidable a force of archers as the English, had not political jealousy and apprehension decreed that such a body would be a danger to the state. But in spite of all obstructions the power of missile action steadily asserted itself, and the invention of gunpowder only carried forward a movement which could not be arrested.

After all, nearly two centuries of ingenuity were needed to produce the match-lock, which was the first really efficient hand firearm; and the mounted man-at-arms had been dethroned long before 1531. When the new missile weapons had been finally accepted, the tactics of the battlefield remained the same as at Crécy. The

musketeers were drawn up on the flanks of the pike-men, just as the archers had been drawn up on the flanks of the dismounted men-at-arms, and the cavalry was posted, as a rule, on the flanks of the whole array. When the flint-lock superseded the match-lock, and the invention of the bayonet combined pike and musket—shock weapon and missile weapon—into one, the general rule for drawing up an army for battle remained the same—infantry in the centre, cavalry on the flanks. And the old longbow died hard. Great efforts were made to revive it during the Civil War; and it would not have been inefficient if handled in the old style of the fourteenth century. Bows and arrows were actually used at the battle of Leipzig, on which same field was found the English rocket-troop, which was then the very last word in missile action. On the whole there was more in common between the battle of Gerberoy in 1434 and Leipzig in 1813 than between Leipzig and the fighting on the Western Front a bare century later.

Slow change from
medieval tactics



FRENCH DIVISION GOING INTO ACTION AT CERISOLES

Bas-reliefs on the tomb of Francis I in the basilica of S. Denis give precise details of the clothing and equipment of French troops in the mid-sixteenth century. This panel shows pikemen and arquebusiers escorting guns at the battle of Cerisoles in 1544. At this time a French 'legion' consisted of six 'bands,' each composed of 800 pikes (including a few halberds) and 200 arquebusiers. Bombardment by light artillery—known in England as 'carts with gonnies'—preceded the assault.

Photo, Hachette

MINSTRELSY AND MUSIC

A Survey of Progress in the Art. during and after the brilliant Days of the Troubadours

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THE fact that music here enters the stage for the first time in this History must not be taken as giving any countenance to the false saying that music is the youngest of the arts. The people who reiterate that fallacy merely mean by it that the particular kind of music which they like is new-fashioned. But the most miraculous thing about what is perhaps the most miraculous of the arts is its capacity to become new fashioned in every age and in every type of society. Man always imagines that he has just discovered music, and in that sense it is young indeed, for it never grows old.

But it was just as young and just as old in the age of the minstrels as it is to-day, and wherever we have the means of examining closely a fragment of the world's history there we shall find music. The oldest recorded system of music in China dates from about 2700 B.C. The systems of the ancient Egyptians were elaborate and can be described with a fair amount of definition to-day. Their instruments are figured in innumerable frescoes (see plate facing page 553).

Beside these the music of Solomon's Temple seems almost recent. Yet the festival of the dedication of the Temple took place about 2000 years before the age which is to be discussed here. If any one doubts that the music of ancient times had the same emotional effect on performers and hearers that our music has on us, let him read the account of that festival in the Second Book of Chronicles, Chapter 5, and he will certainly revise his judgement:

It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the

Lord; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of musick, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever: that then the house of the Lord was filled with a cloud . . . for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God.

In a similar fashion an English writer of the eighteenth century, Dr Burney, described the singing of Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus in Westminster Abbey:

Dante in his *Paradiso* imagines nine circles, or choirs of cherubs, seraphs, patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, saints, angels and archangels, who with hand and voice are eternally praising and glorifying the Supreme Being, whom he places in the centre; taking the idea from *Te Deum Laudamus*, where it is said: 'To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry,' etc. Now as the orchestra in Westminster Abbey seemed to ascend into the clouds and unite with the saints and martyrs represented on the painted glass in the west window, which had all the appearance of a continuation of the Orchestra; I could hardly refrain, during the performance of the Hallelujah to imagine that this Orchestra, so admirably constructed, filled, and employed, was a point or segment of one of these celestial circles.

G. K. Chesterton has based his argument for the differentiation of mankind from the rest of the animal creation on the fact that primitive man was an artist. It required no education to make him exercise his faculties as an artist, a creature doing something with his hands to express his mind towards the life about him. The cave men have left us their drawings limned on the rock. They could not leave us their songs which ceased with their breath, and the chief reason for the fallacy that music is a late activity of mankind lies in the fact that it is only comparatively recently that musicians have agreed on a suitable

series of written signs with which to describe the sounds of music.

We do not know what was the 'one sound' which filled the House of the Lord with glory, but we can realize again Dr. Burney's impression of the 'Hallelujah' chorus because Handel wrote out what every voice and instrument was to do. Even the Greeks, whose artistic civilization permeated modern Europe, left no very certain account by which we may revive the actual sounds of their music. We can read their poetry and act their plays

to-day, but we only make vague guesses at the music which turned the poetry into song and enriched the solemnities of the theatre of Dionysus.

It happens that the time with which we are here specially concerned was just that in which the Christian civilization had begun to standardise what we now know as modern musical notation. It had been largely the work of the Church, induced by the need for securing uniformity in Divine worship and preserving intact from generation to generation the large



INSTRUMENTS IN USE IN ENGLAND A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

Pictures in English illuminated books prove the existence of a large variety of musical instruments as early as the ninth century, suggesting a considerable degree of musical culture. The group of musicians (bottom right) is from a psalter of the eighth century; the eleven-stringed harp and the horns (bottom left) from the Cottonian Psalter of the late ninth century; and the lyre, flute and trombones (top) from the eleventh-century *Psychomachia* of Aurelius Prudentius.

British Museum, Cotton MSS. (top) Cleopatra C.viii; (bottom) Tiberius C.vi, and Vespasian A.i

ET SALUTARE NOSTIBI SEMPER
 ET UBIQUE CRATIAS ACERE ONE
 SCE PATER OMPS ETERNE OS PER
 XPM OMNIRM PER QUEM MA
 IESTATEM TUAM LAUDANT ANGELI
 ADORANT DOMINATIONES TRE

EARLY CHURCH MUSIC

The sacramentary from which this is an excerpt was written for the church of S. Alban at Mainz before 853, but the neumes above part of the text date from the tenth or eleventh century.

From Nicholson, 'Early Bodleian Music'

body of music which we now call plain-song composed for the several parts of the sacred liturgy. These compositions had accumulated from the fifth century onward, and the systematic arrangement of the music of the Western church had received an impetus by the foundation of the Schola Cantorum at Rome under the aegis of Pope Gregory the Great (c. 590). For several centuries the great collections of plain-song represented the cultural music of Europe as opposed to the empirical art of the people who sang and played on instruments without thought of either a theoretical system or of any trans-literation of it by written symbols.

It is a common experience of the modern collectors of folk-songs that it is useless to ask a traditional folk-singer to repeat separately either words or music of his song. The two are joined in a single concept of his mind. The itinerant bards who visited hall and castle and supplied the place of the novel and the newspaper by singing the deeds of heroes and the epics of war were in like case with the folk-singer; they used words and music to reinforce one another and secure their memory. They felt no need for a written music since they used no written word.

The churchman, however, singing his mass and daily hours with the variations proper to every season of the year, was in constant need of literary aid to memory, and the office books show the many devices used to preserve intact the tradition of the plain-song. First came strokes of various shapes (neumes) written into the books over the words; much later, horizontal lines drawn through the neumes were adopted as a means of representing

the pitch of the notes to the eye. A sacramentary of St. Alban's Abbey preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford shows the use of neumes both with and without the rudimentary stave. E. W. B. Nicholson in *Early Bodleian Music* fixes the date of the manuscript at about 1160. The older methods lingered in England, but by this date staff notation, which makes the rise and fall of the notes in a tune graphic to the eye by representing them on a ladder of lines, was widely used, and not only in Church music.

The invention of the stave has usually been attributed to that very remarkable man Guido D'Arezzo (c. 1050), because he was the great populariser of music in his day. A Benedictine monk who left his native country, Italy, and travelled through France and possibly even to England, he settled in France at the Abbey of St. Maur-des-Fosses, which was already famous as a centre of musical culture. It was there that he hit on the idea of teaching the notes of the scale by use of the syllables ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, taken from the lines of a popular hymn, each one of which began on a note higher than the last:

<i>Ut</i> queant laxis	<i>resonare</i> fibris
<i>Mira</i> gestorum	<i>famuli</i> tuorum
<i>Solve</i> polluti	<i>labii</i> reatum
Sancte Joannes.	

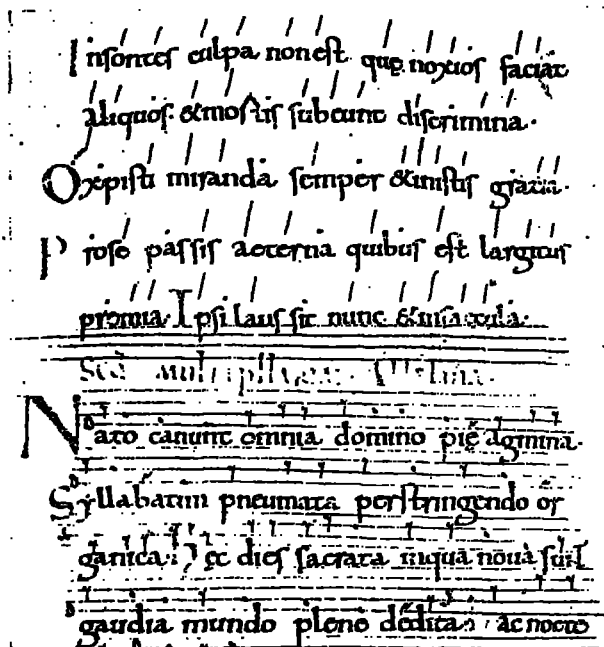
The identification of the notes of the scale with the joints of the fingers and thumb was another ingenious device of his, and is known to history as the 'Guidonian hand.' He was evidently a

dabit illi. Aut piscem. Nun
 quid p. piscem serpentem dabit
 illi. Aut si petat ovum. nun
 quid porriget illi scorpionem.
 Si ergo vos cum fratribus malis nostris
 bona data dare filijs vestris.
 quanto magis pater vester de
 celo dabit vobis bonum. petat

EARLY FORMS OF NOTES

In the bottom line of this excerpt from a twelfth-century sacramentary written at St. Alban's Abbey, three neumes appear; the flag-like 'virga,' diamond-shaped 'punctum,' and, over the O in 'bonum,' the 'pes' or 'podatus.'

From Nicholson, 'Early Bodleian Music'



EARLY STAVES AND SIGNATURES

In the so-called Tours-Winchester Proser the twelfth-century 'tagged' neumes resembling modern notes are now found written on red staves, with pitch signatures—D and a in this excerpt—at the beginning of each line. The earlier stroke neumes seen at the top are erased under the later notation.

From Nicholson, 'Early Bodleian Music'

man of practical resources, who knew how to lift the science of music out of the involved terminology of the learned theorists and make it intelligible to the plain man. He did in fact for the European monastics of the eleventh century very much what John Curwen with tonic sol-fa notation did for English factory hands in the nineteenth.

Guido returned later in life to Italy and was twice summoned to Rome to expound his theories and methods of teaching at the papal court. He may not have invented the stave but he enabled people to use it, and it is largely owing to his teaching that from the eleventh century onward we have a record of written music more or less comparable to that of literature and increasing in accuracy as innumerable other devices were added to the ground plan as laid out by Guido.

But something more potent than the propaganda of any individual was stirring the musical life of Europe at this time, a

new element in the art itself, nothing less than the discovery of harmony. To the modern musician who puzzles himself with the treatises of the eleventh and twelfth century theorists, it must often seem that they are making very heavy weather over the most obvious musical processes. The elaborate questionings as to the right rules by which two voices might sing the same tune at different intervals, a fourth apart, the modifications in the added part which might turn it into a new tune, seem strangely childish to ears filled with the polyphony of Bach and Wagner. Nevertheless they represent the great turning point in the history of the art.

Professor Wooldridge in tracing the growth of polyphony in the first volume of the Oxford History of Music has ascribed the change to the congregational principle in Christian worship. All the great civilizations of the world

from the Chinese to the Greek had regarded the artist as an individual; Christian worship demanded the participation of many voices, and, as we know, it is not natural for voices even when belonging to one sex all to sing at the same pitch. The theory hardly covers the whole ground. We are inclined to ask, why then was polyphony not discovered by the Jews a thousand years before Christ? Why were the Levites assembled at the dedication of Solomon's Temple content to 'make one sound to be heard'? With regard to these questions it may be answered that, whether or not the congregational principle was the first cause of polyphony, the monastic society of western Europe in the eleventh and subsequent centuries was the most ideal nursery for the new form which the art was taking. The much quoted Cambriae Descriptio (Description of Wales) of Giraldus de Barri (twelfth century), confused though it is, certainly seems to

suggest that among the Welsh there was even then a popular tradition of part-singing independent of any ecclesiastical or indeed educated influence; and that is easily believed by anyone who attends a National Eisteddfod to-day. Part-singing seems ingrained in the blood of the people.

The outstanding fact is that, at about this time, either as a result of popular instinct or of cultured intellectual effort,

the idea dawned that music might add a third dimension to its resources.

Hitherto its dimensions had been those of rise and fall in pitch, and differing durations of time, which may be likened to height and breadth. Now there was added depth, in the relations of simultaneous sounds.

To ears trained in the purely melodic music of the past, the 'organum' or diaphony of the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have seemed as perverted as the efforts of modern composers appear to lovers of the classics. We can take encouragement by considering what grew out of the discovery of the third dimension. Music had hitherto lived in a state of innocence. Its more educated practitioners in the eleventh century were eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and henceforward were to till a hard soil; but in doing so they were to fulfil the destiny of man as producers of enduring works of art, side by side with poets, painters and architects.

The twelfth century is one of stirring life, of an intense activity that found expression in the First Crusade to the Holy Land. It was the era of French Gothic architecture, and when the city of Paris was rising round the newly-built Cathedral of Notre Dame the first school of polyphonic musical composition was being developed within its walls. Two names stand out among the composers of that school, Leonin and Perotin. Their works when transcribed from the richly illuminated manuscripts into the plain terms of modern notation look bald enough. When their two-, three- and four-part motets are sung in the slow time which the long notes (breves, semibreves and minims) suggest to modern musicians, and beaten out rigidly according to bar-

measures, the harmonic clashes of the parts seem barbarous and the whole sounds dull when not repulsively ugly.

But that is the fault of ignorant interpretation and writing. Having heard a number of the works of Perotin and his school sung with imagination and sympathy in the Hofburg Chapel at Vienna, I can testify that they can make as real an appeal to the musical sense as does the music of any other time and style. Perotin was developing new technical resources, and his limitations are obvious; but he was no mere academic composer. Among his works transcribed in the Oxford History of Music is a setting for three voices of the Christmas responsorium, *Descendit de Coelis*. At Vienna this was sung accompanied by such unsanctified instruments as a triangle and a glockenspiel in addition to those of a more ecclesiastical nature, and there could be no doubt that the care-free style of singing it and the apparently improvised instru-



GRADUAL OF THE MASS

Gradual is the name given to a service book which contains the musical portions of the mass. This leaf, with the Descent of the Holy Ghost pictured in the initial S, is from a Flemish example whose date is c. 1320.

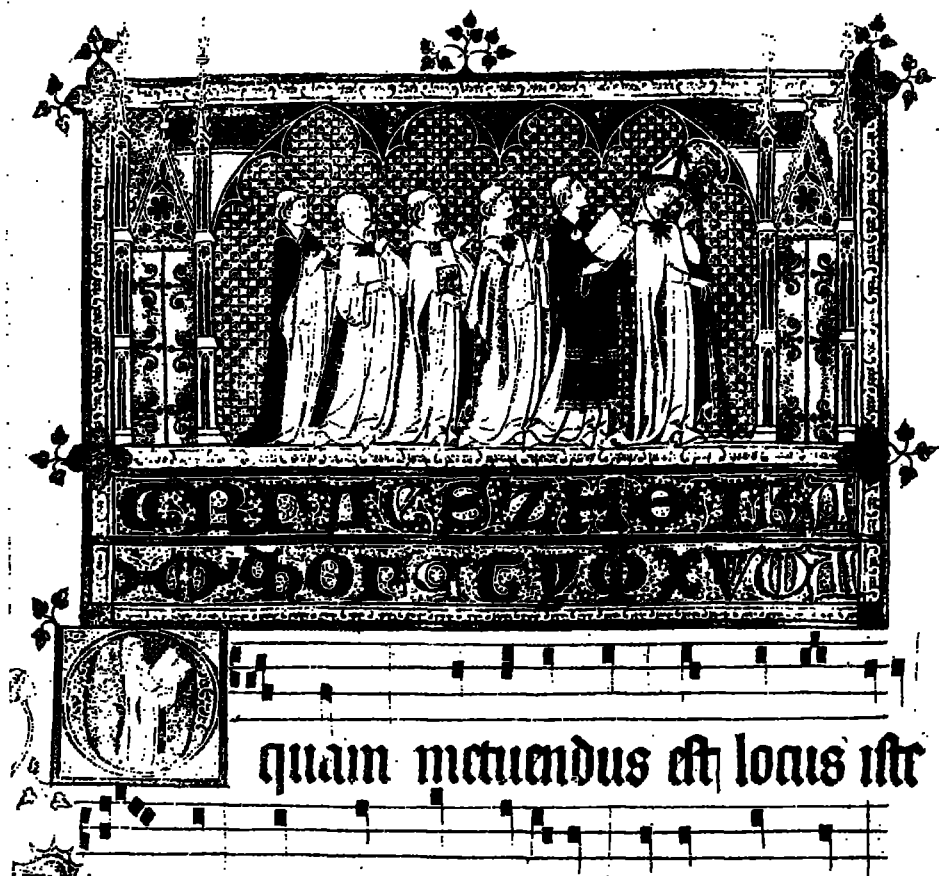
Victoria and Albert Museum

mentation were right, and approximated to the practice of Perotin's time.

The illuminated pages of missals and other sacred books give ample illustration of angels playing on the contemporary rebecs (three-stringed fiddles), panpipes, recorders (flutes), handbells, etc. What the angels were pictured as doing we can be quite sure was what their representatives on earth constantly did, especially on such an occasion as the popular Christmas festival. It is quite misleading to speak of the era of vocal polyphony initiated by Perotin and his fellows as one of pure choral music. These com-

posers were anything but purists; they pressed into the service of the Church every medium at their disposal which could add colour and charm to the jubilation over the supreme mystery of the Incarnation.

The initial letter of the 'Descendit' is illuminated with a beautiful threefold miniature representing the Annunciation, the Babe lying in the manger of Bethlehem and the angel bringing the good tidings to the shepherds watching their flocks on the hillsides. Thus these monastic enthusiasts lavished every attribute of art on the illustration of their theme.



THE BEAUTIFUL EMBELLISHMENT OF A PONTIFICAL

Pontifical is the technical name for a service book containing only the orders of consecration and ordination and such other rites as ordinarily could only be performed by bishops. This limitation of contents is perhaps suggested in the beautifully drawn picture of a bishop heading a procession that adorns this page from a pontifical of Metz. Noteworthy also here are the alphabet of Greek capitals and the clarity of the script and of the musical notation.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; photo, Mansell

This exuberance, permeating the art of the Crusading era, marks the age as one of enlarged vision. It was on the whole a generous time, when men, to a certain extent relieved of the pressing need of defending home and hearth against predatory neighbours, realized the existence of a larger world than their own small territories and were prepared to join in quests which were, in part at least, altruistic. It may be compared with the English expansion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when, nationality being fully established, the opportunity of colonising America produced Drake and Raleigh and their companion voyagers, while art marched side by side with action in the works of Spenser and Shakespeare, William Byrd and John Dowland. No doubt self-interest was mingled with the altruism of both periods, especially in the case of the leaders. The generosity of its character is not so much moral as mental. In such a period fighter, explorer and artist are seen together and are often united in the same person.

As evidence of this spirit in the twelfth century we find a vigorous pursuit of secular art proceeding beside the ecclesiastical, the one nourishing the other. It was the age of the troubadours. They had nothing to do with that kind of intuitive and sporadic music-making represented by the bards and minstrels of an earlier time.

The troubadours were not subject to the patronage of the ruling classes; they belonged to those classes. They were not primarily musicians but poets, who were far more deeply and intellectually concerned about the form of their verse than about that of the melodies to which they joined their verses. Their tunes were not always original, though the general practice seems to have been the composition of poem and music for the singer's own



ART AND MUSIC IN ALLIANCE

A good example of the care bestowed in the monasteries on the service books is furnished by the manuscript of Perotin's setting of the Christmas responsorium *Descendit de Coelis*. The initial D is enriched with miniatures depicting the annunciation, the Babe in the manger and the herald angel with the watching shepherds.

Courtesy of the Oxford University Press

performance. The movement took its rise in Provence, and the name which has come down to us as the first of the troubadours is no less a one than Guilhem IX, duke of Aquitaine, who died in 1127, and whose grand-daughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, married first Louis VII of France, and afterwards Henry II of England.

The fact marks at once the aristocratic character of the troubadour movement and gives a personal reason to account for its spread. Louis VII, moved by the preaching of S. Bernard, led the Second Crusade to Jerusalem, and in his reign many of the great cathedrals of France were built. His wife founded in northern France the order of *trouvères* which became a companion to that of the troubadours in her native Provence, and flourished with the keenest activity through a century. Richard Coeur-de-



WANDERING GLEEMAN AND FIDDLER

Gleemen figured largely in medieval social life, wandering from one great house to another and entertaining the company at dinner by telling stories, singing, playing on the fiddle or harp and by conjuring and acrobatic feats. Socially they ranked far below the minstrels attached to the households of the great.

British Museum; Cotton MSS., Tiberius, C. vi

Lion, king of England, belonged to the troubères at a later date, and with him Blondel de Nesle, a number of whose songs survive, is traditionally associated. The names of between four and five hundred troubadours and some two hundred trouvères have been handed down, but only a comparatively small proportion of their songs has remained, and many of them are without the music. The tale of Blondel's search for and discovery of the imprisoned King Richard by his singing beneath the battlements is no more than a popular romance, but sufficient true records exist on which to form a notion of the scope of the troubadour songs.

The manuscripts give the music at the head of the poem in a notation which is practically that of the church plain-song written on a stave of four lines. The poems are written in stanzas to which the same melody is repeated and there is no suggestion of harmony. So individualistic an art as that of the troubadours could feel no need for harmony, which in its early stages (and even to a certain extent in its later ones) had the practical effect of obscuring the words sung. But with the troubadours and

trouvères the music is always auxiliary to the 'courtly poetry,' and so little was it considered by them as a self-existing art that even their notation of melody gives no definite indication of rhythm, which has to be inferred from the poetic metres. Undoubtedly they used instrumental accompaniment, but the instrument would only reinforce the tune either by playing in unison with the voice or by picking out a salient note here and there.

The troubadours usually sang of love, which has been the main theme of all singers of all ages apart from religious influence. Theirs was the age of chivalry in which great ladies were



STROLLERS AND THEIR INSTRUMENTS

Except the stilt act (bottom centre) from a roll of the Kings of England, these pictures of strolling players are from the Luttrell Psalter. The bagpipes and cymbals are self-explanatory. In the hurdygurdy, strings were vibrated by a wooden wheel; the regal (bottom right) was a portable organ.

Luttrell Psalter and, bottom centre, British Museum, Royal MS. 14 B.9



TROUBADOURS IN WHOM THE SPIRIT OF CHIVALRY BECAME VOCAL

Many of the troubadours belonged to noble and knightly families and shed lustre on their order by developing a court poetry that is a glory of French literature. Jaufre Rudel (B) was a prince of Blaye, of the house of Angoulême; Pardigon (C and D) a knight in the service of the dauphin of Auvergne; the Monk of Montaudon (F) was of noble birth; Pono of Chapeuill (G) fell in the Third Crusade. The others were of lowly origin.

After Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, 'Geschichte der französischen Literatur'

invited to hold sway over the Courts of Love, which provided occasions for tourneys of song. But different forms of poetry were considered suitable to the several treatments of the subject, eulogistic or contemplative; and in some of those forms the poet would turn his attention to other matters, to war and the deeds of heroes, and even to the reproof of wickedness and to moral reflections. The 'pastourelle' in the form of a dialogue between the troubadour and a shepherd became a favourite device, and imagery from nature, the coming of spring and the fall of the leaf toning or contrasting with the emotion of the poet, enters freely into the songs of several types.

This from Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (c. 1200) is typical:

Kalenda maya
Ni fuelhs de faya
Ni chanz d'anzelh
Ni flors de glaya
Non es que'm playa
Pros domna guaya
Tro qu'un y-snelh

Messatgier aya
Del vostre belh
Cors que'm retraya
Plazer novelh
Qu'amors m'atrayer.

Its burthen is that the coming of May, the burgeoning of the leaf, the songs of birds and the blossoming of the iris bring no joy to the lover who receives no message of his lady's troth, and cannot throw himself at her feet.

The skilful arrangement of the rhymes should be noted. The tune, said to be an adapted one, is in three strains, each repeated. It has an exuberance of feeling which accords more with the picture of spring than with the lover's plaint. This is largely because, like many of the troubadour melodies, it has no suggestion of modal influence, but is, as we should say to-day, frankly in the key of C major.

It seems natural to turn thence to that first recorded specimen of English choral and secular song which has become one of the most famous works in European musical history, the round (or rota) 'Sumer is icumen in.' This famous piece

It has been too readily assumed that 'Sumer is icumen in' is the one surviving sample of a school of English polyphonic music far in advance of anything which the Continent can show at its date. We have other English songs of the thirteenth century, some of them with descants (a part for a second voice), but none which suggests that the art of canon so perfectly manipulated here was generally prevalent. We are left to suppose that the composer was visited by a stroke of luck or a stroke of genius, and that England was no more regardful of her geniuses in the thirteenth century than she is in the twentieth.

English song, indeed, appears strangely sporadic, at any rate in its records, as compared with that of Continental countries at this time. It was in the thirteenth century that the *trouvères* of France founded their schools in various cities and from that of Arras came the famous Adam de la Hale in whose hands the *pastourelle* was enlarged into the lyric drama. His *Minnesinger* 'Le jeu de la feuillée' was performed at Arras in 1262, and so far had the fame of de la Hale been spread abroad that 'Le jeu de Robin et Marion' (1285) was given as far south as Naples. His works are remarkable as evidence of the dramatic idea taking root in music independently of the miracle and mystery plays furthered by the Church for popular education and entertainment; it was in fulfilment of this same purpose that the carol, and especially the Christmas carol, was produced in all countries.

The *minnesinger* (love singers) of Germany followed directly the example of the *troubadours* and *trouvères* of France, and their *tourneys* of song, in which they not only sang of love but related the epics of the Grail, were no less famous; they have left behind a great poetic literature in the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walther von der Vogelweide and others. Wagner has pictured their gatherings imaginatively in the second act of *Tannhäuser*, but Wagner, and we with him, owe to Wolfram von Eschenbach a greater debt of gratitude for his epic of *Parsifal*.

The court of Alfonso X of Castile (1221-1284), brother of Eleanor, queen

of Edward the First of England, shows us another expanding centre of song and minstrelsy. J. B. Trend has described for English readers the work of the Castilian monarch in a volume called by his name, Alfonso the Sage. He collected the 'cantigas' of his country, some four hundred poems with music into two beautifully illuminated manuscript volumes still preserved in the Escorial Library. They are very much of the type of the *Spanish Cantigas* the troubadour songs, that is to say poems with tunes but without harmony. The Spanish *cantigas*, however, though in no sense church music, are much more concerned with sacred subjects, especially with legends of the Blessed Virgin and carols in her praise, than are the songs of either the French or the German schools.

Primarily sacred too, and a little later in date, is the great body of popular song, brought into existence by the Italian 'laudisti.' It was part of the outcome of the Franciscan movement, and some of its poems are traditionally attributed to S. Francis of Assisi himself (died 1226). But it was not until the beginning of the next century that a confraternity of the *laudisti* was instituted in Florence and the mass of the 'Laudi Spirituali,' especially in their harmonised versions, belongs to the fourteenth century.

The foregoing account brings us to the limit of the era, which, strictly speaking, can be described as that of the minstrels—defining a minstrel as one who makes his own songs for his own singing. At the beginning of the fourteenth century chivalry was decaying; the Crusades had long since come to an end. Courts of Love had no place among the combatants of the devastating Hundred Years' War. Kings struggled for territory and rights of succession. The universities were turning out clerks and schoolmen. The musical art became more and more the affair of specialists; it passed from amateurs into the hands of professional musicians. Theoretical treatises on principles of composition were increasingly prominent, since questions which had been left vague hitherto, notably that of the regulation of rhythm and its



'ALL KINDS OF MUSICK' IN THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY AT EXETER CATHEDRAL

Perhaps the most noteworthy minstrels' gallery in England is that in the centre bay of the north side of the nave of Exeter Cathedral. It dates from the fourteenth-fifteenth century, and the panels are carved with angels playing instruments in common use at that period. They are, from left to right, cittern, bagpipe, clarion, rebec, psaltery, syrinx, sackbut, regals, shalm, tymbrel and cymbals.

Photo, Fritz

expression in musical notation, pressed for decisions in the new and more scientific treatment which the change of social conditions brought about.

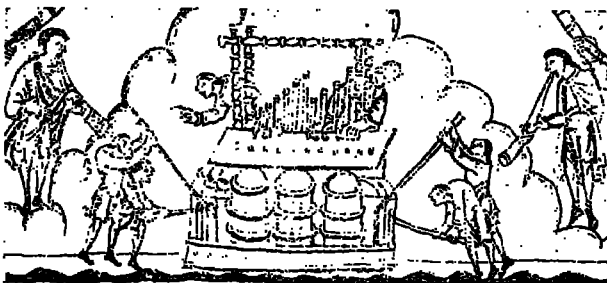
It is not surprising, considering the traditions which the Paris school of Perotin had established, to find French musicians taking the lead in the new quest. Philippe de Vitry formulated his *Ars Nova* which contributed to the settlement of the questions in debate, and Guillaume de Machaut was the practical musician who disseminated the principles of the *Ars Nova* in a great variety of compositions sacred and secular. A complete setting of the mass for four voices (the earliest polyphonic mass extant), motets, ballades, rondeaux and chansons by Machaut remain. Nor had the century advanced very far before Italy could show a parallel movement in that Florentine group of composers, amongst whom the name of Francesco Landini stands highest. From him and his associates the madrigal emerges—this name has been defined as meaning a rustic song in the mother tongue. The madrigal at this stage is still, indeed, very far from being that perfected vehicle of expression which was reached in Italy two centuries later, and in England a little later still.

The *Ars Nova* of Philippe de Vitry is the first of a series of 'new arts,' which was followed by that of John Dunstable in England and Dufay in the Netherlands (fifteenth century), the Roman school of Palestrina (sixteenth century) and *Le Nuove Musiche* of Caccini at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The appeal to novelty shows that the art had arrived at a fully conscious and self-existent state. It was no longer a hand-maid to poetry, and if it was still the hand-maid to religion it was proving itself a tiresome and often rebellious domestic.

As early as 1322 the first of those papal edicts was issued concerning the reform of church music and the necessity for checking the extravagance of composers and singers which have appeared at intervals throughout the ages ever since, and as lately as the year 1902. Church music and secular music had a perpetual

interaction, and the technical advances of the one had immediate effect on the other. Broadly it can be said that polyphony, the close interweaving of many voices and the devices of canon and fugue were the contribution of the Church, while the arrival at simple and definite conceptions of harmony was the result of the secular desire to give vernacular words an expressive setting in the chanson and the madrigal.

So the harmonic forms of modern music were gradually moulded; and as instruments were contrived capable of doing all that voices could do and more, their participation in the actual structure of music, not as a

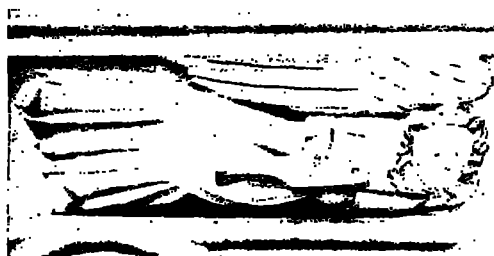


A CHURCH ORGAN OF NORMAN TIMES

Elementary forms of the pneumatic organ existed at a very early date, but it was not until the ninth century, when the use of organs in churches was well established, that there was any development in organ building. Eadwine's Psalter, in which this drawing of a large organ appears, dates from about 1100.

Trinity College, Cambridge

which suggests an instrument of the spinet or harpsichord type. In such contrivances a mechanism controlled by the player's touch on the keys plucks the strings just



more accompaniment to or decoration of the voice, served to increase the self-sufficiency of the art. We find the instruments grouped into families; the lutes, the viols, the recorders are classified according to pitch and size on principles akin to the classification of the human voice. All kinds of attempts were made to bring their several tones under the control of one player by means of a keyboard. The organ was their first practical result, for the wind instruments were more amenable to that kind of arrangement than the strings. By the fourteenth century the small or portative organ was already in a fairly complete condition, and we are told that Francesco Landini, head of the Florentine group of composers, was a notable performer on it.

It is not until the end of the century that we hear of an instrument described as a 'sort of organ sounding with strings,'



PSALTERIES SINGLE AND DOUBLE

Psalteries were stringed instruments plucked with fingers or plectrum. They were rectangular, like this specimen in Lincoln Cathedral, triangular, and double as at Exeter (above, left); this last was strung and played on both sides.

Photos, S. Smith and, above, F. N. Crossley

as the strings of the lute were plucked by the finger. It was destined to become the instrument of virtuosi in the sixteenth century, and the chosen vehicle for the music of a long line of masters from John Bull to J. S. Bach. It is worth noticing, by the way, that no sort of manipulation of the bowed strings (viols and violins) through the keyboard has ever been successfully achieved, though experiments in that direction have not been wanting.

Chaucer gives us the most vivid picture of the popular music of England in the fourteenth century, and it has often been pointed out that the characters in the *Canterbury Tales* are delineated largely by the suggestion in a line or two of the kind of music which each was wont to make. Thus, the gay young squire was singing and fluting all the day—

He cowde songes wel make and endite—

while the Prioress sang through her nose and the Friar played on the rotte, an old-fashioned lyre. Lute, giterne (a kind of guitar), psaltery (a dulcimer, the strings of which were plucked by finger or plectrum)

and rebec (a three-stringed fiddle) are mentioned as instruments in common use, and it must be remembered that a literary artist, like Chaucer, always chooses obvious and familiar things for his local colour. The clerk Nicholas kept his 'gay sawtrie' on the top of his bookshelf and sang 'Angelus ad virginem' to its accompaniment—

So swetely that al the chambur rang.

Different manners are suggested in the other young man, who was a barber by trade and a parish clerk on Sundays, and who could

... . playen songs on a small rubible [rebec]
Ther-to he sang som tyme a lowde quynnyble
[shrill treble].

And as well coude he playe on the giterne.

The 'jolly Absolum' affected a coarser kind of music than that of the scholar; his was rather the music of the tavern and the alehouse.

Chaucer's characters, then, all make music according to their several kinds, and their music adds truth to his picture of English ways and customs, which since

they were so widely prevalent in the society of his day were certainly not new. The *Canterbury Tales* were written some hundred and fifty years after 'Sumer is icumen in' was inscribed in the manuscript of Reading Abbey, and they supplement materially the sporadic records of English music in the interval.

During all that time the Continental peoples were extending the technique of the art, were forming serious societies for its cultivation, writing treatises, recording results and generally building up musical institutions. The English, no doubt, were said to be unmusical. Save for a certain amount of monastic church

music, clearly influenced by the Parisian example, they made no solid con-

tribution to the musical civilization of Europe. They were happy-go-lucky in their attitude towards the art, but they were not then, any more than now, unmusical. They played and they sang what pleased them, as they have done ever since through succeeding centuries. They have been moved by sudden bursts of enthusiasm and energy of which by far the most fruitful was that of the Tudor dynasty, but on the whole 'schools' and 'movements' have been short-lived in England and comparatively unproductive. From among the innumerable singers and players a genius has occasionally appeared: the unknown composer of 'Sumer is icumen in,' John Dunstable, William Byrd, Henry Purcell. The inclusion of a few more names, about whom, however, there would not be universal agreement, might possibly bring the average up to one in a hundred years.

We are tempted to suggest that the English must be an extraordinarily musical people to have achieved so much in the spirit of the lilies of the field that toil not, but it must be admitted that they have done singularly little to advance the musical culture of the world. It is primarily to the Latin races that we owe that subtly devised harmonic system which has differentiated the music of modern Europe from that of all the rest of the world, and which seems capable of absorbing into itself all that can be gleaned from the melodic fashions of older civilizations.

EUROPE IN THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

The Knightly Ideal and what it meant
for the Society of the Middle Ages

By R. B. MOWAT

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CHIVALRY was not an institution, like a monastic order, nor can any definite beginning be assigned to it. It was—and is—an ideal, a way of life, at which men, in greater or less number, have aimed, probably at all times and in all places. The ideal, however, appears never to have been specifically defined until Christian and feudal times.

Aristotle does not describe it in his *Ethics*, although there is some idea of it in his account of the man who undergoes danger 'because it is noble, and because not to do so would be shameful.' Loyalty and forgetfulness of self were included in the ideal of chivalry, but there was more in it than these qualities; so that the noble Leonidas and his Spartans cannot be claimed as representatives of chivalry. The Theban, in John Buchan's story of Thermopylae, who happened to be present with no obligation to fight, and who joined in the magnificent and hopeless struggle from sheer generosity of spirit, is nearer to the chivalric ideal. Among Roman heroes none corresponds to the pattern of knighthood. Marcus Aurelius comes closest to it, but he lacks optimism. Even in the Old Testament chivalry is nowhere defined. The fifteenth Psalm names some but not all its features. Micah's definition of 'good' has been called the grandest passage in the Old Testament:

He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.

This describes all goodness, of which chivalry was only one specific manifestation.

Chivalry had two outstanding marks, two things that were of its essence: it was Christian and it was military. Spenser

unerringly begins the *Faerie Queene* with these two marks:

A gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
Ycladd in mightie armes and silver
shielde . . .

And on his brest a bloodie Crosse he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord.

The embodiment of chivalry was the medieval knight, and the knight was the Christian soldier. The barbarians who broke down the Roman Empire were not chivalrous. They were brave, they were faithful to their word, they believed that they had a duty to fight the powers of darkness. But they were cruel and they were predatory; and their religion did not forbid them to be so. Therefore, they were not knightly. Nor indeed

were all their adversaries. *Christian soldier*
The ideal of many of the *the ideal Knight*
children of the Roman
Empire was to become monks: they would serve God and man, but they would not fight. The services of the monks to civilization are inestimable; they preserved learning, and they largely aided in preserving religion, in the Dark Ages. But without the soldiers even the life of the quiet inoffensive monks might have been impossible. The soldiers saved the monks, but could they save themselves? Soldiering was a bloody, passionate way of life. The barbarians had all the soldier virtues. But in the welter of the struggles with the barbarian a new ideal defined itself: the Christian soldier. The ideal was consciously portrayed in the legends of that dark age, in the stories of Arthur.

No historical Arthur has been discovered. Yet there was certainly some great man whose fame became the basis for the cycle of Arthurian legends: he may have been some British chief who



VISION OF THE HOLY GRAIL

The pursuit of salvation through religion is the idea symbolised by the Quest of the Holy Grail in the Arthurian legend. How the Chalice appeared before Arthur's knights as they sat at banquet at Camelot is the subject of this miniature in a fourteenth-century French manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

From Lanson, *'Histoire de la littérature française,'* by permission of Hachette et Cie

resisted the Romans; more likely some Roman provincial who resisted the barbarians (see page 2447). In any case, his name became an emblem of gentleness, courage, loyalty, courtesy, piety. There are three predominant threads of interest in the Arthurian legends as described by Malory. One is the battles against the enemies, Saracens or Europeans. The second is the loves and friendships of the knights with noble and fair women. The third is the quest of the Holy Grail, the cup which Joseph of Arimathea brought to Camelot or Glastonbury. These three things might be described in other words as the outstanding factors of medieval chivalry: warfare for the right, noble relations between men and women, the pursuit of salvation through religion.

I like to think of the original Arthur as some valiant young Roman, perhaps a high-born Gaul or Briton, deeply religious, who rallied the fleeing hosts of panic-stricken provincials and for years led them in defence of Christian religion and civilization against the destructive heathen.

Without forswearing the world, like the monk, or avoiding its burdens, retaining some share of the old barbaric love of fighting for its own sake, he was yet able to live a 'devoted' life and to save his soul. The Christian knight, said a twelfth century chronicler, Guibert of Nogent, was able 'under the accustomed licence [which meant fighting and living "in the world"] to gain eternal salvation.'

The knighthood of chivalry was not the same in idea as the knighthood of feudalism. The feudal knight was bound to render suit and service to his lord. The knight of chivalry might bind himself by an oath to a lord, or he might not. A man might be ordained a knight of chivalry without undertaking an obligation to any human person. Not being connected with the holding of land, nor with the performance of services to a master, chivalric

knighthood never became hereditary.

It was only gradually that people became conscious of chivalry and reduced it to a system. As the feudal baron was developed in the terrible conditions of the ninth and tenth centuries, **Systematisation of Chivalry** so in the same period an ideal was being created for him, was sung by minstrels, and was later put into the Chansons de Geste, the Christian military poems of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which were of Teutonic origin.

The germ of chivalry is found in the well known passage of Tacitus' *Germania*, where in a council of all the chiefs a young man is armed with shield and spear by a chief or by his father. It required the intervention of the Church, however, to convert this young man in arms into the Christian knight. So definite was the religious element in the ordaining of a knight that Gautier, the modern French historian of chivalry, calls it an eighth sacrament. Chivalry had, at any rate, this about it in common with

the sacraments: it made all those who partook of it feel community with each other.

From the perusal of such works as *The Covenant of Vivien* (in the *Aliscans* poem), *Girart de Viane*, *Renaud de Montauban* and the *Song of Roland*, Gautier deduced the following rules of chivalry. The first was 'to have deep faith in the Christian religion'; all the great Christian heroes were devout and prayed much. The second rule was to defend the Church: 'to shed their blood for the faith,' wrote Eustache Deschamps. The third was to defend the feeble; a 'gentil homme,' wrote Girart de Viane, 'should accompany a poor foreign man when he meets one, and should see that he is not struck or touched.' The fourth rule was to love the land where you were born; Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* shows French, Germans and Italians becoming formed into national groups, and it is calculated that the name of France occurs one hundred and seventy times in the *Song of Roland*. The fifth rule was never to give way before the enemy; this explains why the noble deaths of constant heroes, Vivien, Roland, William of Orange, Arthur, were so popular in songs and in pictures (tapestry). The sixth rule was to combat the infidels without truce; most of the famous battles of the *Chansons* are against the Saracens. The seventh rule was fidelity to your lord. The eighth was to keep your word and to speak the truth. The ninth, to be generous and give largess. The tenth and last was to be everywhere and at all times the champion of right against injustice and evil.

There are many descriptions in ancient authorities of the making of a knight. Any man could be made a knight; there are instances of peasants and burghers who attained to this dignity and profession. But normally the aspirant to

knighthood (generally called a 'damoiseau') was the son of a feudal baron. France and Germany were the chief homes of medieval chivalry, but in Spain, Italy, England and Scotland similar customs were observed.

In the castles of these countries the young sons of barons were brought up chiefly with women for their first seven years. The boy was early given a pony to ride; he learned to love horses and to make them part of his daily life. There is a medieval romance of a sort of Robinson Crusoe called *Doon de Maience*, which was very popular with children and which inculcated adventurousness, courage, filial piety. The *Chansons de Geste* were naturally a part of education. The duty or habit of courtesy was enforced in all social relations. William of Wykeham's famous motto, 'Manners makyth man,' was probably a feudal commonplace.

At the age of twelve the first great step towards knighthood was taken. The boy's father procured him a place in the household of some great noble, perhaps the father's own lord, or a bishop, or the king himself. A great nobleman's household was the 'public school' of the Middle Ages. The young Becket went to the household of Archbishop Theobald; at the end of the Middle Ages, the young More goes to that of Archbishop Morton. The king's was the most popular, but not necessarily the best, school, for few



INVESTITURE OF A KNIGHT

This illustration from Matthew Paris's *Historia Duorum Offarum* depicts the procedure followed in the investiture of the knights of chivalry. On the left the royal 'parrain' girds him with a sword while others fasten on his spurs; on the right his surcoat is put on, while a squire attends with his shield and banner.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero D.5



HERO OF A CHIVALRIC KNIGHTHOOD

Godfrey of Bouillon is a prime exemplar of chivalry in practice. In July, 1099, after the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade, he was elected sovereign, but although he was enthroned he forwent the title of king, as being sacrilegious, and adopted that of 'Advocate' of the Holy Sepulchre.

British Museum, Royal MS. 17 F.9

kings kept a model court like that of S. Louis as described by Joinville.

Shortly after joining the nobleman's household the damoiseau was made a squire. He was assigned to a master, behind whose chair he stood at meal times. In fact, he had to do or share the duties of a valet for his master, or perhaps to groom his horse. He also had to help to set the table. In battle the squire kept behind his master and handed him fresh arms. He wore silvered spurs, and was thus distinguished from the knight, whose spurs were gilded.

The probationary period of the damoiseau lasted five years or more. He might be made a knight at seventeen, but twenty was probably the most usual age. Knights were frequently made on the field of battle, after the action was over, sometimes before. The king of

France knighted five hundred before Agincourt, but Henry V made none: the English army was becoming a mercenary army.

Every knight had the right of making knights. Most knight-ing was done in time of peace. The ordaining usually took place in a castle, according to the lay rite, although the ordaining with the religious rite was not uncommon.

Knighting in a castle was usually done in the open air on the lawn. The earliest form of ordaining, which persisted down to about the year 1200, was for the 'parrain' or knightier simply to buckle on the lad's armour. But the best known ceremonies were more elaborate. A common method, depicted in illuminated manuscripts, is where one man girds the candidate with the sword, another does on the spurs, while the parrain or knightier gives the kneeling lad with the palm of his hand a sound cuff on the back of the neck. In the story of Elie de Saint Gille the father knights the son by girding him

with a sword and giving him a cuff that almost knocks him down. When a bishop or abbot did the knighting, he forbore to cuff and instead tapped the candidate gently with a sword. This method in the end displaced the blow with the hand. In England, a Council of Westminster in 1102 forbade bishops and abbots to make knights.

A refinement of ordaining was when the candidate placed his arms on the altar of a church, and watched and prayed before the altar during the whole night. Next morning he would be knighted by his parrain, after his sword had been blessed by a priest. If the knighting was done in the church itself, a bishop performed the ceremony. This was the ecclesiastical rite of ordaining.

The most famous hero of chivalry, Godfrey of Bouillon, was of mixed French

and German stock. His father was Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had married the daughter of the duke of Lower Lorraine. With this marriage the father came into possession of the imperial fief of Bouillon. He was later invested by the emperor with the duchy of Lower Lorraine. Godfrey was the duke's second son. He was brought up like any other young noble, and was knighted by his father Eustace (who was then only count of Boulogne and Bouillon) by the doing on of armour, without any blow on the neck. This was probably about 1078, when Godfrey was eighteen years old.

The famous 'investiture controversy' (see page 2648) was going on in Germany, and indeed all over western Europe. Godfrey's father fought for the emperor against the Ultramontanes, and was rewarded in 1082 with the duchy of Lower Lorraine. This was a 'Cluniac' area, loyal to Pope Gregory VII and his reforming, one might almost call it Puritan, policy.

Godfrey, although his father was of the emperor's party, was a thorough Cluniac in spirit, that is to say he was filled with simple piety, with indifference to the world's pleasures and gains and with fidelity to the Holy See. When Urban II preached the First Crusade in 1096, Godfrey responded to the call, as did his two brothers Eustace and Baldwin. Without ambition, merely a pious knight and steadfast soldier, he was recognized as the leader of the 40,000 undisciplined Germans who marched to Constantinople.

The universal testimony of legend and of the few contemporary histories which mention Godfrey proves that he observed all the rules of chivalry, though it is unlikely that he ever thought much about them. In the Crusade he was not the chief leader nor the man of magnetic energy who carried the army onwards successfully from apparently hopeless enterprise to hopeless enterprise. But the author of the anonymous *Gesta*



DEFENCE OF THE LIEGE LORD: A PRIME DUTY OF CHIVALRY

Prominent among the paladins of Charlemagne was his nephew Roland, whose adventures are the subject of the *Chanson de Roland* and bulk largely in the fifteenth-century *Croniques et Conquestes de Charlemaine*, by Tavernier. This miniature from it depicts Roland defending the sleeping emperor from murderous assault by Ganelon of Mayence, the false knight, whose treachery was responsible for the destruction of Charlemagne's rearguard and for Roland's death at Roncesvaux.

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MSS. 9066 (facsimile, van den Gheyn)



A COSMOPOLITAN MILITARY ORDER

The international brotherhood of chivalry is emphasised in this fifteenth-century miniature depicting the emperor Frederick III kneeling with the kings of the Romans, Spain, England (Henry VII) and France as fellow members of the Military Order of S. George.

British Museum, Additional MS. 25,698

Francorum shows him always calm, dutiful, courageous. He was ever in the forefront of the fight. He it was who, quietly in act and word, pointed the way of single-mindedness and duty, and maintained some unity in the councils of the quarrelsome and self-seeking chiefs.

After Jerusalem was taken by the crusaders, the chivalrous Godfrey was elected sovereign. He refused the title of king, preferring that of advocate, the usual title of a lay protector of a monastery or church. The humble and hard-working knight of the Cross did not hold his high position long. He died in 1101 at the age of forty-one, having fought valiantly and with a single mind for justice and religion. He left behind him the purest fame of knighthood, and from this time all young men, all the aspirants to knighthood, grew up in the memories of his character and his deeds.

Every nation of western and central Europe has its great hero of chivalry. Spain's is the Cid; Italy's, perhaps, is Henry of Luxemburg, who nearly restored the unity of Italy in the early thirteenth century; Germany's is Frederick Barbarossa; Austria's is Rudolf of Hapsburg. Frederick Barbarossa captivated the German imagination. He was a man of fine presence, with noble features, a red beard, yellow hair. His knightly powers distinguished him even among the brilliant contingents of knights who accompanied him in his six expeditions into Italy. He was a law-giver who defended the poor, and whose wise decisions made peace between warring factions and even between nations. He could be magnificently ceremonial, every inch an emperor, as when he held the magnificent Diet on the field of Roncaglia. If he was involved in a quarrel with the pope, this was not from any disrespect for the Holy Father.

He showed his zeal for our Lord's cause by taking the Cross (for the second time) at the age of sixty-six (a patriarchal age for the Middle Ages when most men died at forty), and going on the long march to Palestine. He died in Asia Minor, carried away when trying to cross the waters of the

**Frederick Barbarossa
as Legendary Hero**

Calycadnus river in 1190. His body was brought back to Germany, and was placed, said legend, in a cavern in the Kyffhäuser Mountain of Thuringia, there to wait until the time should be ripe for him to come again and to free and unite all Germany. Minstrels sang his praise; schoolboys were brought up to emulate him; the minnesinger, like Walther von der Vogelweide, enshrined him in their finest verse.

Knighthood was a confraternity. Chivalry was cosmopolitan, and a knight of any country, like Sir John Hawkwood (who died a Florentine count) or Simon de Montfort (who died an English earl), could pass from one country to another and, unless warfare was raging, be at home in each. Besides this universal confraternity, there were smaller associations; the smallest were the brotherhood in arms of two knights, like Amis and Amiles, the heroes of a famous twelfth-century romance. Somewhat larger were

the bodyguards or chosen followers of a prince, like the legendary Knights of the Round Table of Arthur, or the Paladins of Charlemagne; the original idea of such 'gardes du corps' probably came from the comitatus or band of young nobles who slept in the hall and defended the person of a German chief (see page 2218).

Still larger were the great military orders that formed, as it were, the standing army of the crusading movement.

The great crusades were sporadic affairs occurring at intervals of perhaps half a century. In order that the holy war in defence of the Cross might be carried on permanently, the orders of the Hospitallers, the Templars, S. James of Compostella, the Knights of the Sword and others were founded. These orders express the reconciliation between the military and the religious or consecrated life which is the basis of the conception of chivalry. Bishop Stubbs called the orders 'the soundest element in the Crusading movement.'

The Hospitallers, or Knights of S. John of Jerusalem, arose out of a charitable body of men who maintained a hospital in Jerusalem from times so early that no record has been kept of it. When Jerusalem was taken from the Turks by the crusaders in 1099, the hospital was given additional land and buildings by Godfrey of Bouillon. It remained a purely charitable order until 1120, when the grand master, Raymond du Puy, gave it new statutes and a military character. The brethren were to take the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Their duties were now to include the armed defence of pilgrims. From this grew the great military organization of the knights, and their per-

petual war against the Saracens. Gradually they acquired large estates. They built barracks for the knights, their squires and common soldiery. They constructed great castles, of which the massive walls still stand in the Syrian desert. They had recruiting stations for new knights, rest houses for knights on leave, hospitals for sick and aged knights, in their various European 'provinces' or 'langues.' The Templars had an almost identical organization. These orders stood for all that was best in medieval life, and attracted noble men to their service. Brian de Bois-Guilbert in Scott's *Ivanhoe* must not be taken as typical of all the knights.

The Hospitallers, Templars and similar orders offered nothing but a hard life to their members. The later 'orders of knighthood,' founded by sovereigns to increase the brilliance of their courts, were not working orders at all; they rewarded merit, and conferred social distinction on men who attracted the sovereign's attention. The premier society of this kind is the Order of the Garter, established some time between 1344 and 1351. Froissart's account is that the idea

occurred to King Edward when he was rebuilding Windsor Castle, 'the which was begun by King Arthur and there began the Table Round.'

Inspired by this thought, King Edward determined to make an order and a brotherhood of a certain number of knights, and to be called the Knights of the Blue Garter, and a feast was to be kept yearly at Windsor on S. George's Day.' The garter was probably a symbol of unity. The order consisted from the beginning of the sovereign and twenty-five knights, each of whom has a stall in the noble Chapel of S. George at Windsor. Women were admitted to it. The beautiful



GARTER STALL-PLATE

On the stalls of the Garter Knights in S. George's Chapel, Windsor, are ninety plates in English enamel emblazoned with their arms. This is the plate of Sir Gilbert Talbot (d. 1419).

From A. C. Fox-Davies, 'The Art of Heraldry'



S. GEORGE'S, WINDSOR : CHAPEL OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER

Pre-eminent above all other orders of chivalry is the Most Noble Order of the Garter, founded between 1344 and 1351 by Edward III. The original statutes provided that on or about the Feast of S. George—April 23—the knights should attend a special service in S. George's Chapel, Windsor, the only chapel in the world belonging to such an order. Here each knight has his stall, to the canopy of which his sword and shield are attached, with his banner suspended above.

Photo, H. N. King

recumbent figure of Alice Chaucer, duchess of Suffolk, at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, shows the garter on her left arm.

After the Garter, the most famous order in Europe was the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430. The fleece may have signified wool, the source of all the wealth of Flanders, or it may have been drawn in idea from the story of Gideon or the legend of Jason. The knights had to be noblemen without reproach. They were to form a sort of advisory council for the duke of Burgundy; and, indeed, from time to time their advice as a body was taken. After the last Burgundian monarch of Spain died (1700) the order fell into two branches, Spanish and Austrian, which became independent of each other.

Besides the most famous and honourable orders of the Garter and Golden Fleece there are many others, in almost every European country and also—by comparatively recent institution—in South America, Turkey, Japan and China.

German chivalry was as active as French, although not so wide-spread in its influence in western Europe. The German military order was that of the

Teutonic Knights founded during the Third Crusade by some merchants of Bremen and Lübeck at the siege of Acre in 1190. The knights took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and bound themselves also to tend the sick and wounded, and to wage incessant war against the heathen. They wore a white mantle with a black cross, and were governed by a high master and five chief officers. In the year 1225 the Teutonic Knights received an invitation from the duke of Masovia in Poland to fight against the heathen Prussians. The great days of crusading in Syria and Palestine were over; the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem scarcely existed. The high master of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann of Salza, a friend of the emperor Frederick II and one of the noblest characters of the early thirteenth century, recognized that good work awaited the order in eastern Europe.

The Teutonic Knights conquered the land of Prussia, between the Vistula and



ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE

Philip the Good of Burgundy founded the great knightly Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430. This portrait of him appears in a richly illuminated manuscript copy of the Statutes of the Order, written probably in 1481.

British Museum, Harleian MSS. 6199

Memel, and ruled it from their castles, of which Marienburg was the chief. The conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity in 1386 brought it about that the knights had no more pagans to fight against. Their wars were henceforth with the Christian Poles and Lithuanians, who defeated the order in a terrible battle at Tannenberg in 1410. Their last high master or grand master was Albert of Hohenzollern, who in 1525 adopted the Lutheran Reformation, secularised the domain of the order, married and became duke of Prussia.

Outside the Teutonic Order was the ordinary knighthood of Germany, a very wide-spread class of men, whose deeds are celebrated in the lays of the minnesinger of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The valleys of the Neckar and the Rhine are studded with the ruins of their once formidable castles. They were pests to the trade of their district,

and their martial qualities were seldom of much use to the public except when fighting in the imperial forces on the Danube against the Turks, or serving in crusades in the Holy Land.

When coat-armour came into use in the crusades of the latter part of the twelfth century, some form of supervision seemed indispensable to prevent complete confusion in armorial bearings.

Armorial bearings The natural persons to exercise this supervision were the heralds

who from time immemorial had been attached to military forces. Heraldry appear in early Greek and Roman history, carrying messages of peace and war, and transacting other ceremonial business. In the period of chivalry they organized the tournaments and kept order in the lists. Naturally, therefore, they became repositories of the lore and customs of the tournament and of the whole profession of arms, a sort of priesthood of the military service. In each of the Western countries the heralds formed almost a caste or order or college; they reduced their lore to systems, and constructed an exact science out of the utterly unreal material of quarterings, badges, symbolic beasts, mottoes and fictitious kinships.

Armorial bearings were first placed on shields, either to distinguish their owners or perhaps simply for embellishment. They seem not to have been used in the First Crusade of 1096 nor in the Second Crusade of 1147. The Bayeux tapestry shows the Saxon and Norman knights of the battle of Hastings with a rude emblazonry on their shields; and in the Third Crusade of 1189 armorial bearings

definitely appear. As tournaments were becoming popular in the twelfth century, armorial bearings were a useful means of signifying who the knights were when contending in the lists. In the thirteenth century the knighthood also began to use their armorial bearings as seals.

Armorial bearings, at first put only on shields, were soon, according to a fashion of the thirteenth century, embroidered on the surcoat which was worn over armour; hence came the expression 'coat of arms.' The practice of wearing armorial bearings became cosmopolitan through the cosmopolitan armies of the crusades; it was reduced to a science by the heralds not merely of Germany and France, Spain and England, but of Flanders, Scotland and Switzerland. Beautifully illuminated rolls of heraldry exist from the middle of the thirteenth century.

The insignia adopted by the early knights were often quaint beasts or plants, real or legendary, such as they might see or hear of when on crusade in the mysterious East. But confusion arose through knights adopting the same or similar armorial bearings. To guard against this the heralds compiled rolls or lists of accepted coats of arms and the families to which they belonged, such as the Roll of Caerlaverock, which gives the names and arms of the knights at the siege of Caerlaverock in 1300. Courts of chivalry—in England, the Marshal and Constable—decided disputes between families with reference to coats of arms. As people became sophisticated, heralds who were employed to invent appropriate coats of arms adopted punning devices, such as an ox crossing a ford for the city



JOUSTING KNIGHTS BEFORE THE HERALD

One of the functions of the heralds was to organize the tournaments and keep order in the lists. This title page from an early fourteenth-century romance depicts a herald arranging the preliminaries between two knights who are about to joust, while musicians play on trumpets, tabors and tambour. Tournaments appeared in Europe in the eleventh century and became so popular as martial exercises and pageants that they were made subject to licence and governed by precise Statutes of Arms.

British Museum, Royal MS. 14 E.44

of Oxford, or fountains for the family of Wells. When mottoes came into use they likewise had often a punning sense.

Mottoes have innumerable origins. Some of them may have been derived from the 'cri,' or rallying shout of the knightly families. Such 'cris' might be in a form of invocation, such as 'Notre Dame Bourbon,' the Bourbon rallying shout, or 'Dieu le veut!' the crusaders' cry; or it might simply be the title of the family, such as 'Montmorenci!' or 'Vendôme!' or it might combine a message of encouragement with the name, as 'Espérance, Percy!' as in the cry of the Northumberland family.

Many mottoes are meant to interpret the arms. Other mottoes allude to the name of the family; the ancient Anglo-

Norman house of Vernon has 'Vernon semper viret' (Spring is not always green' or 'Vernon always flourishes').

Some mottoes enshrine the record of noble service; thus the Chateaubriand family has 'Mon sang teint les bannières de France' ('My blood dyes the standards of France'). This alludes to the service of Geoffrey de Chateaubriand, who, in recognition of his service at the battle of Mansourah in 1250, in the first crusade of Louis IX, was permitted by the king to assume the fleur-de-lys of France, but upon a blood-coloured field. The dukes of Medina Sidonia have for motto 'Mas pesa el Rey que la sangre' ('The king is more important than our blood'). This alludes to the loyalty and stoicism of Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman, who in 1292, when defending Tarifa against the Moors, shouted this from the walls to the Moors who were threatening to kill his young captive son if the father did not yield the fortress.

Other mottoes are meant to signify the character of the family, as, for instance, 'Roi ne puis, prince ne daigne, Rohan suis' ('I cannot be king, I deign not to be prince, Rohan I am!'), the motto of the Breton house of Rohan. Religious



SPECIMENS OF 'ARMES PARLANTES'

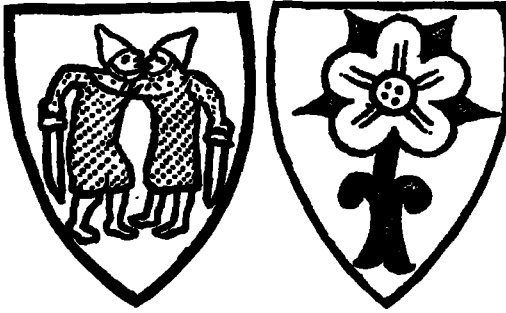
Devices alluding to some family event, or making punning reference to the family or place name, were often employed as armorial bearings. Thus the arms of the city of Oxford (left) show an ox crossing a ford, and three calves are borne on the coat of arms of the Yorkshire family of Metcalfe.

From A. C. Fox-Davies, 'The Art of Heraldry'

mottoes are fairly common, such as that of the German family of Schweinitz: 'Er ist unsere Hülfe und Schild' ('He is our help and shield').

The armorial bearings adopted by knightly families are in many cases as allusive as the mottoes. Thus the royal house of Leon adopted a lion, Castile a castle. The famous Scottish family of Douglas adopted, in the middle of the fourteenth century, a human heart, in commemoration of the 'Good Sir James Douglas,' the friend of Bruce, who was carrying the heart of the king to Palestine when he fell in battle with the Moors in Spain. Such arms, like the fountains of the Wells family mentioned above, are called 'armes parlantes' ('speaking arms').

Armorial bearings consist of 'charges,' that is, figures or objects depicted on a shield or 'escutcheon.' The 'field,' or surface of the shield, is usually understood as being divided into nine portions. The upper third part of the shield is called the chief, and is divided into the dexter chief (A), the middle chief (B) and the sinister chief (C) (the lettering is that of the top-right diagram in page 2983). Below the middle chief is the honour point (D). Below the honour point is the fess point (E). The fess is a horizontal bar stretching across the centre of the shield. On either side of the fess is the dexter flank (K), and the sinister flank (L). Below the fess point is the nombril,



FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CHARGES

The coat of arms of Manegg von Manegg (left) supplies a quaint example of animate charges: gules, two knights combatant, argent. An inanimate charge appears on the Güttingen in Thurgau coat—'argent, a rose gules, seeded or, barbed and slipped vert.'

From the Zürich Roll of Arms, Antiquarian Society of Zürich

or navel point (x). The lowest part of the shield is called the base, and is divided into the dexter base (G), the middle base (H), and the sinister base (I).

Coats of arms differ from each other not only by reason of the different 'charges' or objects borne on them, but by reason of the different colours or 'tinctures' of the charges, or of the field. The tinctures may consist of metals (gold and silver, called 'or' and 'argent'), or of colours—red (gules), blue (azure), green (vert), black (sable), and purple (pourpre). A charge, however, may simply have its own natural colour; in this case it is said to be 'proper.' There are also among the tinctures two furs, 'ermine' (black spots on a white ground), and 'vair' (alternate cups of argent and azure, supposed to be like the fur of a squirrel).

The charges, that is, the objects depicted on the field, are usually classed as ordinaries, sub-ordinaries, and common charges. The commonest ordinaries are conventional figures of geometrical form: they are the chief (the upper third of the shield, marked by a horizontal line); the pale (a vertical band in the middle of the shield); the fess (a horizontal band in the middle of the shield); the bend (a band which crosses the shield

from dexter chief to sinister base); the chevron (a band issuing from dexter base and another from sinister base, and meeting at the honour point); the cross (a Greek cross); the saltire (a S. Andrew's cross).

The main sub-ordinaries are the quarter (the upper fourth part of the field); the canton (a diminutive of the quarter—it is the upper ninth part of the field); the gyron (the lower half of a quarter, formed by a diagonal line); the bordure (a border surrounding the shield); the orle (a narrow border, detached from the edge of the shield); the lozenge (a four-sided figure, the top and bottom angles being acute, and the side angles obtuse).

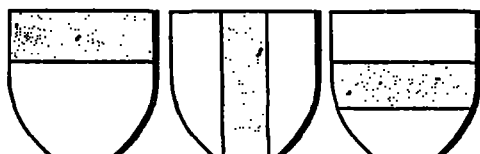
Common charges are either animate or inanimate. A man, a horse, a Moor's head, a leg, or several legs (as in the coat of arms of the Isle of Man), an eye, could be placed on the shield; lions were also frequently depicted, not merely in royal arms, but, for instance, the lion rampant argent of the ancient counts of Gleichen; there are leopards, tigers, panthers, and many legendary beasts, such as griffins, unicorns and others. Birds were often placed on shields, like the peacock of the princes of Wied; fish, reptiles and insects also appear—for instance, the arms of Iceland are a stockfish or dried cod. Inanimate charges might be astronomical—the sun, the moon, stars, comets and so forth—or fruits and flowers, or military



UTILITY OF ARMORIAL BEARINGS

As shown in this illustration from the thirteenth-century manuscript *La Estoire de Saint Aedward le Roi*, in Cambridge University Library, friend and foe would have been indistinguishable in the confusion of battle but for their arms emblazoned on shields and surcoats and banners.

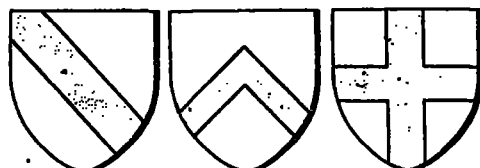
From Barnard, 'Medieval England,' Clarendon Press



Chief

Pale

Fess



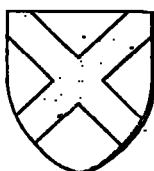
Bend

Chevron

Cross

COMMON ORDINARIES

Charges are figures or objects depicted on a shield. The first among these are conventional geometric figures like the above. They are spacious and may properly bear other charges.



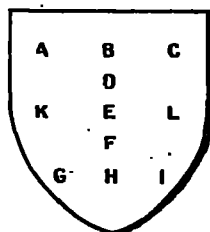
Saltire

weapons, or ships, tools, domestic utensils, or ecclesiastical objects, such as a key or a crozier.

By means of all these charges, and with the aid of the various tinctures, an infinite variety of armorial bearings was constructed. Much curious lore is enshrined in the arms, and much valuable history is preserved. In the Middle Ages it was part of the education of a gentleman to be able correctly to 'blazon,' that is, to describe a coat of arms, and to recognize from the blazon the family to whom the coat of arms belonged, and the other families with which it was quartered.

Chivalry was a noble and beautiful illusion. Like religion and literature, it was an escape from the harsh realities of the Middle Ages. These Middle Ages were no happy period. Life was short, comforts were few. At the time when most people now are looking forward to twenty or thirty years of life, the medieval man was dying; bad food, bad water, perpetual war, lack of light, chronic epidemics, brought him to his early grave. Famine and disease stalked continually through every land. In England there were nine chronicled famines (and how many minor dearths nobody knows) in one hundred years.

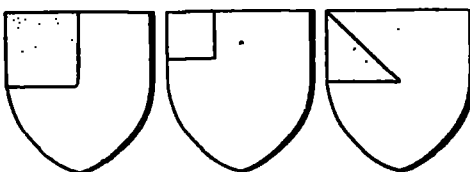
- A, Dexter chief.
- B, Middle chief.
- C, Sinister chief.
- D, Honour point.
- E, Fess point.
- F, Nombril.
- G, Dexter base.
- H, Middle base.
- I, Sinister base.
- K, Dexter flank.
- L, Sinister flank.



DIVISIONS OF AN ESCUTCHEON

To facilitate blazoning, the field, or surface of a shield, is plotted out into nine sections as indicated above. The dexter is the left side as viewed by the spectator, the right the sinister.

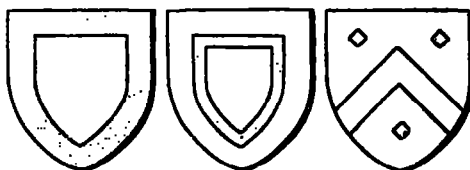
The great noble, in his brief respites from war, might enjoy a rude plenty in his castle hall; he might hear a minstrel tell a tale of Godfrey of Bouillon, of Alexander the Great; he might do some tilting, and enjoy the smiles and insipid conversation of some scarcely educated fair women. For the burgher perhaps life was a little better; behind the festering ditch and walls of his town he was safe enough; he could ply his trade, build perhaps quite a fine stone mansion, decorate it with a few tapestries and religious frescoes. For the peasant, unless haply he was a religious man, there was little to relieve the daily round of endless toil upon a land that was yearly growing more exhausted; and wars with their raiding bands of ruthless soldiery made



Quarter

Canton

Gyron



Bordure

Orle

Lozenges

THE CHIEF SUB-ORDINARIES

Sub-ordinaries are other conventional designs that differentiate coats of arms. Among these, the quarter is the upper fourth of a shield; the gyron the lower half of a quarter, cut diagonally; the canton the upper ninth of the field.

his course of life unstable, miserable, hopeless. England, with its insular, comparatively peaceful history, had some glimpses of earthly happiness; on the continent of Europe there was little relief.

Yet life contained more pleasures than pains, otherwise the race could scarcely have survived. Some earthly pleasures there were, but material comforts were few. Without religion life would have been

hopeless, existence no better than a brute's. In the quiet of the large stone churches people could think of their immortal soul, of the essential majesty of the spirit of man, of the infinite goodness of God; and even over the horrors of medieval war, over the perpetual fear and pain of otherwise meaningless fighting, religion cast something of a healing spell; united with the antique love of glory, it produced chivalry.

But chivalry was not all illusion. There were wars with noble objects in the Middle Ages, crusades against the swelling tide of Islam, and wars to save one's country from invaders, from massacre and ruin. The rules of chivalry idealised war, by insisting on its objects only when those objects were religious, patriotic or compassionate. Nor was it possible for laymen (any more than for clergymen) to be brought up to the daily life-service of noble ideals without being in some degree—often to a large degree—impressed by them. Courage and courtesy cannot be watch-words and fail to have some effect on a man's life. Chivalry held up a sweetening ideal to all—and they were many—who bore arms, and to the womenkind, for whom warfare was otherwise only a perpetual infliction.

Illusions have a way of becoming facts. Man is master of his destiny and fashions the world according to the pattern that he would have it. Thus chivalry, says Huizinga, the Dutch historian of the later Middle Ages, was 'a sort of magic key,' by the aid of which the medieval men 'explained to themselves the motives of politics and of history.' He continues:

The confused image of contemporaneous history being much too complicated for their comprehension, they simplified it, as it were,

by the fiction of chivalry as a moving force (not consciously, of course). A very fantastic and rather shallow point of view, no doubt. How much vaster is ours, embracing all sorts of economic and social forces and causes. Still, this vision of a world ruled by chivalry, however superficial and mistaken it might be, was the best they had in the matter of political ideas. It served them as a formula to understand in their poor way the appalling complexity of the world's way. What they saw about them looked primarily violence and confusion. War in the fifteenth century tended to be a chronic process of isolated raids and incursions; diplomacy was mostly a very solemn and very verbose procedure, in which a multitude of questions about juridical details clashed with some very general traditions and some points of honour. All notions which might have enabled them to discern in history a social development were lacking to them. Yet they required a form for their political conceptions, and here the idea of chivalry came in. By this traditional fiction they succeeded in explaining to themselves, as well as they could, the motives and the course of history, which thus was reduced to a spectacle of the honour of princes and the virtue of knights, to a noble game with edifying and heroic rules.

Chivalry was a noble ideal and a sweetener of life, but its chief benefits were for the gentry. To-day, in spite of the disadvantages of a complex industrial civilization, life is more spacious, and the possibilities of good living are spread among every class. The wars of the fifteenth century, the collapse of feudalism, the discovery of ocean routes, the rise of the bourgeoisie, the Renaissance and the Reformation disintegrated and at last destroyed the institution of chivalry. Yet its forms persisted into the sixteenth century until the fatal tourney on the Place des Vosges gave it the finishing touch.

In June, 1559, a tournament was held outside Paris (where now is the Place des Vosges) to celebrate the marriage of King Philip II of Spain to Princess Elizabeth of France. The king of France himself, in complete armour, entered the lists, mounted on a splendid horse and bearing his lance. The king was 'holding the lists'—which meant that he had to make three courses against three different assailants. In the first two courses, which are said to have been against the duke of Savoy and the duke of Nice, the king broke

a lance in fine style and retained his seat in the saddle. Lastly, there entered the lists a 'tall and straight' young man, the comte de Montgomery, lieutenant in the Scottish Guards. The opponents charged violently together and each broke a lance. The king reeled but managed to retain his seat. He had held the lists; yet he felt that his honour demanded that he should run another course with the knight who had broken a lance against the king. Montgomery excused himself, but the king insisted. Unwillingly the young man obeyed, and took a new lance.

As the knight and the king re-entered the lists, the trumpets and bugles, which were usually sounded continuously throughout tournaments, suddenly were hushed. Amid strained attention and deadly silence the two horsemen charged. Again Montgomery shivered his lance as did the king against his opponent's armour; but in his excitement Montgomery omitted to throw away, as the custom was, the splintered shaft; he continued to hold it pointed forward. As his horse passed the king's the shaft hit the king's visor, stuck, and raised it so that

a splinter entered the king's eye. He died ten days later. This was the last tournament held at the court of France.

A hundred years before this fatal tournament, a new type of soldier was arising, not the knight with his cosmopolitan ideal of service, but the man in arms to defend his country, enjoying the camaraderie and courage of the camp, although with no illusion that war is better than peace. Such is the impression given by *Le Jouvencel*, the contemporary novel of the professional soldier of France in the later Hundred Years' War.

The author of the novel was a knight of Touraine, Jean de Bueil, whose family had suffered disastrously at Agincourt and who himself fought at Verneuil (another resounding victory of the English) in 1424. He was a soldier of the school of La Hire, a hard school of war where the Frenchmen, fighting for their native land, had their 'backs to the wall' and fought to win, not for honour and glory. Jean de Bueil spent his life in the royal service. He had an important share in the building up of a professional army, and himself commanded a hundred



RUDE PLENTY IN THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE HALL

Time has spread a glamour over the Middle Ages that blinds men's eyes to their harsh realities. Only among the nobles and richer gentry was there an appreciable degree of material comfort, shown chiefly in the rude plenty that abounded in the castle halls, in the army of servitors and attendant squires, the entertainment of minstrelsy and the amiable converse of women. Such a scene is shown in this picture of Geoffrey of Denmark's home life from the same manuscript as that in page 2975.

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS. 9066 (facsimile, van den Gheyn)

lances in the regular forces. He died in 1477 at the age of seventy-one, after richly endowing an Augustinian priory long associated with his family.

Le Jouvencel is the imaginative interpretation by Jean de Bueil of his own experiences. The story tells how the author set forth on a journey in spring, the time when flowers begin to bud and the earth resumes its vigour under the generous influence of the sun; but there is little sign of spring now, for the land through which he passes is 'desolated and desert' owing to the long-drawn-out war; 'for, to tell you the truth, it seemed more like the dens of savage beasts than the habitation of people.' He comes to a castle called Luc and remains there for some time, observing how knights live, and what is the condition of chivalry; and he finds 'that all men who wish to acquire honour and glory must bear and endure patiently the great pain and harshness which they find there at first.' The realities of war were now dispelling the false glitter of chivalry and leaving only the hardship and the heroism—the heroism of the unselfconscious modern soldier—which is part of his day's work.

Among the garrison of Luc was a young gentleman, poorly clad and without horse or even ass. He was of a high and noble courage, and, although he went on foot, yet was he ever the first to volunteer for dangerous service. The author often spoke with him when the young knight returned from these enterprises. He answered gently, telling his adventures; 'and I could see,' writes Bueil, 'by his words that he had great confidence in God.' Then follows the story of the young knight's adventures. Ultimately fortune smiled upon him, and Bueil saw him in the end 'prince et seigneur.'

The message of Le Jouvencel has not escaped Huizinga when he comes to deal with the end of chivalry. It is as different as possible from Froissart and Chastellain:

It would hardly be possible to quote in the literature of the fifteenth century another work giving as sober a picture as Le Jouvencel of the wars of those times. We find the small miseries of military life, its privations and

boredom, gay endurance of hardships and courage in danger. A castellan musters his garrison; there are but fifteen horses, lean and old beasts, most of them unshod. He puts two men on each horse, but most of the men are blind of the eye or lame. They set out to seize the enemy's laundry in order to patch the captain's clothes. A captured cow is courteously returned to a hostile captain at his request. Reading the description of a nocturnal march, one feels as though surrounded by the silence and the freshness of the night. It is not saying too much that here military France is announcing herself in literature which will give birth to the types of the 'mousquetaire,' the 'grognaard,' and the 'poilu.' The feudal knight is merging into the soldier of modern times; the universal and religious ideal is becoming national and military.

Yet, although the soldier ceases to be a cosmopolitan knight, he still preserves his essential *Essence of the chivalry.* For, according to *Chivalrous ideal* Le Jouvencel, he is inspired by the perpetual call of asceticism, the call of Christ to suffer and to labour for others. 'It is a great thing to expose your body to death for the good of another.' Indeed the soldier finds that the pleasures outweigh the pains:

It is a joyous thing, war; one hears, one sees many things, one learns much good. When the quarrel is good, it is justice, it is to defend the right. . . . And when war is taken up with this intention, it is a pleasant trade and good for young people. For they are friends of God and of the world. You love each other so much in war. There comes a sweetness of loyalty and pity into the heart to see your friend valiantly exposing his body to do and accomplish the command of our Creator. And then you make you ready to go and die or live with him, and for love not to leave him. In this comes a delight such as he who has not experienced it is not the man to say what it is. Do you think that a man who does that fears death? No; for he is so comforted, he is so ravished, that he does not know where he is. Truly he has fear of nothing. I believe that he is happy in this world and the next who serves arms with this mind, and that he is a true officer of God.

These words, says Huizinga, show 'the very core of courage; man, in the excitement of danger, stepping out of his narrow egotism, the ineffable feeling caused by a comrade's bravery, the rapture of fidelity and sacrifice—in a word, the privation and spontaneous asceticism, which is the foundation of the chivalrous ideal'

Sixth Era

TWO CENTURIES OF RENASCENCE

1303—1492

Chronicle XXI—THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES, 1303-1396

- | | |
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| <p>117. The Mind of Medievalism
<i>G. G. Coulton</i></p> <p>118. The Venetian Republic: A Romance of History
<i>Edward Hutton</i></p> <p>119. The Power of the Hanseatic League
<i>Prof. C. Raymond Beazley, D.Litt.</i></p> | <p>120. Church and Papacy: A Time of Unrest
<i>H. B. Workman, D.D.</i></p> <p>121. Popular Movements of the Period
<i>Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson</i></p> <p>122. The Black Death and Other Plagues
<i>Charles Singer</i></p> |
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Chronicle XXII—BIRTH OF THE RENAISSANCE, 1396-1492

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|---|--|
| <p>123. Turk and Magyar in Contrast and Affinity
<i>Demetrius C. Boulger</i></p> <p>124. India and its Moslem Empires
<i>Lt.-Col. Sir Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E.</i></p> <p>125. The Invention of Printing
<i>John K. M. Rothenstein</i></p> | <p>126. Life in the Italian Cities
<i>Prof. Cesare Foligno</i></p> <p>127. The Spirit of the Renaissance
<i>W. Romaine Paterson</i></p> <p>128. Witchcraft and its Suppression
<i>Margaret A. Murray</i></p> <p>129. The Moors in Spain
<i>J. B. Trend</i></p> |
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THE Era now before us is the age of transition from the dying medieval conceptions to the modern expanding outlook upon a world suddenly and vastly enlarged. Medievalism fell with the humiliation of the Church; the modern world began with the discovery of the New World. Our Era is one of spiritual degeneration, in which the old ideals have decayed: the age of the Avignon Papacy, of the Great Schism and of the failure of the Council of Constance to effect a true reformation. It is an age of political turmoil. Hapsburgs and Luxemburgs fail to create an adequate organization for the Empire. England tries twice and fails twice to conquer France. Italy remains a stage of city-state rivalries and internal faction feuds, leading nowhither. Spain thrusts the Moorish power into a corner and, finally, unifying herself, ends it; but in the east of Europe what still remains of the ancient Roman Empire is obliterated by the Ottoman. In Asia the might of the Mongol collapses after one last terrific eruption. It is an age, nevertheless, of material progress and commercial development. And, in the history of progress generally, it is above all the age of the intellectual revival and the renewed joy in beauty, beginning in Italy and spreading over Europe, which we call the Renaissance. Therefore, we take as our starting point the overthrow of Pope Boniface, and as our terminal point the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXI

- 1303 Boniface VIII taken prisoner by Philip IV of France. His death ends the independence of the Papacy. Andronicus II takes into his service the Grand Company of the Catalans, released from Sicily by the recognition of the Aragonese dynasty.
- 1305 India : Conquests of Ala ud-Din Khilji in Deccan. Clement V (French) elected pope; he remains in France. Beginning of 'Babylonish Captivity.' Wenzel II, last of the Premislavs of Bohemia, dies without an heir. William Wallace is captured and killed.
- 1306 The emperor Albert of Hapsburg procures the Bohemian crown for his son Rudolf. Robert I Bruce is crowned King of Scots, and heads Scottish revolt against English supremacy.
- 1307 Edward I dies on Scottish border. Edward II acc. Henry of Carinthia acc. in Bohemia. Break up of Seljuk dominion in Asia Minor on death of Ala ud-Din III. Philip of France attacks the Order of the Knights Templars.
- 1308 Albert I assassinated; Henry VII (Luxemburg) emp.
- 1309 The Angevin Carobert elected king of Hungary. Pope Clement establishes the Papacy at Avignon. Naples : Robert, uncle of Carobert, acc.
- 1310 John of Luxemburg acc. in Bohemia. Henry VII goes to Italy.
- 1312 Total suppression of the Templars. Othman sultan in Asia Minor; 'Ottoman' power.
- 1313 Henry VII d.
- 1314 Two rival emperors elected, Lewis the Bavarian and Frederick of Hapsburg. Philip IV d. Louis X acc. Clement V d. Scotland's independence won at Bannockburn. Swiss defeat Hapsburgs at Morgarten. John XXII pope. Louis X d. His daughter Joan is heiress of Navarre. His brother Philip V succeeds him in France by the recognition of the 'Salic Law.'
- 1320 India : Khilji dynasty of Delhi overthrown by Ghiyas ud-Din Tughlak.
- 1322 Galeazzo Visconti acc. at Milan.
- 1323 Emperor Lewis and Pope John XXII quarrel. James of Aragon recovers Sardinia.
- 1324 India : Mohammed Tughlak acc. at Delhi.
- 1325 Orkhan succeeds Othman.
- 1326 India : Mohammed transplants Delhi population to Daulatabad.
- 1327 Edward III acc. Regency of Isabella and Mortimer.
- 1328 Treaty of Northampton recognizes Scottish independence. Charles IV d.; Philip VI of Valois succeeds under the Salic Law. Protest entered on behalf of Edward III of England. Andronicus II d. Andronicus III acc.
- 1329 Robert Bruce d. Acc. of David II; Randolph regent.
- 1330 Frederick of Hapsburg d.; Lewis sole emperor. Edward III suppresses regency in England.
- 1331 China : Acc. of Shun-Ti, last emperor of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. Stephen Dusan acc. as king of Serbia. Edward III makes Edward Balliol king of Scotland. Poland : Acc. of Casimir III the Great. Benedict XII pope.
- 1334 Edward III asserts claim to the French crown.
- 1337 India : Mohammed Tughlak sends an expedition to China which fails disastrously.
- 1338 Edward allies with Flemings as their lawful suzerain. Meeting of Rhense and Diet of Frankfort repudiate papal intervention in imperial elections. Edward III invades Picardy. First campaign of the Hundred Years' War. India : Bengal becomes independent of Delhi. Naval battle of Sluys; England mistress of Channel. Waldemar III in Denmark.
- 1341 Andronicus III d.; John V acc.
- 1342 Hungary : Lewis the Great succeeds Carobert. Naples : Joanna I succeeds Robert. Clement VI pope.
- 1344 Charles (IV) son of John of Bohemia elected king of the Romans. John is killed at battle of Crécy. Fighting as ally of France.
- 1347 India : Rise of Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar and Bahmani sultanate in Deccan. Rise and fall of Rienzi in Rome. Edward III captures Calais.
- 1347 Lewis the Bavarian d.; Charles IV of Bohemia and Luxemburg emperor. John Cantacuzenus joint emperor at Constantinople. The Black Death devastates Europe. Charles IV founds Prague University in Bohemia. Dauphiné annexed to France. Charles the Bad acc. in Navarre. John the Good acc. in France. Pedro the Cruel acc. in Castile.
- 1351 India : Firoz Shah succeeds Mohammed at Delhi.
- 1352 Innocent VI pope.
- 1353 Bern joins the Swiss Confederation.
- 1354 Cantacuzenus abdicates; John V sole Greek emperor. Turks occupy Gallipoli, establishing permanent footing in Europe.
- 1355 Coronation of Charles IV in Rome. Stephen Dusan king of Serbia d.
- 1356 English victory over French at Poitiers; King John taken prisoner. Charles IV issues the Golden Bull. French peasant insurrection (the 'Jacquerie') which is mercilessly stamped out.
- 1359 Orkhan d. Murad I (Amurath) acc.
- 1360 Treaty of Brétigny; height of English power in France.
- 1361 King John gives duchy of Burgundy to his younger son Philip the Bold; nucleus of the later Burgundian dominion. War between Denmark and the Hanseatic League. Turks capture Adrianople, which becomes their capital.
- 1362 Urban V pope.
- 1364 John of France d.; Charles V the Wise acc.
- 1366 Pedro the Cruel appeals to the Black Prince for aid against Henry of Trastamara, who is helped by the Breton captain Bertrand du Guesclin.
- 1367 Black Prince wins battle of Najaro or Navarrete. Hanseatic fleet takes Copenhagen.
- 1368 China : Yuan dynasty expelled by Hung Wu, founder of the (native) Ming dynasty.
- 1369 Henry of Trastamara kills Pedro; becomes Henry II of Castile. Renewal of Anglo-French war; French gradually recover territory. Tamerlane (Timur) becomes king of Samarkand. Hanseatic fleet predominant in northern seas. Casimir III of Poland d., succeeded by Lewis the Great, Angevin king of Hungary.
- 1371 David II of Scotland d.; Robert I Stewart acc.
- 1376 Wenzel, son of the emperor, elected k. of Romans.
- 1377 Edward III d.; Richard II acc.; regency.
- 1378 Gregory XI dies at Rome where Urban VI is elected. French elect Clement VII. Great Schism begins. Charles IV d.; Wenzel acc.
- 1380 France : Charles VI acc.; regency. Lewis the Great d.; his daughter Mary succeeds in Hungary, Hedwig in Poland. Decisive defeat of Genoa by Venice.
- 1381 Naples : Charles III of Durazzo acc.
- 1382 Albizzi oligarchy set up in Florence. Mary of Hungary m. Wenzel's brother Sigismund.
- 1383 Philip of Burgundy through his wife succeeds to most of Netherlands, etc.
- 1385 Growing power of Milan under Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Charles III of Naples claims Hungarian crown. Portuguese independence secured at Aljubarrotta.
- 1386 Union of Poland and Lithuania by marriage of Hedwig to Duke Jagellon (k. Ladislas V). Swiss rout Hapsburg troops at Sempach. Charles III assassinated. Disputed succession in Naples and Hungary.
- 1387 Sigismund secures Hungarian crown. German 'town war.'
- 1388 India : Firoz Shah d.; break up of Tughlak dominion.
- 1389 Hapsburgs recognize Swiss independence. Turks defeat Slavs at Kosovo. Bajazet I acc. Boniface IX Roman pope. Castile : Henry III acc.
- 1391 Constantinople : Manuel II acc.
- 1392 Beginning of rivalry in France between Louis of Orleans (Charles' brother) and Burgundy.
- 1394 Benedict XIII Avignon pope. Tamerlane breaks up the Tatar Golden Horde. Wenzel makes Gian Galeazzo duke of Milan.
- 1395 Bajazet defeats Sigismund at Nicopolis.

Chronicle XXI

THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES: 1303-1396

THE Middle Ages reached their culmination in the thirteenth century.

The zenith of the medieval idea of the Papacy was the reign of Innocent III. From the death of Innocent to the middle of the century the most brilliant, intellectually, of the whole line of emperors was reigning; he was not indeed a typical representative of the medieval idea of the Empire, being a modern born before his time; but with his death the medieval idea passed away for ever. All that was loveliest in the conceptions of Christianity was embodied in Francis of Assisi. The loftiest ideals of the ages were concentrated in the person not of pope or emperor but in the austere grandeur of Dante, born before two-thirds of the century had passed. In Louis IX chivalry gave its perfected type.

Renaissance after Decadence

IN the two following centuries medievalism has lost its ideals. It is passing. Something remains of its glamour, more of its glitter, hardly anything of its intensity; but something else is being born or reborn, incompatible with that which is dying. Upon the Crusading Era follow the two centuries of renaissance, an age of fermenting diversities, of individual developments, from which are being evolved the new state system, the new political organization, the new social structure, the new outlook moral and intellectual, which, with the new geographical horizons, differentiate the modern from the medieval world.

We cannot, then, as heretofore distinguish the steps in a stage-by-stage movement as it progresses in Europe or in the East; we divide our Era into two Chronicles, practically corresponding to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as a matter of convenience merely. The Era has a definite starting point and a definite closing point; but throughout there are

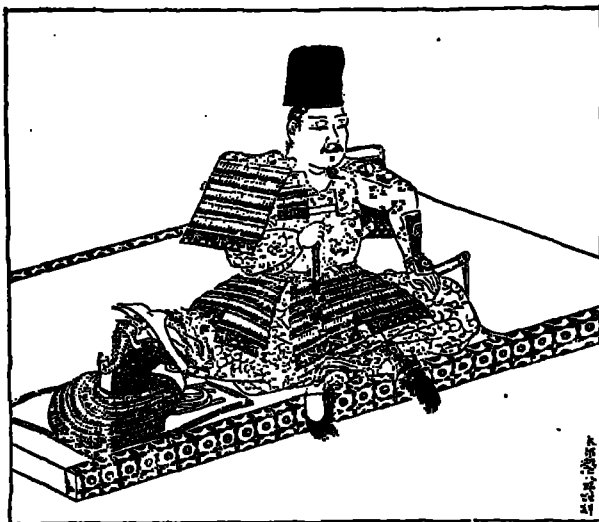
no dominating ideas and no dominating personalities whose appearance or disappearance provide a marked line of division. Moreover the chronicler for a time has not two or three main streams to follow to which the rest are subsidiary; he has only a number of minor streams—the progress of individual states—variously interlacing.

The Far East: Conditions in Japan

FOR the first time our last Chronicle brought within our purview a Far Eastern nation, growing up in an isolation practically unbroken in the past and broken only occasionally for centuries to come. Seeds gathered from China had been sown among the Japanese, but in most respects their development had been to all appearance almost completely indigenous. For an unknown number of centuries Japan had been ruled by the royal house of the 'mikados' which is on the throne at the present day, a house far older than any in Europe. Both Confucian and Buddhist doctrines had found their way to Japan (see Chap. 90), and she had done battle with China for Korea.

Like the Chinese her people had been divided into four classes, military, mercantile, agricultural and artisan. She had entered probably upon a feudal stage at about the same time as western Europe, when great territorial houses became rivals for ascendancy, more or less dominating the mikado, the official head of the state; the chief bearing the title of 'shogun,' and being in effect the ruler of the country.

In the twelfth century Yoritomo, of the Minamoto clan, had established a supremacy which enabled him to carry out an immense reorganization; then the Minamoto were superseded by the Hojo, who broke up an attempt of the mikado to recover power, relegated the shogun as well as the mikado to the position of a puppet, and assumed the title of 'shikken'



FOUNDER OF THE SHOGUNATE

Yoritomo (1147-1199) was head of the Minamoto family. In 1192 he was invested with the title of Sei-i-Tai Shogun (barbarian-subduing generalissimo) and instituted a system of government based on military administration which, exercising its power from Kamakura, remained effective for centuries.

or regent, under which they ruled. It was the Hojo Tokimune who organized the defence of Japan against Kublai Khan. But with his death, three years after the great triumph, degeneracy set in. In 1333 the Hojo power was destroyed in a civil war by the mikado Go-Daigo, but he did not succeed in restoring the power of the crown. The regency disappeared but the Shogunate was revived by the Ashikaga who had helped Go-Daigo to victory. Their ascendancy as shoguns lasted for more than two hundred years, but they were centuries of perpetual civil strife, though a notably brilliant period of Japanese art and literature.

In China the Mongol or—to give it its Chinese name—Yuan dynasty survived the death of Kublai for some three-quarters of a century. Kublai, great ruler though he was, never became popular; the Mongol was an alien, and whatever the merits of his government might be, however tolerant and beneficial, it was the government of an alien. That it was beneficial there is no manner of doubt, but it remained unacceptable. His successors lacked his ability; thirty years after his death the fourth of them was

murdered; nine years covered the next three reigns; and though the eighth and last—called Shun-Ti by the Chinese—was not actually deposed till thirty-five years later, the dynasty was obviously moribund before the beginning of his reign, which was full of disasters and rebellions.

The man who overthrew the foreign dynasty was Chu Yüan-chang, who deserted a Buddhist monastery to join an insurgent leader on the Yangtse, and, being a born captain and organizer, became first his right-hand man and then his successor in the chieftainship in 1355. His power extended rapidly; he captured Nanking; the imperial forces were continually defeated; and in 1368 he marched on the capital, Peking. The fall

of Peking ended the Mongol supremacy. The victor was proclaimed emperor with the imperial name of Hung Wu, and once more a native dynasty, the Ming, was established. Shun-Ti escaped to Mongolia, but died in 1370.

The conqueror reigned for thirty years, during which he restored the Hanlin College and the educational system, made a new codification of the laws, and did what one man could do to cleanse the corrupt administration of justice. Doubtless he would have done still more if the attempts of the Mongols to recover their lost power had not forced upon him continuous warfare during the latter years of his reign, which ended in 1398.

Mongol meets Mameluke

ALTHOUGH Kublai, as Great Khan, had been technically lord of the entire dominion wherein the Mongols held sway from the China seas to the Black Sea, his concentration on China had limited his real rule to that sufficiently vast country, while his brother Hulagu and Hulagu's successors ruled the west in practical independence. The expansion had reached its limit when it met its

The Passing of the Middle Ages

unexpected check at the hands of the Mamelukes in 1260; from that time the 'ilkhans' lost much ground, gained none, and found their grip on what they held continuously weakening. Syria went to the Egyptians—Baibars discovered and set up a dummy khalif of the Abbasid house who had escaped the massacre at Bagdad—and while Asia Minor was between the Mongol hammer and the Mameluke anvil, the Ottoman Turks under Ertogrul, and then Osman, displaced the old Seljuk lordship and made themselves its masters, defeating the efforts of the Palaeologi at Constantinople to recover some of the old Greek Empire. In the fourteenth century, after the death of Ghazan, the Mongol empire in the West was in dissolution as palpably as in the Far East, central Asia breaking up into independent principalities after the time-honoured fashion.

The Mahomedan empire or sultanate of Delhi, created at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Shahab ud-Din of Ghor, was continuous, in the sense

that an unbroken succession of sultans reigned at Delhi for some three hundred years without being displaced by new conquerors from beyond the mountains or overturned by rival Indian powers. But no dynasty was continuous; that is, no family held the sultanate for many generations. In the thirteenth century very few of the so-called Slave dynasty ruled with any pretence to a hereditary title. The three sultans who next reigned from 1290 to 1318 are known as the Khilji dynasty, the three from 1320 to 1388 as the Tughlaks. Under one or another of the more powerful of the Slaves, Khiljis or Tughlaks the Delhi empire extended to huge dimensions, but by the middle of the fourteenth century it was breaking up, and before the century was ended Delhi was no more than one among many Mohamedan principalities.

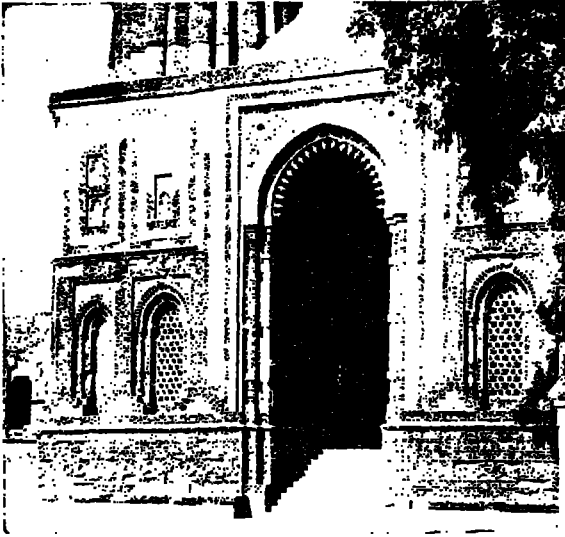
One feature was common to the entire series of sultans; they slaughtered Hindus without compunction on any pretext which had some colour of plausibility, and



ENFORCED FLIGHT OF A MIKADO AS DEPICTED BY A JAPANESE ARTIST

In the middle of the twelfth century a dispute concerning the succession to the imperial throne of Japan brought about a prolonged conflict between the great military families the Taira and the Minamoto, which affords a curious parallel to the Wars of the Roses in England. One of the puppet mikados around whom this quarrel raged was Go-Shirakawa; in 1159 he was abducted and consigned to exile—an episode illustrated in this picture by a thirteenth-century Japanese artist.

British Museum



GATE IN DELHI BUILT BY ALA UD-DIN

Ala ud-Din Khilji, most famous and most ruthless of the Mahomedan conquerors of India, secured the throne of Delhi in 1294 and forthwith set about an invasion of the Deccan which, as well as Gujarat, Rajputana and Madura, he subjected to Islam. He died at Delhi in 1316.

Photo, F. Deerville Walker

taxed them to the utmost limit of their capacity. To the Hindu the Mahomedan was below caste; but practically the Mahomedans formed one ruling caste which was not the lowest but the highest. Of all the sultans none was perhaps quite so systematic and thorough in his persecution of the Hindus as Ala ud-Din Khilji, who was on the Delhi throne at the beginning of the fourteenth century. His theory was quite simply avowed; they were to work for the benefit of the ruling race, but were themselves to derive no profit from their toil; all was to be torn from them except the bare margin on which they could maintain life.

Ala ud-Din annexed Gujarat, and his armies ravaged far into the Deccan. A famous episode of his reign was the fall of the Rajput stronghold of Chitor, where the Rajputs held out to the last gasp, until further resistance was manifestly hopeless; when all their women were gathered together to perish in a vast holocaust and, the fires having been kindled, the men sallied forth and fought till all were slain. After his death in 1316, most of his kindred were extirpated,

and in 1320 an able soldier of Turkish descent, Ghiyas ud-Din Tughlak, was raised to the sultanate by election. Five years later Tughlak Shah's death was compassed by his son Mohammed.

From 1325 to 1351 Mohammed's reign presented an unparalleled example of the monstrosities which may be achieved by absolute power wielded by a man wholly unbalanced but yet endowed with brilliant intellectual qualities and an unfettered imagination. He chose to set up a new capital which he called Daulatabad, in the Deccan, and ordered the inhabitants of Delhi to clear out of that vast city in three days, and transfer themselves to this new abode. He punished all offences indiscriminately with death, often in the most repulsive forms. He extended his sovereignty southward to Mysore and Calicut; but he sent to

conquer Khorassan a vast army of which only fragments returned, and another through Nepal and the Himalayas to conquer China, which met a like fate.

Decline of the Delhi Sultanate

THE Mahomedan governor of Bengal revolted and achieved independence. When the spirit moved him Mohammed devastated his own territories. His taxation reduced his subjects to abject poverty, while he lavished the fruit of his exactions upon hospitals and upon men of learning. In his private life he was rigid in following the precepts of the Koran, and considered it necessary to procure from the Mamelukes' puppet khalif in Egypt the formal recognition of his sultanate. Apparently he was quite satisfied that as sultan he was but setting an admirable example as a model ruler, while we are told that the approaches to his court were stacked with the unburied corpses of the victims of his 'justice.'

Mohammed died in 1351—not, strangely enough, by the dagger of an assassin, but of a fever. He was succeeded by his

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cousin Firoz Shah. Long before his death the vast empire (see map in page 3164) was breaking up. Bengal had broken away comparatively early. By the middle of his reign—the dates are uncertain—the Hindus of the southern Deccan gave check to the Mahomedan advance and were establishing a great Hindu monarchy at Vijayanagar. About 1347 one of the sultan's generals in the northern Deccan, Zafar Khan, declared his independence, took the title of Ala ud-Din, and established what is known as the Bahmani dynasty (Mahomedan) in that quarter; where for the rest of the century he and his successors waged savage wars with the Hindu princes of the Deccan. For two hundred years the whole of southern India was lost to the Delhi empire, though it remained a continuous battlefield between Mahomedan and Hindu powers.

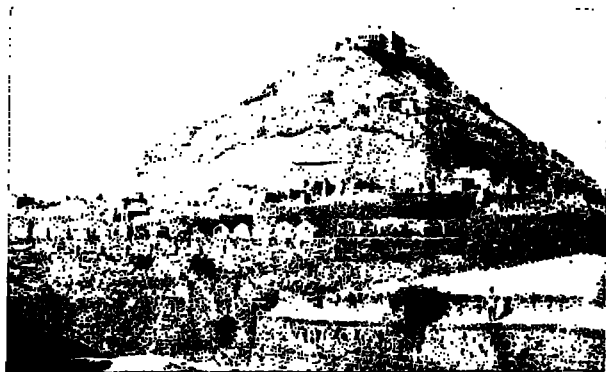
Firoz Shah (1351–88) was a ruler of a very different type from Mohammed; but the dead tyrant had so utterly sapped the foundations of the empire that a succession of Firoz Shahs could hardly have saved it; though the finishing blow was not dealt till ten years after his death by the invasion of Timur the Destroyer—the Tamerlane of western literature—the Barlas Turk who is commonly called Tatar or Mongol. But Timur's career belongs mainly to the next Chronicle.

During his long sultanate Firoz strove to restore sound government, to remedy the economic ruin, and even to recover some of the already lost dominions. His wars were perfunctory, and if they escaped actual discredit they did nothing to strengthen the empire. But he was earnest in the pursuit of justice; his rule, though not lacking in firmness, was notably mild, and exceptionally so towards the Hindus, though he could be intolerant enough to Shiah heretics. Incidentally, by remitting the poll-tax on Hindus to all who should become converts to Islam, he appreciably increased the Mahomedan population.

He was neither a hero nor a genius, but save in respect of military prowess it would be hard to name one of his predecessors more deserving of praise. When the old man died, there was no strong man to take up the responsibilities which he had himself assumed with extreme reluctance, and the still great realm went rapidly to pieces. For some time to come the most vigorous powers in India were not the northern sultans but the rival principalities in the Deccan.

Rival Powers in the Near East

OUR scene shifts then to Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula. The revived Greek Empire was in fact nothing more than a minor kingdom important merely because it held the almost impregnable fortress which was the gateway between Asia and Europe. Otherwise it controlled only a fragment of territory on each continent, while the larger islands were in the hands of the Venetians or the Knights of S. John; the Venetians or independent dukes ruled in the Morea (the Peloponnese); and the Genoese, who had been repaid for their services to the Palaeologi by the concession of large privileges, fought with their Venetian rivals for ascendancy in the eastern trade and eastern waters. In the Balkans and on the Danube, Bulgaria and Serbia held independent sway, but the definite ascendancy was passing from the



WAR-SCARRED FORTRESS OF DAULATABAD

Crowning an isolated rock the hill-fortress of Daulatabad is an imposing memorial of Mahomedan rule in India. Constructed in the thirteenth century, it was captured by Ala ud-Din in 1294 and made the capital of the empire by Mohammed Tughlak. Later it passed to the Bahmani and Mogul dynasties.

Photo, E.N.A.

former to the latter, whose successive monarchs all bore the name of Stephen. Michael VIII at Constantinople was succeeded by his son Andronicus II (1282-1328), well-meaning but inefficient.

There was a moment when Andronicus had the opportunity of making at least a serious bid for the reconquest of Asia Minor, when the Seljuk power was breaking up and the Ottomans were not yet established in their place. In 1303 the troops from Catalonia, by whose aid Frederick of Sicily had just secured his crown, were seeking lucrative employment, and the 'Grand Company of the Catalans' took service with Andronicus. But he failed to make due use of them—he had in effect no army of his own worthy the name. They were sent across the Bosphorus, but, getting neither military support nor pay, they broke with the emperor and lived at ease on the country, until it suited their convenience to transfer their services to another sovereign. From 1321 to 1328 the Empire was given up to civil war between the emperor and his grandson, who finally defeated and deposed him, and assumed the purple as Andronicus III (1328-41).

Rapid Growth of Ottoman power

IN 1307, on the death of the Seljuk sultan Ala ud-Din, Othman had appropriated the title and established a general supremacy in Asia Minor, the more easily since the Catalans had departed. Just before Othman's death in 1326 he had taken Brusa, which was made the Ottoman capital, and under his son Orkhan the Ottoman power advanced rapidly. In 1330 he captured Nicæa, and within a few years all that remained to Andronicus III in Asia was a strip of coast. More notable, however, even than his conquests was Orkhan's ingenious and extremely successful plan for providing himself with a new army and a new staff of administrators.

The standing condition upon which Christians under Turkish rule were allowed the exercise of their religion was the payment of tribute; Orkhan instituted a tribute of children. Those children were brought up as Mahomedans and then drafted either into an imperial guard, the

famous Janissaries, or into a sort of civil service, a sphere for which the Turk showed an unfailing incapacity. By this system the sultan held under his immediate control the best troops in his service and a trained body of non-Turkish administrators entirely dependent on his personal favour.

Andronicus III died in 1341. He left a so-called empire smaller even than it had been on his accession; for while the Ottomans were extending their territories at his expense in Asia, the most vigorous of Serbian kings, Stephen Dusan (1333-55), was tearing from him his Balkan lands. Both processes continued unremittingly in the following years. He himself had been thoroughly incompetent; he was succeeded by an infant, John V, while the government remained in the hands of his minister John Cantacuzenus, who shared the throne with the boy-emperor till his own deposition, from 1347 to 1354.

Turks obtain a Footing in Europe

CONSTANTINOPLE only escaped capture by Stephen Dusan because of the city's impregnable strength; the intrigues and bargainings of the domestic factions with the external enemies present a nauseous picture; and in 1354 Orkhan established for the first time what proved to be a permanent footing in Europe by capturing and occupying Gallipoli, while Genoese and Venetians were fighting not the Turks but each other for the mastery of the sea. In 1361 Orkhan's successor, Murad (Amurath) I, captured Adrianople, which remained the Turkish capital in Europe till the fall of Constantinople in 1453. John V, failing to obtain aid from the West, acknowledged himself the vassal, and in 1381 the tributary, of the Ottoman.

In fact the resistance to the Turks in Europe was maintained not by the Empire but by the Slavonic states; and Murad before his assassination in 1379 (when he was succeeded by Bajazet) shattered the armies of a great coalition which had formed against him at Kossovo. As a result Serbia was brought into Bajazet's obedience, he annexed Bulgaria, and beyond the Danube Wallachia became his tributary. Probably Constantinople itself would have fallen but for the devastating

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advance of Tamerlane, whose story is more conveniently postponed to the next Chronicle, though the growth of his power is commonly dated from 1369 when he established his sovereignty in Samarkand.

Beginning of the 'Babylonish Captivity'

WHE left the West at the point where the long struggle of the Papacy to subordinate the secular powers to its supremacy received its death-blow at the hands of Philip the Fair. Boniface's successor, Benedict XI, could not venture an attempt to reside in Rome, where the Colonna faction, the enemies of the dead pope, were dominant; within a year he too was dead. Some months later, in 1305, by a compromise between the Italian and French parties, the archbishop of Bordeaux, who was supposed to be an adherent of Edward I and therefore an enemy of Philip, was elected to the Papacy as Clement V; but the papal coronation took place at Lyons—not yet annexed to France—and in 1309 Clement took up his residence at Avignon, which continued to be the abode of the popes for nearly seventy years; a period known as the Babylonish Captivity.

For though Avignon was not in France but in Provence, which belonged to the Angevin house of Naples, the Papacy while it resided there was necessarily dominated by French influences; and all Europe regarded it—in spite of its occasional restiveness—as the virtual dependent of France. Even its spiritual authority sank very low, though not so low as in the years which followed, the disastrous years of the Great Schism. But these are matters more fully related in Chapter 120.

There too is told the final tragedy of the great Order of the Knights of the Temple. Of the three Orders the Teutonic Knights had already devoted themselves to the battle with paganism and barbarism in the Baltic lands; the Knights of S. John remained as an outpost to uphold the Cross against the Crescent in the eastern Mediterranean, keeping a precarious hold for long centuries; the Templars might perhaps have embarked on a new career as the Papacy's fleshly arm, since they had discarded their several

political nationalities and owed allegiance to no secular sovereign. But they had an ill reputation, vast wealth, no friends and many enemies; and it was not long before Philip gave the finishing touch to his overthrow of the papal power by exterminating the order and appropriating much of its wealth, two years before his own death in 1314.

Before the close of his reign Philip had done much to strengthen France and the French monarchy. He had indeed failed to establish the mastery of Flanders which had been one of his main aims, and he had gained little by his wars with his great feudatory in Aquitaine, Edward I of England; but Edward's death and the accession of his incompetent son Edward II in 1307 enabled him to make further encroachments in that region, and the preoccupation with Italian schemes of the emperor Henry VII allowed him to effect the annexation of Lyons in 1312.

But much more important than the territorial acquisitions which he owed to accident rather than skill was his development of the legal machinery which transferred much of the fiscal and judicial administration from the nobles to the hands of trained lawyers. Of the legal bodies or corporations thus created the



GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD I

Edward I (1239–1307) ranks as one of England's greatest kings. He systematised the English laws, gave the English parliamentary system its definite form and defied the Papacy's pretensions to secular supremacy.

British Museum

most famous was the 'parlement' of Paris which acquired an extraordinary constitutional authority. It had, however, no resemblance to the English parliament which had just received its permanent shape at the hands of Edward I, being a body of professional lawyers, not of the people's representatives, and having no powers of legislation or taxation.

When Philip became king of France, son had followed father on the French throne in unbroken succession for three hundred years. Philip had three sons and several daughters; but all his grandsons, save one who died in infancy, were the children of his daughters. For the first time therefore a question of the right of succession to the French throne was obviously impending. There was no law generally recognized in Europe. Custom had varied in different kingdoms. Everyone accepted the view that a son had prior rights over a daughter,

a brother over a sister; but in the absence of male offspring would a daughter or a daughter's son have priority over a brother, or over a cousin whose descent in the male line from the common royal ancestor was unbroken?



HIGH COURT JUDGES

One notable legal reform in the reign of Edward I was the formation of a professional class of trained lawyers, not ecclesiastics, from whom a small number of royal justices was appointed.

British Museum, Royal MS. 6, E. vii

When the question became acute, France answered it for herself by declaring that the right of succession lay in the unbroken male line, giving it, after Philip's own sons, to his nephew Philip (VI) of Valois; and in due course his daughter's son, Edward III of England, challenged that nephew's right. The result was the prolonged struggle known as the Hundred Years' War. That war, which ended in the complete expulsion of the English from all France except the Calais Pale, had an immense effect on the commercial and

political development of both countries.

Edward I died seven years before Philip. Like the latter in France he had greatly advanced the consolidation of his kingdom. He had finally united Wales to England and all but effected the annexation of Scotland, though his death postponed the union of the English and Scottish crowns for three hundred years. The attempt is a classic example of a policy sound in itself pursued by aggressive methods which made it utterly abortive, to the serious detriment of both England and Scotland. When the issue was made one not of voluntary union but of forcible subjection, the Scots preferred liberty to material prosperity, and won it against heavy odds on the field of Bannockburn in 1314, when



HARLECH CASTLE IN MERIONETHSHIRE

With the execution of David in 1283 following the death of his brother Llewelyn in 1282, Welsh independence was completely suppressed. To keep North Wales in permanent subjection, Edward I built Conway, Carnarvon, Criccieth and Harlech castles, this last on the site of an earlier Roman fortress.

Photo, Great Western Railway

The Passing of the Middle Ages

for the second time, as at Courtrai, the phalanx of spearmen utterly shattered the charging squadrons of mailed knights. How they might have fared had the old king been living to lead the English army is another question.

As with Philip IV, however, Edward I's greatness lay not in his military achievements, which give him high rank as a captain, but in his practical application of ideas of government, which saved England alike from feudal anarchy and from despotism. That the effects which he produced were those which he had in view is more than doubtful. In giving to the national assembly or parliament a permanent shape which was primarily intended to counterbalance the power of the great barons, he was obliged also to acknowledge very reluctantly limitations to the powers of the crown, which made it dependent on the good will of the commons whenever it might be in need of more than the restricted supplies recognized as customary. When neither new taxes could be raised nor new laws made without the assent of an elected body which was quite capable of withholding assent on occasion, and the administration of justice was very largely in the hands of trained lawyers who had nothing to fear and no inducement to show favour, England was provided with checks on monarchical and feudal tyranny such as no other country enjoyed.

The work thus accomplished by the great

Edward survived the incapacity of his son and the factions among the barons. In Edward II's reign Scotland won in 1314 the independence which was confirmed by the treaty of Northampton in 1328, the year after the deposition and murder of the feeble king in favour of his young son Edward III. In the same year the third of Philip IV's sons died and Philip VI of Valois became king of France, though not

without the entering of a formal protest on the part of Edward, who nevertheless did homage for his French possessions.

The young English king strove unsuccessfully to recover the suzerainty of Scotland, when her great king Robert was dead and a child, David II, wore his crown, by lending aid to a rival claimant, Edward Balliol. But though Scotland was distracted, to subjugate her had proved a task too hard for his grandfather, and the English king's eyes were soon turned in a more promising direction. He resented his position as a feudatory instead of an independent prince in Aquitaine; English trade with the great Flemish cities was throttled by the connexion of Flanders with the French crown; the Flemings would back him in a claim that he, not Philip of Valois, was their lawful suzerain. His own claim to the French crown might be flimsy enough, but in the circumstances it was a card worth playing, not so much for the sovereignty of France as for that of Aquitaine and



EFFIGY OF EDWARD II

Edward II (b. 1284), a weak and worthless king, was deposed, and murdered at Berkeley Castle, September 21, 1327. His tomb in Gloucester Cathedral is a masterpiece of Gothic art.

From Stoltard, 'Monumental Effigies'



DAVID II AND EDWARD III

David II of Scotland (left), 1324-71, spent eleven years in Edward III's hands after his defeat at Neville's Cross in 1346. The proposed union of the two kingdoms under Edward had David's assent, but was rejected by Scotland.

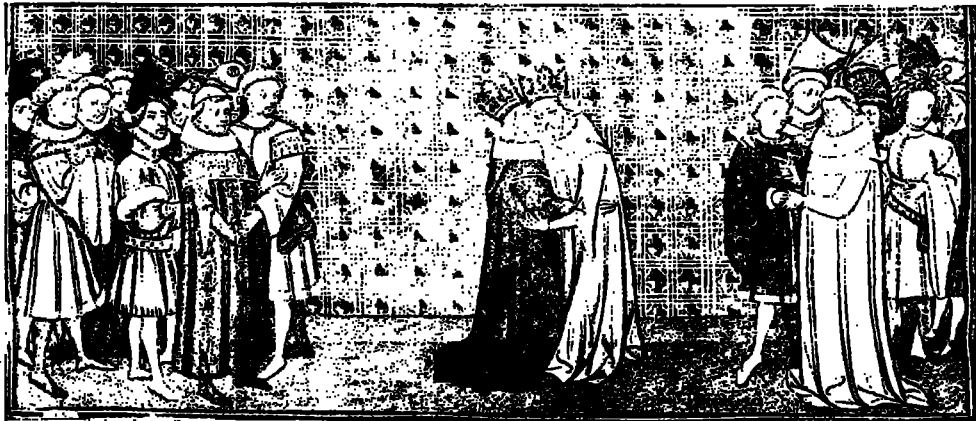
British Museum, Cotton MSS., Nero D.vi

Flanders. In 1338 he propounded that claim, and in 1339 the first campaign of the Hundred Years' War opened.

Rarely has the ultimate futility of war been more decisively displayed than in that long struggle, and never have its

glamour and pageantry been more picturesquely set forth than in the pages of its chronicler Froissart. Victories snatched by small forces brilliantly led against overwhelming numbers, chivalry shown to a conquered foe, indomitable courage and endurance, heroic self-sacrifice—a glittering picture, not without a real splendour; and, on the other side of it, the 'mirror of knightly chivalry,' the Black Prince, massacring the helpless civilians of Limoges and leading his armies to fight for the unspeakable Pedro the Cruel of Castile.

In 1340, really the first year of the war, the English naval supremacy in the narrow seas was established by a decisive victory in the harbour of Sluys. The repeated victories of the English by land over apparently superior forces during the next twenty years were mainly due to their development of the longbow, an arm of which they had a complete monopoly, giving them the same sort of advantage as would be enjoyed by troops armed with magazine rifles against muzzle-loading muskets—the methods of medieval warfare have been discussed in Chapter II.4. Of these victories the classic examples are those of Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356) and, in a much later phase of the war, Agincourt (1415).



ENGLAND'S KING DOING HOMAGE FOR HIS FRENCH POSSESSIONS

On the death of Philip IV's youngest son, Charles IV, in 1328, the senior male line of the Capet became extinct, and by a decision of the French peers—to which, much later, the term Salic Law was attached—the succession was given to Philip of Valois. Edward III, as son of Philip IV's daughter, Isabella, disputed this decision, but ultimately consented to do homage to Philip VI for his possessions in Guienne. The incident is thus illustrated in a fourteenth-century French chronicle.

British Museum, Royal MS. 20 C.91

The Passing of the Middle Ages

In actual contact with the enemy Edward III and his eldest son, the Black Prince, were superb commanders, though they presently found a rival in the Breton captain, Bertrand du Guesclin. But their triumphs were merely brilliant episodes redounding to their fame and the prestige of the English arms, battles fought to extract themselves from the very tight places into which they had blundered. The one really important capture was that of Calais—starved into surrender because the French failed to come to its relief (1347)—which remained a gateway for the invasion of France for two hundred years and a base for the development of English trade on the Continent.

The result, however, of the twenty years of fighting was that England was able to extort from France the treaty of Brétigny (so-called) in 1360, which if its terms had been loyally carried out would have left the king of England possessor in free sovereignty of all Aquitaine, the Calais Pale and the Channel Islands. But both sides found in the actions of the other warrant for breaking away from the understandings, and in 1370 the war was renewed.

Diminution of England's Glory

DURING the ten years' truce a young and very able king had come to the French throne; on the other hand, Edward was prematurely senile, and the Black Prince had ruined his own health and the finances of Aquitaine, of which his father had made him prince, by a campaign in Spain on behalf of Pedro the Cruel of Castile; mainly because the French were supporting the rival claimant to the throne, Henry of Trastamara; of which the only fruit was a brilliant victory (Navarrete), which secured to Pedro a



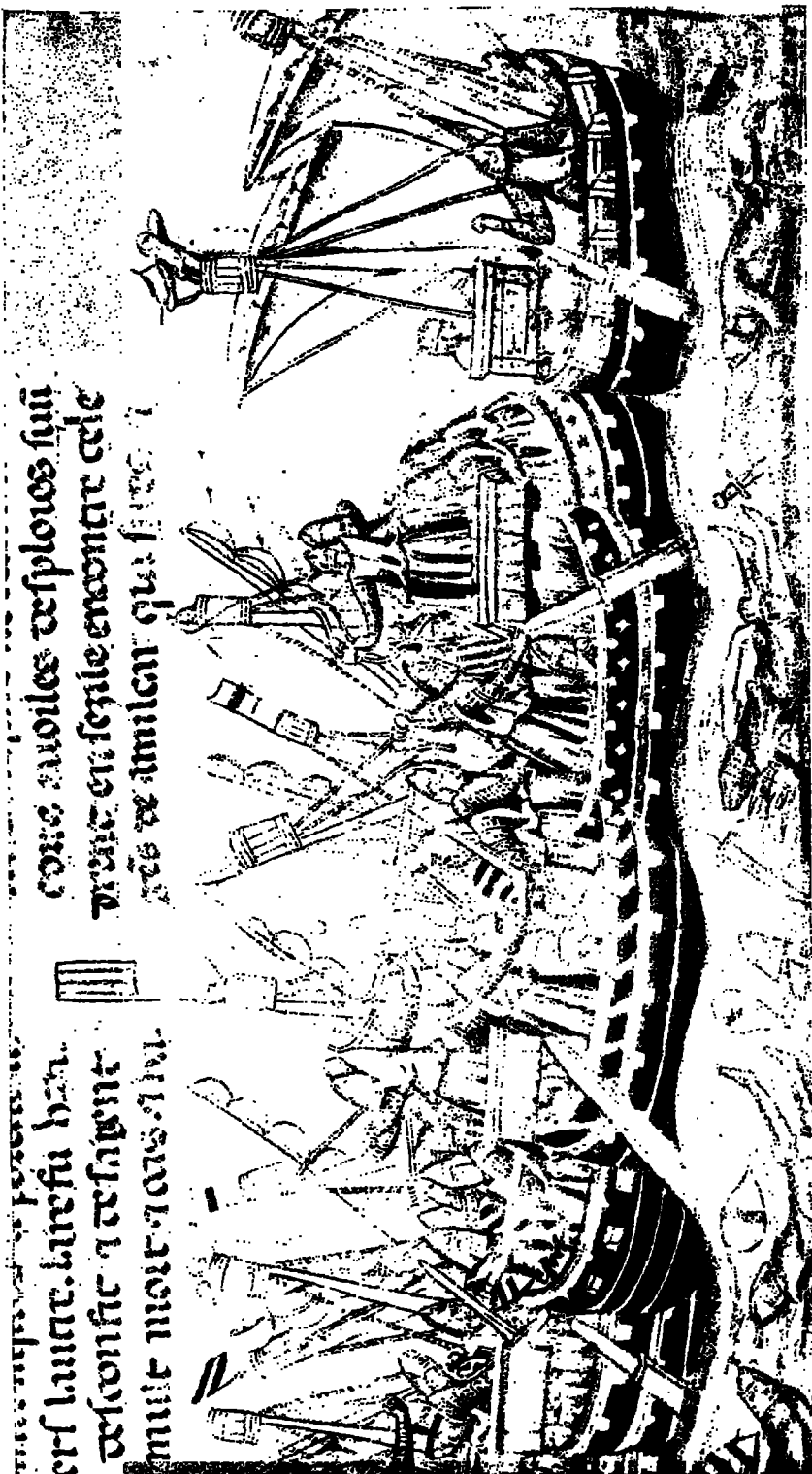
RELICS OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE

The tomb of Edward the Black Prince (1330-1376), eldest son of Edward III, with a remarkably fine portrait effigy (right), is in the Trinity Chapel of Canterbury cathedral. Above it hang his surcoat (page 2932), his helmet and wooden shield with leather covering (left), gauntlets and scabbard.

*From *Vetusta Monumenta* and *Stothard, Monumental Effigies**

happily brief tenure of his crown. The Black Prince returned to England to die; his brother, John of Gaunt, was a hopeless failure as a commander; an English fleet suffered at the hands of a Spanish fleet a disaster which for a time broke the English naval ascendancy; and when Edward died in 1377 he held, Calais excepted, less in France than forty years earlier. Though not technically ended, the war was in effect suspended for nearly forty years.

In the early days of the war not the combatants only but all Europe had been devastated by the appalling visitation known as the Black Death, of which an account will be found in Chapter 122. To its effects upon the rural populations



HOW ENGLAND SECURED THE MASTERY OF THE SEA AT THE BATTLE OF SLUYS

In 1340, when Edward III claimed the throne of France and thereby opened the Hundred Years' War, he claimed also the Sovereignty of the Narrow Sea. He made that claim good the same year when, on June 24, he destroyed the French navy at the Battle of Sluys. Edward in person led the English fleet of 200 sail into the roadstead where the French fleet, 100 strong, lay at anchor, and in a long succession of hand-to-hand conflicts carried ship after ship with terrific slaughter. Of the entire French fleet only 24 ships got away. This drawing of the naval victory dates from c. 1350, only ten years later.

British Museum, Royal MS. 20 D.1

The Passing of the Middle Ages

must be mainly attributed the desperate rising of the French peasantry known as the Jacquerie (1358) and the later English peasant revolt called Wat Tyler's (1381); but contributory causes were the demoralisation of the English of all classes wrought by the war, and the intensification of the miseries of the French peasantry in whose midst the war was carried on. The result in England was merely a temporary check in the continuous economic movement towards emancipation from serfdom, the substitution of free for forced labour; but in France it riveted the chains of serfdom more tightly than before.

Economic Effects of the French Wars

In other respects, too, the war had directly contrary effects in England and France. The boldest and most adventurous of England's sons were away fighting on foreign soil, but the country was not devastated by the tramp of soldiery; she held the seas and her communications with Flanders and Aquitaine were practically uninterrupted. Edward had been very largely actuated by the commercial motive in starting the war, and he made the most of it for commercial purposes, having realized, like his grandfather, that the prosperity of his subjects was a source of strength to the crown; so that it may be said that England's commercial prosperity dates from his reign and was almost nursed into life by his encouragement. Whereas the war, carried on upon French soil, with the Black Death on the top of it, was utterly ruinous to France's industrial development.

Again, the foundations of parliamentary power were strengthened in England by the heavy demands of the crown for supplies for military purposes, obtainable only with the good will of both commons and lords. Edward's attempts to override the law were frus-

trated by parliament's control of the purse strings. In France the States-General attempted to acquire corresponding powers and did for a moment gain actual control of the government; but it drove the crown and the nobles to coalesce, while its conduct of the war showed no improvement; the lead taken by Paris under the guidance of Etienne Marcel (see Chap. 121) was resented outside the capital; the revolutionary government was overthrown; and the promise of a parliament for France on the English model was throttled at birth (1358).

In fact, Charles V the Wise (1364-80), first as crown prince while his father, John, was a prisoner in England, and then as king, was able to increase the power of the monarchy, though at the same time future dangers were being multiplied by the extension of the practice of bestowing great appanages on members of the royal family, a practice most unhappily copied by the king of England. Dauphiné, a province of the old Arelate, was bequeathed to Philip VI just before his death in 1350, and became the appanage of the crown prince, known henceforth



CAVALRY IN ACTION AT POITIERS

At Poitiers, in 1356, an attack by the French mounted vanguard was repelled in confusion by the English archers. The Black Prince's cavalry then charged, and another body of cavalry, taking the French in flank, routed the French host. This illustration is from a nearly contemporary French manuscript.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 2433

as the dauphin. At the end of John's reign the duchy of Burgundy, already a French fief, lapsed to the crown through failure of heirs, and was bestowed on his youngest son, Philip the Bold, whose possessions were further immensely increased by his marriage to the heiress of the county of Burgundy (Franche Comté) and of Artois, which were not under French suzerainty. As a consequence, the dukes of Burgundy for the next century and a half were virtually independent princes who were a constant menace to their cousins on the French throne.

Edward died in 1377, leaving his throne to the young son of the Black Prince, Richard II, while earldoms were accumulating in the hands of the young king's uncles. Charles V died in 1380, leaving his throne to a son, Charles VI, who had long fits of insanity. Both countries were plunged into endless faction troubles

headed by princes of the royal family, of which it is unnecessary here to say more than that the active continuance of the struggle between England and France was thereby postponed for more than a generation.

Unrest and Confusion in Germany

THE only chance for the consolidation of Germany was to be looked for in the accession of a continuous dynasty of able rulers; which was precisely the last thing desired by the German princes. They had elected Rudolf of Hapsburg because he was a noble of only second or third rank. He raised the house of Hapsburg to the first rank, so they chose Adolf of Nassau as his successor instead of his son Albert. Albert was strong enough to overthrow Adolf and impose himself on the electors. For ten years (1298-1308) he strove with considerable success to carry



BURGHERS OF CALAIS SURRENDERING TO EDWARD III

His capture of Calais in 1347 was Edward III's most important achievement in the first twenty years of the war with France. This picture from an illuminated fifteenth-century manuscript of the St. Albans Chronicle, now in Lambeth Library, depicts the well-known incident of the arrival of the burghers of Calais in shirts and with halters round their necks to make submission to Edward III, who was only induced to spare their lives by the entreaty of his consort, Philippa of Hainault.

Lambeth Palace Library

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out his predecessor's policy of freeing the great towns and expanding his own family's possessions; but assassination cut short his career, and the electors chose Henry VII (of Luxemburg). Henry, reviving the old dream of Italy as the true centre of the Empire, deserted Germany in pursuit of that dream, and died in the fifth year of his reign (1313). One group of electors then chose Frederick of Hapsburg, while the opposition group chose Lewis, duke of Upper Bavaria. A desultory war between the rivals occupied the next nine years. In 1322 Frederick was taken prisoner.

Since Henry's death the Avignon popes Clement V and John XXII had striven to revive, through their ally the Angevin king of Naples (Robert, son of Charles II), the 'Guelph' domination of North Italy; and now John XXII thought fit to revive the old papal-imperial conflict by claiming that the rivals for the imperial crown should submit the case to his judgement, and by excommunicating Lewis when he ignored the demand. The thunders of Avignon no longer inspired the awe of the Vatican thunders. Nevertheless, Lewis alternated between defying them till his own victory was in sight, and then quailing under them.

Within the Church the Franciscan order maintained doctrines which brought them into direct collision with the popes (who found their most zealous supporters in the rival Order of Dominicans) and made them champions of the imperial against the papal pretensions; and the new conflict was entirely despoiled of its original aspect as a contest between the spiritual and the temporal authority. It led to nothing, beyond its effect in intensifying Lewis's natural irresolution. It failed entirely to create in Germany, as it had always



CORONATION OF CHARLES V OF FRANCE

Charles V (1337-80) became the real ruler of France in 1356, when his father, John II, was taken prisoner to England after the battle of Poitiers, but he did not actually succeed to the throne until 1364. His coronation at Reims is thus depicted in one of the manuscripts of Froissart's Chronicles.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 2643; from De Witt, 'Froissart'

created before, a strong clerical opposition to the emperor, since it was felt as a French even more than a papal interference in German affairs. Such was the result of the blow that Philip IV of France had dealt to the Papacy in 1303. Yet when Lewis died in 1347 it was the papal candidate, Charles IV, of Luxemburg and Bohemia, who succeeded him.

Had Lewis known how to make use of his advantages, he might well have won a great triumph. The national sentiment which united Germany in defying foreign intervention might have been turned to the consolidation of Germany under a national leader. But he threw away his chances. He wasted his energies on the

old Italian will-o'-the-wisp ; he cringed for absolution when victory was in his hands ; and he alienated his own supporters by his greed in snatching territories for the magnification of the house of Wittelsbach. In 1338 he had the almost unanimous backing of the princes, who solemnly pronounced at Renise and Frankfort that the election of an emperor by the German electors was final, needing no papal ratification, and even denounced forfeiture against nobles who should take arms against the emperor or refuse to obey his summons to arms ; yet in 1346 five electors declared him deposed, and nominated Charles IV as king of the Romans in his place ; though the succession did not take effect till the death of Lewis in 1347.

Charles was the grandson of the Luxemburg emperor Henry VII ; and he was king of Bohemia. Before proceeding with the story of his reign as emperor, we must turn back to that of the lands which lay on the eastern marches of Germany itself, of which hitherto there has only been incidental mention.

When Ottocar of Bohemia was defeated and killed by Rudolf of Hapsburg, he was



RICHARD II OF ENGLAND

This panel of a diptych at Wilton House represents Richard II kneeling before his patron saints, S. Edmund, Edward the Confessor and John the Baptist. It was painted, perhaps, by an English artist, soon after Richard's accession in 1377. *Courtesy of the Earl of Pembroke*



PARISIANS SUBMITTING TO CHARLES VI

Internal discontent troubled the early years of the reign of Charles VI (1380-1422). In 1382 Paris rose in revolt, with some temporary success, but in 1383 Charles reduced the insurgents to submission and executed a terrible vengeance on the city by fines and executions and suppression of its privileges.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. MS. 2644 ; from De Wail, Chroniques de Froissart

succeeded on the throne by his son Wenzel II, who died in 1306. The murder of his son Wenzel III next year ended the Premyslav dynasty of Bohemia. In 1301 died Andrew III, the last of the Arpad dynasty in Hungary. Both countries had to find new rulers, and for a while there were rival candidates for both crowns ; but in 1309 Charles Robert, commonly called Carobert, of Anjou, grandson of Charles II of Naples and of a Hungarian princess, was definitely recognized as king of Hungary, while in the same year his uncle Robert secured the succession in Naples ; and in 1310 the Bohemian nobles gave their crown to John, the young son of the emperor Henry VII.

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John was too young to be a candidate for the imperial crown when his father died; but as king of Bohemia, apart from his county of Luxemburg, he was an elector of the Empire, the most irreconcilable enemy of Lewis the Bavarian, and by consequence the ally of the pope and of France. He was a picturesque person of the prevalent adventurous chivalric type; though he had lost his eyesight fighting the pagans in Prussia, he was killed at Crécy, fighting quite superfluously for the French. It was owing to his blindness that the German opposition put up his son instead of himself as king of the Romans in 1346. John had already fallen, and Charles was actually king of Bohemia when the death of Lewis and the lack of a strong opposition candidate made him emperor.

The Magyar kingdom of Hungary (see Chap. 123) under its Angevin monarchs Carobert (1309-1342) and Lewis the



A GREAT HAPSBURG PRINCE

In the confusion that prevailed in Germany in the 13th century, Rudolf I of Hapsburg (1218-91) emerged as a dominant figure. This equestrian portrait of him on the façade of Strassburg Cathedral dates from the year of his death.

Courtesy of Chapter of Strassburg Cathedral



HENRY VII HOLDING COURT IN ITALY

After his recognition as German king in 1308, Henry VII sought to restore the imperial authority in Italy and crossed the Alps in 1310. He assumed the Lombard crown in 1311 and then marched to Rome, where he was crowned emperor in 1312. Henry died near Siena, August 24, 1313.

Codex Balduineus; from Irmor, 'Die Romfahrt Heinrich's VII'

Great (1342-82) became much more closely assimilated to the western peoples than heretofore; Lewis's title was not undeserved, and his kingdom acquired an unprecedented prestige among the nations of Europe, the more no doubt because his ambitions were not those of a conqueror, but of an enlightened administrator. Towards the close of his reign he acquired the crown of Poland in addition to that of Hungary, not by war but in virtue of a long-standing agreement with its king Casimir, whom he succeeded on the throne in 1370. The crowns, however, were not associated for long. He engaged successfully in wars with Venice; and the confusion as to the succession to the crown of Naples which followed the death of his great-uncle Robert caused him to assert his own claims (for he was the grandson of Robert's elder brother). But after some successful campaigning he was prudent enough to withdraw them, and leave other disputants to settle the affair as best they might.

At the moment of the death of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, his rival's chances of making his own claim good seemed meagre enough. It was by no means to his advantage that Charles was universally regarded as the papal and French candidate. Most of the princes were definitely hostile, and those who



AN ENLIGHTENED PRINCE

Robert of Anjou (1275-1343) succeeded to the throne of Naples in 1309, in which year his nephew Carobert became king of Hungary. This portrait of Robert is contained in an illuminated address dated c. 1335-40.

British Museum, Royal MS. 6 E. ix

inclined to support him were not disposed to make sacrifices on his behalf. Lewis's policy had in one respect not been half-hearted; his territorial acquisitions had vastly aggrandised the various branches of the house of Wittelsbach, who among them held all Bavaria, the Palatinate, Tyrol and Brandenburg: also the free cities were on his side because of the favour he had shown them.

Nevertheless, Charles's diplomatic skill was equal to the difficult conditions, aided as he was by the opposition's difficulty in finding a willing candidate on whom they could agree. Their mutual jealousies and rivalries enabled him to win over supporters by judicious conciliation of one or another—in other words by political or territorial bribery. The rival who was at last elected died within the

year; and in 1350 his title was no longer disputed.

The actual base of Charles's power was in Bohemia. Probably he intended to make that kingdom the centre of an empire of which his conception differed fundamentally from those of predecessors. The dynasty must, of course, be established—that was common ground; he secured for his family a second electoral vote by acquiring in the course of his reign Brandenburg as well as Bohemia; and he procured the election during his own lifetime of his eldest son Wenzel as king of the Romans, which no emperor had succeeded in doing for more than a hundred years past. But more significant



SPIRITUAL POWER IN GERMANY

Henry VII of Luxemburg, Lewis of Bavaria and John of Bohemia were all crowned by Peter of Aspelt, archbishop of Mainz. The fact is recorded pictorially and in Leonine verse on the archbishop's tomb in Mainz Cathedral.

Courtesy of Mainz Museum

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AUTHOR OF THE GOLDEN BULL

Charles IV (1316-78) is remembered as the promulgator, in 1356, of the Golden Bull, which regulated the election of the German king. He is portrayed on this transcript of it with his son Wenzel, king of the Romans.

From O. Jäger, 'Weltgeschichte'

of the difference of his aims were the magnification of Bohemia, and the diplomatic betrothal of his second son Sigismund to the daughter and heiress of Lewis the Great of Hungary and Poland. The eastward expansion of the Empire was to take the place of its visionary basis in Italy, where Charles procured his own coronation as Italian king at Milan and as emperor in Rome merely as a useful constitutional form.

Charles's scheme was not destined to fulfilment. Poland was never added to the Empire, nor Hungary attached to it till more than a century had passed after his death, at a time when the imperial succession had passed back to the Hapsburgs, who entered upon the greater part of the Luxemburg inheritance. But his reconstruction in Ger-

many was lasting. This was effected by the decree known as the Golden Bull.

That decree established and defined the position of the seven electors, the archbishops of Mainz, Trier and Cologne, and the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg and the Palatinate with the king of Bohemia. The succession in the lay electorships was permanently fixed, while the two most powerful territorial princes, Bavaria and Austria, were excluded from their number. Not expressly but implicitly the whole papal claim to a voice in the question was wiped out. The electors formed a single group ranking above all other princes and limiting the power of the crown, but with a common interest in maintaining a degree of unity in an empire constantly threatened with disruption. Under this system concentration of power in the hands of the monarch, the aim of the English and French kings, was out of reach; but at least it gave security against the utter disintegration that had overtaken Italy.

It is possible but doubtful that Charles's constitution might have been made the basis of a more efficient concentration of authority if he had been succeeded by strong and able sons and grandsons;



PRINCELY ELECTORS IN PLENARY SESSION

This miniature in the chronicle of Baldwin, archbishop of Trier (Trèves), depicts the election of his brother, Henry VII, as emperor. From left to right the seven electors are the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, the elector palatine of Bavaria (not yet excluded by the Golden Bull), the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg and the king of Bohemia.

Codex Balduinus; from O. Jäger, 'Weltgeschichte'

in that case he would not have been condemned as he has been by the general consensus of historians. For Bohemia he was the best ruler she had ever known ; under him she prospered as never before ; the new university he created at Prague rapidly rose to a foremost position in Europe ; and his administration is entitled to unqualified praise.

Inauguration of the Great Schism

BEFORE his death in 1378 Charles was witness to the beginning of a new stage in the troublous story of the Papacy. It had always been his desire to end the 'Babylonish Captivity' and bring back the seat of the popes from Avignon to Rome. More than one of the Avignon popes had visited Rome with that hope, but none had ventured to stay there. Gregory IX tried in 1377, but was on the point of departure when he died in March 1378. The election had to be held in Rome, and consequently the choice fell for the first time since seventy years on an Italian, Urban VI, whose attitude towards the French cardinals was such that they proceeded to the election of a French antipope, Clement VII, who again took up his residence at Avignon.

Thus the Great Schism was inaugurated, with one pope supported or recognized by France and the friends of France, and the other by the rest of Europe, the latter having obviously the more legitimate title. The Schism, which sank the credit of the Papacy to its lowest depth, lasted till the Council of Constance (1414-18), which was convened in order to terminate the scandal. At the close of the Schism's opening year Charles died. The failure of his schemes was made the more certain by his own act. Perhaps because he recognized Wenzel's incapacity, he did not leave the consolidated territories he had acquired to his imperial successor, Brandenburg going to the second son, Sigismund, and Moravia to a nephew who proved to be a thorn in Wenzel's side.

Wenzel, a self-indulgent drunkard, controlled neither himself nor anyone else. He had not the vigour or the intelligence, even if he had the power, to prevent a confused civil war, the 'war of the towns,'

in which nobles and knights (that is, the small military tenants-in-chief who had no overlord but the emperor) were engaged in suppressing, with very limited success, the leagues of towns which, not content with asserting immunities, were threatening to curtail what the nobles regarded as their own indisputable rights. Central government virtually ceased.

In 1380 Lewis of Hungary died, without a son. Hungary accepted the succession of his elder daughter Maria, the princess betrothed to Sigismund. Poland chose her sister Hedwig, and insisted on her marrying Jagellon, the prince of the still heathen Lithuania, who, however, adopted Christianity—wherein his subjects followed his lead—and founded in the united kingdom of Poland and Lithuania a dynasty under which it became one of the recognized European powers. Sigismund was disappointed of the expectation of receiving the Polish crown with his bride, and only won the bride herself with the Hungarian crown after long dispute with her mother, who preferred another candidate for her hand, and the Hungarian nobles, who preferred another candidate for the throne. This, with the threatening pressure of the Turks on the Danube, prevented him from intervening effectively on Wenzel's behalf against the aggressive intrigues of their cousin Jobst of Moravia, to whom he had himself pawned part of Brandenburg to raise troops for his Hungarian quarrel. It was owing to the Ottoman advance under Bajazet that in 1396 he gathered a great army (see page 3153), which was cut to pieces by Bajazet's Janissaries in the battle of Nicopolis whence Sigismund himself hardly escaped with his life.

Development in Europe's minor States

THOUGH a lively interest attaches to the history of many minor states at this period, it is impossible to give a detailed account of them ; we can here only enumerate baldly certain points necessary to the understanding of future events.

In the north the Teutonic Knights had conquered, Christianised and to a great extent Germanised pagan and Slavonic Prussia on the south-west of the Baltic ;

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but the *raison d'être* of that crusading order disappeared with Lithuania's conversion from paganism under Jagellon, and the military state thus created was destined to early absorption. Denmark under her king Waldemar III made a great bid for the complete domination of the Baltic Sea which brought her into collision with the German cities of the Hanseatic League (see Chap. 119); and the three Scandinavian kingdoms were now, at the end of the fourteenth century, on the point of being combined under one crown by the Union of Kalmar.

In southern Germany the League of the Forest Cantons had gradually expanded into a wider Swiss confederation which had shaken off the old Hapsburg overlordship and now recognized no suzerain save the emperor. At Morgarten in 1315 the Alpine peasants and townsmen had routed the Hapsburg men-at-arms, but the real decision was achieved at Sempach (1386) and was confirmed by a definite treaty, after another Swiss victory at Näfels, in 1389, from which date the Switzers form a distinct political body (see Chap. 121).

Events in France, Spain and Italy

IN the west the crown of Navarre had for a moment been united to that of France by the marriage of Philip IV to its heiress Joan. But on the death of Philip's eldest son, Louis X, in 1316, the French crown went to his brother Philip V, and that of Navarre, where female succession was recognized, to his daughter, whose son Charles the Bad played an always uncertain and usually treacherous part in the Anglo-French struggle. In Castile we have seen French and English intervening in a struggle for the crown between the egrotious but legitimate Pedro the Cruel and his illegitimate half-brother Henry of Trastamara. Peter won the crown, but his unique career of crime was closed by his brother's dagger in 1369. Henry ascended the throne, but his house was not firmly established till the accession of his grandson, Henry III, in 1390.

In Italy there remained no semblance of unity. At the end of the fourteenth century Venice had broken the power of Genoa; the democratic republic of



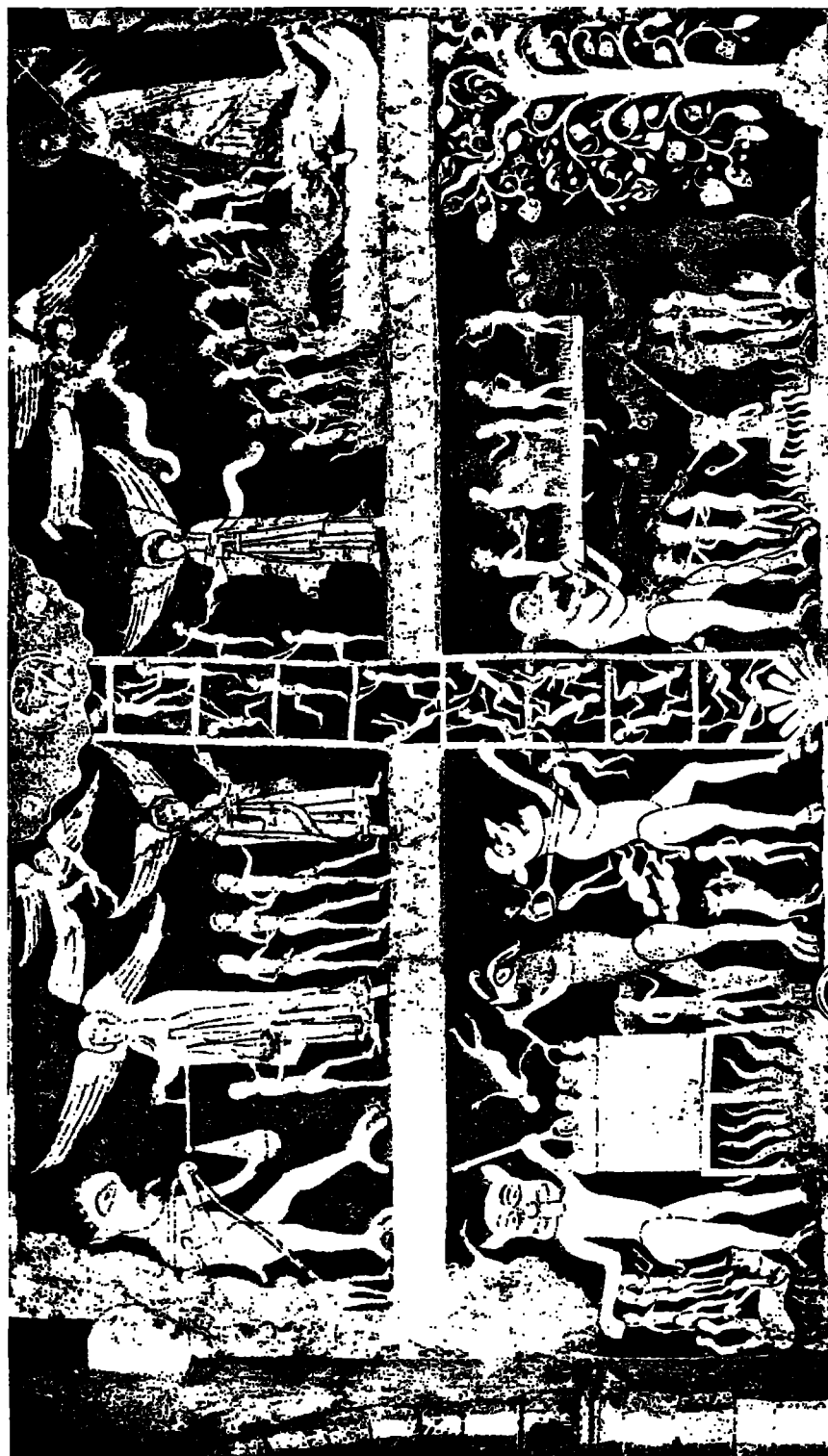
SOVEREIGN DUKE OF MILAN

Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1317-1402) greatly increased the territories and prestige of Milan. This relief on his tomb at the Certosa di Pavia commemorates his creation as independent duke of Milan by the emperor Wenzel in 1395.

Photo, Brogi

Florence was the leading state of Tuscany; the Visconti had established a despotism in Milan, where Gian Galeazzo Visconti had at last brought almost the whole of Lombardy under his sway, and the marriage of his daughter Valentina to a French prince, Louis of Orléans, was pregnant with troubles in a still distant future. Rome in 1347 had witnessed the meteoric rise and fall of the 'tribune' Rienzi. In the kingdom of Naples on the death of the much-married Joanna, grand-daughter of the old king Robert, the crown was secured by her cousin Charles of Durazzo and his heirs; but the heir she herself had chosen, another Louis, a brother of the French king, got possession of Provence and clung to the empty title of king of Naples; his claim was revived a century later by a French king, with momentous results.

Finally, at the moment when our Chronicle closes, Tamerlane's hosts were deluging central Asia, and the threatening of the terrific storm about to burst on western Asia was giving unexpected pause to the Ottoman advance after Nicopolis. In spite of that great disaster, Europe was given a moment's respite.



GHASTLY TORTURES OF THE DAMNED IN HELL THAT REFLECT A CRUEL STRAIN IN THE MEDIEVAL MIND

Among the many habits of thought that together made up what we mean by medievalism there is one at least that presents itself to us in pictorial form. The official Christianity of the period had absorbed much that was popular in its origin, especially a very lurid conception of the fate of the damned in the next world. This twelfth or thirteenth-century mural painting in Chaldon Church, Surrey, shows souls being weighed between a devil and S. Michael who holds the scales (top left), Christ 'harrowing hell' (right), and in the centre a ladder by which souls ascend to heaven or tumble to tortures by flame and pitchfork in hell below; and it may not be accidental that the damned (cheating tradesmen, usurers, etc.) sensibly outnumber the saved.

Courtesy of Dr. Charles Singer

THE MIND OF MEDIEVALISM

Main Tendencies of European Thought between
the Dark Ages and the Dawn of the Renaissance

By G. G. COULTON D.Litt.

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From S. Francis to Dante, etc.

WE cannot understand the medieval mind unless we put ourselves first at the starting-point of medieval society. For convenience, let us here include the so-called Dark Ages and define the Middle Ages as the period which begins with the break-up of the Roman Empire and ends with the Reformation. No hard and fast line can be drawn at either end. Stable government still survived in some parts of Europe for generations after the barbarian invasions had broken it down elsewhere. Again, Luther's preaching brought parts of Germany in 1517 to a more definite religious revolution than that of the so-called Reformation Parliament of England in 1530. Again, the Renaissance had begun to influence Italian thought in 1350 more than French thought in 1450 or English in 1500. But, roughly, we may count the Middle Ages as lasting from A.D. 400 to 1500. The earlier half, the Dark Ages, may be reckoned from 400 to 1000; the remaining period includes the Middle Ages in a more special sense, 'le haut moyen âge,' as French historians call it.

Here we must treat the two continuously, as, of course, they were continuous; and if, for brevity's sake, we must often generalise epigrammatically, let it be borne steadily in mind that no unqualified distinction between medieval thought on the one hand, and ancient or modern thought on the other, can be exactly true. We can only say that, in general, certain lines of thought do particularly characterise one or other of these three periods.

The Middle Ages started with certain advantages here, and certain disadvantages. The advantages were mainly two: they started to a great extent with a clean slate, and behind them they had

the driving force of the new religion, Christianity. Gibbon would not have counted these as advantages; it is plain that to his mind the coming of Christianity was the first and most fatal of the barbarian victories. He sneers at the boast of the early Christian father Tertullian (c. A.D. 220) that a Christian mechanic is ready with answers to questions which had puzzled the wisest heads of antiquity. From one point of view this contempt is justified; but from a wider outlook we must count it a real gain. Wider interest in ethical questions for civilization that the artisan should seriously concern himself at all with these questions, and that he should find an answer which, on the whole, had a definite ethical value. Society in the Roman Empire had grown more and more lifeless. Originality had decayed in literature and in art. The citizen had surrendered many of his political liberties; he was content to commit the defence of the empire to hired barbarians; the laborious and thrifty middle classes were being crushed out of existence by a system of taxation which threw the heaviest burden upon the willing horse. In the midst of this indifference or decay one thing grew steadily—the new religion.

It had already lost some of its early characteristics by A.D. 400. Its acceptance as the state religion had brought weakness as well as strength; but it still retained much of that force and originality which had marked Christian society as the one thing which would not fit into conventional Roman civilization; the one thing which claimed a right of making cleavages everywhere in a society which relied for its stability upon a horizontal structure of caste distinctions; the thing

which claimed an even stricter allegiance than state loyalty; the thing, therefore, which was marked for persecution in an otherwise tolerant world. All medieval thought is characterised, nominally at least, by the conviction that each man has a soul to save, and that, therefore, salvation is the main end of every human being, not a distant ideal, but the most practical duty that is set before us all.

This revolutionary seed was sown in a soil fresh ploughed by political and social revolution; or, perhaps, it would be a more exact metaphor to say, **Fresh vitality of the West** in fields swept by a great deluge, and left barren for the moment, but rich in virgin soil. This became, in the long run, the second medieval advantage, lamentable as it was at first. The eastern half of the Roman Empire kept its political and social constitution comparatively intact for centuries, and did scarcely more than mark time all that while. The western half was wrecked, but emerged with a vitality which, when once the Dark Ages were past, soon carried it ahead, even in those arts in which the Greeks had excelled.

Let us now go back to face the disadvantages. These, again, may be distinguished into two; the moral and the material. The latter needs no special emphasis here; the chaos of the Western world is well known. But morally, while Christianity embodied much of the best of ancient thought, it was also alloyed with a great deal of baser metal.

The main threads, before Christ, may be reckoned as four. These were, first, philosophy, containing a great deal of moral teaching, but mainly academic, and failing to touch the ordinary man; secondly, state religion, which the ordinary man professed as a matter of routine, but which did not even pretend to teach morality, being purely ceremonial; thirdly, the cults (see Chap. 74), mainly of Eastern origin—those, for example, of Cybele, Isis, Serapis, Mithras—of which the last had little moral content, while the others were, in part at least, frankly immoral; and lastly, Judaism (Chap. 69), strong in its monotheism, its abhorrence of idolatry and its social cohesion, but too

often narrow and intolerant, conceiving Jehovah as a tribal god friendly to Israel and unfriendly to the Gentile. Those four strands were fused by Christianity.

It is one of the most unquestionable of all historical facts that this belief in a crucified Jewish carpenter, however it arose, took more men out of themselves, and farther out of themselves, than any similar event of which we have record. Many were wholly possessed with the new ideas, deaf to all dissuasion, and ready for any sacrifice; hence that 'inflexible and intolerant zeal' which Gibbon notes as one of the main causes for the spread of Christianity. For one who was thus inspired, hundreds were impressed in varying degrees; and thus the new faith tended to absorb much of what was best in all the earlier strands of thought. But there was more than absorption; there was actual coalescence. This living flame fused the hitherto separate wires into one; and it may be said that, for the Middle Ages, thought ran more definitely along a single line than it had ever run before or since. This remains true, even when all the qualifications have been noted to which we shall later come.

But, with the strength of the older ideas, this new creed absorbed some of their weaknesses also.

Higher thought was vulgarised, in both senses of the Latin word 'vulgaris.'

On the one hand, it was spread over the whole mass of the population, the 'vulgus.' On the other hand, it must needs stoop to conquer; it compromised to some degree with vulgar prejudices and impulses. From paganism it borrowed the custom of image worship, which to the earliest Fathers was abhorrent: Origen (c. A.D. 240) insists that no Christian is so uninstructed as to believe that he can raise his thoughts to God by contemplating an image. From Judaism it borrowed a narrow intolerance; God's chosen were a fraction of humanity, the rest, 'the nations,' 'the Gentiles,' were outside God's covenant. It was ready to adopt the imperial idea of world domination, by force if necessary; but equally it maintained the great and constructive imperial idea of universality.

Where the barbarian invasions swept away the Roman governors and magistrates, they still left the bishop, as a rule, in his see and the priest at his altar; the episcopal and sacerdotal power was too tenacious and too spiritual to be destroyed. Latin, which had once been the language common to all cultivated folk in the West, was kept up by the permanence of church service books in Latin, and by that translation of the Bible which, as revised by S. Jerome, became the Vulgate, the universally recognized version which practically superseded the original. A few scores of volumes, or, in fortunate instances, even hundreds, remained safe enough in monasteries or in the sacristies of great churches to survive all but the worst inroads of the pirates.

Thus again, Christianity worked for the vulgarisation of knowledge in both senses of the word. On the one hand, it cast overboard, as useless or even noxious, a great deal of what was noblest in ancient thought. The early Fathers were naturally tempted to puritanism here: Tertullian complains that the ancient philosophers

are the patriarchs of heresy;
The classics S. Gregory the Great is scandalised to hear that a bishop
little studied is teaching 'grammar,' that

is, the classics, in which the pupil was normally introduced at an early stage to Vergil, with his praise of Jove as All-Ruler, and his emphasis on earthly love. Therefore the classical volumes preserved were comparatively few in number and narrow in their range; 'Newman's vision of the medieval monk as a classical scholar is largely imaginary. But, on the other hand, below such exaggerations the fact remains that 'narrow as may have been the Churchman's educational ideal, it was only among Churchmen that an educational ideal maintained itself at all. . . . The grossest ignorance of the Dark Ages was not due to the strength of the ecclesiastical system, but to its weakness.' The little that survived of ancient learning was spread among people far less cultivated than the society they had displaced, yet more energetic and with a fresher outlook.

Just as the Christian religion is 'a plant which, though grown in a soil which

has borne other crops, is wholly new in structure and vital principle,' so medieval thought may be clearly differentiated from either classical or modern. It was, at first, triumphantly conscious of its novelty; in its attitude towards Greece and Rome it was inspired by Tertullian's boast: 'We are men of yesterday, yet we have filled your world'

—'hesterni sumus, et
vēstra omnia implevi-
mus.' It was inspired
New emphasis on
the individual

also by the appeal to the individual conscience; 'a fugitive glance at medieval doctrine suffices to perceive how throughout it all, in sharp contrast to the theories of antiquity, runs the thought of the absolute and imperishable value of the Individual: a thought revealed by Christianity and grasped in all its profundity by the Germanic spirit.' The Middle Ages never altogether lost that tone of the Apocalypse: 'Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen. . . . Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins. . . . And the Spirit and the bride say Come. . . . And let him that is athirst come. . . . He which testifieth these things saith: Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'

Though the expectation of the Second Advent receded as time went on, yet it never seemed far beyond the immediate horizon. Treatises on Antichrist abound. Even Roger Bacon, writing in 1271, speaks of the common belief among 'wise men' that this last stage of the world is imminent; the belief meets us again in almost every generation; Sir Thomas More himself was inclined to it. Therefore, while the best medieval thought was deeply serious, and penetrated with the sense of personal responsibility, yet it sometimes suffered from an impatience which was the defect of these qualities; the world-fabric might crash at any moment; what was the use of painfully beginning a long and continuous chain of facts and inferences which involved the labour of whole generations or centuries, when a few years or even weeks might bring the consummation of all things? It is not only the difficulty of writing records and preserving the documents once written, and comparing them by free and constant

interchange among students, that explains the painful lack of historical sense, and of scientific observation or experiment in physics and natural history, during this long period. Much was due also to this predominantly other-worldly attitude of mind among many of the greatest thinkers. So far as this world is concerned, 'laissez le long espoir et les vastes pensées'; man's first and second and last task is to prepare himself for eternity.

And for what sort of eternity? There again, we cannot even remotely appreciate medieval thought without reminding ourselves of its initial premises.

Lurid views on after-life Partly by exaggeration of certain gospel sentences and of traditions inherited from

Judaism or borrowed from other religions, partly again under stress of persecution and natural bitterness of mind, early Christianity developed a very lurid eschatology. Tertullian's fierce anticipations of hell for unbelievers and persecutors have often been quoted; Dante's *Inferno*, again, is familiar to many readers; but Dante is less crude in his expression of the contrasts between heaven and hell than the ordinary preacher of his own or of later time.

It was a commonplace that the majority of the human race went to hell. This is accepted even by S. Thomas Aquinas, who among all medieval philosophers is specially remarkable for his balance of judgement; other writers often reckon the saved as only one in a thousand, or in ten thousand, or in more. Unbaptised children, and pagans, however virtuous, must go to hell; Dante's two exceptions prove the rule; as for the rest (although he forsakes Augustine and follows Aquinas in rejecting the idea of bodily torture) the air is thick with their sighs and groans. All orthodox medieval thought rested upon the assumption that the last moment of life marked the man for an eternity of unspeakable bliss or of torment beyond all conception. And, as this was decided by the dying man's state at that last moment, so the decisive factor in this state was his theological belief. The enormous significance of these fundamental assumptions will become more apparent later on.

Again, in the Dark Ages, we must not neglect the influence of that paganism—

Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic—which the Church did indeed conquer, but partly by compromise. She found infanticide in a certain sense legalised among the Frisians of the eighth century and the Icelanders of the eleventh; in this latter case, she even compounded for a while. She taught the worship of S. Vitus to the pagans of the Isle of Rügen; and a few generations later, in the mid-twelfth century, the saint's statue had become an idol which the natives called *Suantovit*, and to which they occasionally offered human sacrifices, 'but only of Christian folk.' Gregory the Great, in his advice to the missionaries whom he had sent to convert the English heathen, emphasised the necessity of compromise on inessential points; let the old temples be baptised to the new Church uses, let heathen festivals be retained, but let them be diverted from the worship of devils to that of the true God. Such compromises were doubtless wise and necessary, yet they bore their inevitable fruit; and, together with pagan customs, many pagan ideas sheltered themselves under the wing of the medieval Church.

We may now pass on to the Middle Ages proper. The year 1000 marks roughly the commencement of a very real revival, comparable to that later revival which we call the Renaissance. Men attacked with confidence the great and fundamental problems of Predestination and Free Will, of the Origin of Evil, of the Atonement, of Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist. Abélard now, like Johannes Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, showed considerable independence of the patristic tradition; he even broke away altogether from legalistic traditions as to Redemption through Christ: the Saviour's blood (he argued) was not a 'price' paid to Satan for man's soul, which had been forfeited through Adam's sin, but a sacrifice through which 'God bound Himself (to us) more fully than before by love'; we have here an anticipation of Dante's splendid description of love that compels love in return—'love that sets no lover free from loving.'

To S. Bernard, Abélard's presumption in applying reason to theology was

Revival after
the Dark Ages

intolerable; this man 'is content to see nothing through a glass darkly, but must behold all face to face.' Bernard secured Abélard's official condemnation; but the clock could not be set back, and Abélard's method finally triumphed in an age of superabundant energy and of thirst for knowledge. All inquiry was welcomed, so long as it kept within the limits clearly marked by the Bible and by the great councils. The medieval Church held the plenary inspiration of the Bible as firmly perhaps as any religious denomination has ever held it. Aquinas, for instance, teaches that the author of Holy Writ is God, in Whose power it is to signify His meaning, not by words only (as man also can do), but also by things themselves. It follows, as the first consequence of this authorship, that the Holy Scriptures can never contain an untruth in their literal sense; rather, we must believe all that stands in the Bible as God's Word. For not only all that relates to matters of faith and morals, but its historical contents also are truths sponsored by God. Therefore, if (for instance) anyone said that Samuel was not the son of Elkanah, it would follow that the Divine Scriptures would be false, which would be to contradict the Faith, however indirectly.

The decrees of the general councils were treated with scarcely less respect; again, few thinkers dared flatly to contradict any of the great Fathers, among whom S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Jerome and S. Gregory were placed in a class above the rest. But, within those limits, argument and discussion were strongly encouraged by what we may call this medieval Renaissance. Abélard's dialectical method was followed by his pupil Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, who is generally counted as the first of the schoolmen.

This brings us to Scholasticism. The clearest definition of this word is indicated by its etymology and its history. It was the philosophy and the theology of the Schools, among which, in medieval parlance, the Universities stood first. In these new thinking-shops, which grew up at the end of the twelfth century, work was carried on after the methods natural



SCHOOLMEN AND LECTURER

The methods of the teacher in medieval universities were mainly dialectical, he alone having a text-book, which he expounded to his class by question and answer. This illumination shows a fourteenth-century lecturer.

British Museum: Royal MS. 17 E.iii

to a comparatively bookless but book-hungry age. The teacher alone, normally, had his text-book; this he discussed with his class after the fashion of Socrates, that is, mainly by catechetical and dialectical methods. To the end this teaching retained traces of its original dialectical form, seen at its best in such a book as the *Summa Theologiae* of S. Thomas Aquinas.

There, each article is divided into four parts. First, the author rehearses all the arguments worth considering against what he himself judges to be the true conclusion. Then he rehearses those which make for it. He then delivers his own formal judgement. Lastly, he undertakes to explain away, one by one, the apparent objections contained in his first list of arguments. In other words, he plays four different parts—plaintiff, defendant, judge, and judge of appeal. And this characteristic method worked upon a characteristic body of subject-matter—the Bible, the Fathers and Aristotle, with certain infiltrations of Plato, mainly through the neo-Platonists. A good deal of Aristotle had survived even through the Dark Ages, in the translations of Boethius. At the end of the twelfth century the complete Aristotle came in, first through translations from Arabic versions and commentaries, and later through direct versions from the Greek, at the instigation of scholars like Aquinas.

This combination of method and subject-matter, once clearly grasped, not only defines the word Scholasticism, but explains the main characteristics of medieval philosophy. The medieval agrees with the ancient philosophy in its reliance upon the dialectical method, but differs from it as basing itself formally upon a certain body of traditional thought, most of which it was very dangerous, if not absolutely forbidden, to contradict. This

restriction was less narrow than it might seem to us; **Characteristics of Scholasticism** there was far more liberty in the medieval schools than there has been in the papal schools since the Council of Trent, as Cardinal Newman has insisted with even exaggerated emphasis. Yet it was a very real restriction, and it differentiates Scholasticism even more sharply from modern than from ancient philosophy.

Within these permitted limits, thought was extremely active for many generations. An early provincial minister was shocked to hear his Franciscan friars at Oxford disputing on the question 'Whether God exists.' S. Thomas, within the first ten 'quaestiones' of his *Summa Theologiae*, feels called upon to discuss whether God exists, whether He be perfect, whether He be the Highest Good, whether He be Infinite, whether He be Eternal, and to solve all objections before passing on.

But there were many who could not feel themselves to have solved these objections. Medieval Christendom, in spite of reactionary protests, was too vigorous not to direct the full force of human reason to discussion within the permitted limits, and here Abélard was entirely justified against S. Bernard and the mystical school of S. Victor. But this exercise of reason was bound to cause many conflicts between the enquiring mind and the official limitations; and here S. Bernard was perfectly right. Whether Abélard foresaw this result or not (and, if we may believe his own words, he anticipated no real danger to the Faith), this revival of learning and of speculation did breed a great deal of heterodoxy. Aristotle himself is difficult enough to reconcile, in many places, with Christianity; still less reconcilable were his

Arabic translators and commentators, of whom Averroës was the most popular at Paris. Therefore the Council of Sens in 1210 prohibited university study of Aristotle's works on natural science; the papal legate repeated this prohibition in 1215; in 1231 the pope renewed it 'until they should have been examined and purged.' For this purpose he nominated a commission, but, as Father Mandonnet points out, the very attempt betrayed imperfect knowledge of Aristotle. The decree was renewed in 1263; but the official expurgation never took place, as indeed it could not, since Aristotle's treatises are too closely reasoned and too clearly expressed to be capable of paste-and-scissors treatment. All this while, 'as a matter of fact, in spite of the law, Aristotle had more or less rapidly invaded the Schools of Paris and entered into the [regular] course of instruction.' In 1255 the University was prescribing virtually all of Aristotle, in so far as he was available, for its degree course.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these years betray a strong undercurrent of free thought in the modern sense. Amaury de Bène was condemned, and possibly burned, for pantheistic doctrines in about 1207; David de Dinant's writings were burned in 1210; and at the same time a batch of students were condemned to the stake or to perpetual

imprisonment. Two or three of the most distinguished Parisian teachers

were condemned in 1277, probably to lifelong imprisonment; one of them was Siger de Brabant, whom Dante places side by side with Thomas Aquinas in heaven, yet who undoubtedly taught Averroistic doctrines. By this time the Inquisition was in full blast, and the authorities rejected Siger's plea that a proposition might be true in philosophy, though false in theology. That plea still remained the last refuge of the free-thinker; a very interesting instance is quoted from Oxford in 1382 by Rashdall in his *Universities of Europe*. But though this, and the periodic condemnation of heterodox thinkers at different universities, enables us to guess what still went on under the surface, yet no medieval thinker



HIERARCHY OF THE FOUNTS OF KNOWLEDGE RECOGNIZED BY THE SCHOOLS

The subjects whom the medieval schoolmen revered are shown in this illumination from the Bible made for Jehan, duc de Berri, in 1290, their relative importance being indicated by their place in the 'hierarchy.' To the left of the Trinity at the top: Gregory, Jerome and Peter; to the right: Paul, Augustine and Ambrose—Apostles and Fathers. Below the firmament: Avicenna, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Averroës, Seneca, Priscian, Tullius (Cicero), Dialectica (logic personified), Pythagoras, Archimedes, Ptolemy: note that the scientists come last.

British Museum: Harleian MS. 4381

could openly transgress the main conventional limits, unless here and there some fortunate accident might protect him.

The Blessed Joachim of Fiore did indeed excogitate unchecked a theory of religious development which, in its full implications, would have done much to supersede the hierarchy and the sacraments; but, so soon as his disciples multiplied and a Parisian teacher openly drew the logical inferences, this provoked papal condemnation. Another

**Advanced thinkers
who were repressed**

professor at Paris, Nicholas de Ulricuria, anticipated the philosophic doubts of Berkeley and Hume; thirty-two of his propositions were briefly rehearsed and formally condemned at the papal court in 1346; he duly retracted, and was rewarded within two years with the Deanery of Metz; it is only this condemnation which has by chance preserved a record of his teaching.

There we have only a specially clear example of that which meets us everywhere in vaguer indications. Free thought was driven underground; it could not form a school wherever the Inquisition was strong; yet it could not be altogether exorcised. As time went on, and as culture and the citizen class spread, it even stalked abroad again. Florence, one of the most civilized cities, was also one of the least orthodox; Dante fills a whole circle of his *Inferno* with men who had died in disbelief of the soul's immortality. In the next generation, Petrarch complained that 'modern philosophers,' in cities like Venice and Paris, scoffed at the orthodox as old-fashioned fools. The University of Padua became a focus of Averroism; and thence it spread over all northern Italy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the question of immortality was discussed even at the papal court; but then the pope was Leo X, and the Renaissance had loosed a flood of scepticism.

Heresy was still contraband, but this prohibition law, like others of the kind, was being more and more openly violated. No organized rebellion was yet possible; the weaker offenders were sometimes caught and punished; sometimes even the stronger; but there was increasing defiance among the more powerful, so long

as they had tact enough not to challenge prosecution too clearly, and wealth or rank enough to make them dangerous. Moreover, this resultant free thought, like other contraband articles, was often not of the purest quality. The admitted decay of philosophy in the later Middle Ages—in spite of great names here and there, such as Nicholas of Cues and Gabriel Biel—was in a great measure due to the want of real freedom. Wycliffite prosecutions killed the earlier originality of Oxford University; it became almost impossible for any teacher to strike a just mean between irresponsible negation and docile adherence to the old well-worn ruts. Such, then, were the obstacles to progress in philosophy and theology.

Law was an important subject at nearly all the universities; Bologna was as celebrated for its legists as Paris for its divines (see Chap. 78, where the transmission of Roman Law is discussed). But even more influential, perhaps, and certainly more distinctively medieval, was the canon law. From the time when Constantine made Christianity the state religion, emperors were naturally called upon to legislate fairly frequently in protection or in regulation of the ecclesiastical corporation. **Formation of Canon Law**
In 438 the Theodosian code practically decreed outlawry against all heretics. At about the same time Valentinian III granted the pope legislative power over the Church in his own, the Western, half of the Empire. Many collections were made, more or less fortuitously, embodying imperial, conciliar and papal decrees concerning the Church; the best of these was made by a Roman monk, Dionysius Exiguus, about the year 500, from which collection even popes began to quote. Into this volume were thrust the Forged Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals.

The former forgery was fully developed about A.D. 750; it purported to be a decree of Constantine, who recited a fable of having been cured of leprosy by Pope Sylvester I, in gratitude for which he now bestows on the popes the sovereignty over Italy and the West. Gregory the Great, in whose time the fable had first grown up, had contemptuously ignored

it; but five generations later it was possible for even the best educated clergy to accept in complete innocence this 'most stupendous of all medieval forgeries.' A century after the Forged Donation came the Forged Decretals (890). This collection, edited under the name of Isidorus Mercator, was an astounding mass of falsely ascribed or forged documents, leavened with a sprinkling of genuine which lent a sort of respectability to the rest. Yet, though nobody knew anything of this reputed Isidorus Mercator, and here and there, in the first few months, a prelate might refuse to recognize them, they soon acquired an authority almost as undisputed as Holy Writ.

Nicholas I silenced all doubts in a decretal which was later embodied in canon law; thenceforward, this forgery, like the Donation, was unquestioned until about 1450, when the humanist Laurentius Valla and the philosopher Nicholas of Cues ventured to express very plain doubts.

It is true that these forgeries answered very closely to the ideas which had grown up during the previous few centuries; but the fact that they could be so boldly invented in the chancery of a Frankish bishop, so suddenly thrust upon the world, so definitely accepted by a very able pope, and obeyed without question for seven centuries, is one of the most characteristic in the history of the medieval mind.

With the revival of Roman law at Bologna came a corresponding stimulus to Church law. A monk called Gratian, probably in the year 1142, undertook to bring some sort of order into this subject; for, meanwhile, all kinds of genuine decrees had been thrust in since these two great forgeries, and other more or less authoritative collections had been attempted. The very title of Gratian's work indicates his main object: A Concordance of Discordant Canons; but, for convenience, the book has always borne the briefer title



GRATIAN'S MONUMENTAL 'DECRETUM'

Historical accuracy was no part of medieval equipment, and the clearest forgeries went unquestioned to the building of the Corpus of Canon Law. The first authoritative collection of papal decrees was made by the monk Gratian in 1142; this excerpt is from a fourteenth-century copy.

British Museum; Additional MS. 15274

of Gratian's Decretum. Here, at last, we find some attempt at scientific synthesis. The decrees are arranged according to their subject-matter after the model of civil law; again, Gratian added comments of his own with the object of reconciling the numerous inconsistencies and contradictions. This book, though not formally published by the popes, was from the first utilised by them in public, and never repudiated. When, in 1234, Gregory IX ordered a fresh and official collection of papal decretals, that volume was avowedly published as a continuation of Gratian. Similar collections were added during the next century; the last medieval pope who acted thus was John XXII in 1317.

By that time it was evident that such collections were clashing more and more with national state laws and with growing national self-consciousness. A semi-official appendix, however, was added in 1490, under the title of 'Extravagantes.' This, then, completed the Corpus Juris Canonici (Body of Canon Law), which thus consisted of Gratian, the officially added decretals, and the Extravagantes. A commission of cardinals and professors, sitting under three popes, produced a standard text of this Corpus, which was published by order of Gregory XIII in 1582. Here again, therefore, were certain definite limits within which medieval thought was restricted by law, and often confined in fact.

The natural result was that hard thinking too often degenerated into verbal quibbles; research and thought were subordinated to forensic display. 'Medieval education' says Rashdall, 'was at once too dogmatic and too disputatious.' But it did much to fashion tools for thought and speech; many of our commonest and most indispensable abstract words, such as 'quality' and 'quantity,' were partly or wholly invented by the

Our debt to Scholasticism Scholastics. Therefore, while the great thinkers of the earlier period still command respectful attention from metaphysicians and theologians, 'the rapid multiplication of universities during the fourteenth and fifteen centuries was largely due to a direct demand for highly-educated lawyers and administrators.'

Men there learned habits of steady and intense application; they were there equipped to deal skilfully, for their own purposes, with such facts as it suited them or their fellows to recognize; but there was far too little of that impartial observation of concrete facts, without which the most brilliant abstractions are likely to mislead us. The public study of medicine was forbidden to monks and friars; anatomy also was to a great extent forbidden; and, though the chroniclers have left us many valuable records, there were no schools of geography or history; moreover there was a fatal neglect of languages, mathematics and the physical sciences.

S. Thomas Aquinas, in his demonstration of the truth of Christianity against the heathen, appeals to two facts, which he says are equally familiar to the learned and equally inexplicable to the vulgar herd: 'It seemeth marvellous to ignorant folk that the magnet draweth iron, or that a little fish holdeth back a ship'—the 'little fish' was the fabulous remora, only a foot long, yet able by suction to hold the greatest vessels! The most remarkable artists' manual of the later Middle Ages, by Cennino Cennini of Florence, which undertakes to teach us the true proportions of the human figure, and to mould the whole body of a man or woman from the life, assures us that 'a man has on his left side one rib less than a woman.' This habitual carelessness was a terrible

encouragement to forgery: 'Such great persons, such powerful societies, were accomplices in falsification that it required a rare share of public spirit for a humble critic to expose too coarsely their methods of manipulating documents,' writes Tout in *Medieval Forgers and Forgeries*.

Monastic chartularies contain large numbers of documents now admitted to be more or less definitely unauthentic; great medieval lawsuits were frequently prosecuted through forgeries. In 1432 the University of Cambridge successfully asserted its independence against the bishop of Ely at the great Barnwell Trial by means of a forged charter of Pope Honorius I, who was made to assert that, having himself studied at Cambridge, he had been moved by gratitude to grant this privilege of exemption

in 624, nearly six centuries **Absence of historical sense** before the university was actually founded! F. W.

Maitland, referring to the fictions by which Oxford and Cambridge each tried to prove its superior antiquity, wrote: 'The earliest of all inter-University contests was a lying match.' Indeed, no historical ignorance was impossible, even in the highest quarters. Pope Gregory II, in his letter to the iconoclastic emperor, asserts in all innocence that the Apostles had been image worshippers.

Herc, medieval ignorance was very largely due to the scarcity of books and their imperfect diffusion; 'for various reasons books had very little independent movement of their own.' The chronicle which was partly copied and partly written by Matthew Paris is of supreme value, yet very few copies ever existed outside its native monastery of St. Albans. The idea that monks were constantly transcribing will not bear the test of facts; the market was mainly supplied by hired scribes (see page 2281); and, though there may have been a few exceptions, the Middle Ages never really adopted that system which we know to have been used in classical antiquity, of multiplying books by dictating to a class. Hence, though the scribe was paid only an artisan's wages, books were always dear: a Bible often cost more than a priest's whole yearly income. Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenforde, for all that

he had spent of his own and from his friends, had only twenty books ; Bernard of Chartres, the most distinguished teacher in the classical revival of the twelfth century, left all his library to the Cathedral ; it comprised twenty-four volumes.

Again, the use of Latin as a universal language had, with some real advantages, other very great drawbacks. It is an exaggeration to speak of Latin as becoming a real second vernacular, except perhaps in Italy and Spain. Even learned men, as we may tell from chance indications, thought their most intimate thoughts in the mother tongue. Though all university lectures were in Latin, and schools and colleges often paid a 'lupus' (a scholar holding by the tenure of acting as reporter against all fellow scholars who lapsed into the vernacular), yet universities were obliged to license grammar schools for the undergraduates who had too little Latin to follow the regular teaching.

Only a small proportion of the priesthood were university graduates ; orthodox contemporaries tell such stories of ignorance of Latin even among priests as would be scarcely credible if they were not borne out by occasional official records of examinations. A visitation of 1222, among seventeen dean and chapter livings of Sarum, shows us five priests who were unable to construe even the opening words of the first prayer in

Ignorance in the priesthood the Canon of the Mass, which is the essential portion of the Eucharistic service.

Erasmus tells us of one of the best bishops of that day that he attempted to remedy clerical ignorance, but finally gave up the hopeless attempt. We must therefore bear in mind that, all through the Middle Ages, there was a great mass of lower parish clergy who, in fact, knew little more than their parishioners.

Even in the highest university circles, it may be doubted whether a dozen people anywhere could sit round the fire and discuss the problems of life and death with anything like the freedom and penetration of a similar group to-day. Very few can have been the speakers who could bring out, or the hearers who could seize without excessive efforts, those finest shades of expression which test a man's

command of his native tongue. It must have been nearly always true that the man's deepest concepts were in his own language, while he expressed them in the formal language of the schools ; and this is one reason why there were no national schools of philosophy in the Middle Ages. What thought gained in extension it lost in depth and in originality ; the philosopher's ideas were not constantly cross-fertilised by the experiences and thoughts of common life. 'The mother-tongue' said Herr Stresemann in his first speech before the League of Nations, 'is the sanctuary of the soul.' Many men have lost full command of their own native language without corresponding gain from any other ; and it is no mere surmise, but a matter which can be proved by plain evidence, that this happened more often in the Middle Ages than to-day. Latin had its great use as a universal language ; but, on the other hand, it helped to encourage conventionality ; the ideas to which it gave easiest expression and widest circulation were too often stereotyped.

Drawbacks of a universal tongue

Political thought, as a separate social science, was unknown in the Middle Ages. It was a subsection of divinity or of law ; and the political theorists were theologians or legists. Indeed, even the legist was compelled here to be something of a theologian, since the Bible was the one infallible authority, and the Fathers were often treated with almost equal respect. The book which became classical for all earlier medieval political theory, and kept much of its influence to the very end, was S. Augustine's City of God. 'City' and 'State' were not yet definitely separate terms ; men still thought and wrote to a great extent under the idea of the old city state ; to S. Augustine, the Roman Empire is a 'civitas,' so also is the Church, which claims a still more universal and less localised dominion.

The book was called forth by Alaric's sack of Rome in 410 A.D. Under the shock of this catastrophe, S. Jerome wrote to his friend Ageruchia : 'If Rome falls, what is there that remains standing ?' This, no doubt, would not have been Jerome's last word in any case ; with



TEXT-BOOK OF MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

Apart from the Bible, no book, not excepting Aristotle, had such influence on medieval thought as S. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (The City of God), written after the fall of Rome in 410. This is part of a page from a late fourteenth-century copy bearing the arms of one Hugues Aubriot.

British Museum; Additional MS. 15244

Augustine it was not even a passing mood. If the earthly state, founded on physical force, breaks down under pressure of superior force, yet the Heavenly State is still inviolate; men may destroy the body, but not the spirit. That contrast is the text of the whole book.

Reactionaries had frequently attributed all the sufferings of the later Roman Empire to this new-fangled religion which she had adopted; and the fall of Rome revived a prophecy that Christianity would run only as many years as we count days; that the 365th year from its beginning would mark its final end. Therefore all the first half of the City of God is devoted to destructive criticism. Augustine shows how little the old gods had done to save Republican or Imperial Rome from bloodshed without and within, or from moral corruption; nay, how definitely these immoral deities, and the superstitions clinging to their cult, had fostered moral corruption, and therefore brought down the vengeance of God.

Thence he passes to argue that the earthly state partakes necessarily of the corruption of fallen man; in Eden there would have been neither statecraft nor ownership; politics and property are the direct consequence of Adam's fall. Cain, the first murderer, is recorded also to have founded the first city. The first

great empire, Assyria, was founded by Nimrod, in whom the Middle Ages saw a gigantic antagonist of God. Rome itself was founded in a brother's blood, and she had since dyed her hands with the blood of the Saints. Her long reign had been part of God's plan; her victories over Carthage and other rivals had in a sense been God's victories, since He had chosen this worldly empire as a material foundation for His everlasting empire. Rome had been the 'paidagogos'—half nurse, half tutor—to bring the growing world to Christ; that mission is now fulfilled, and even this sack of Rome in 410 is only one more

bubble on the stream of time. The earthly city Augustinus's '*De Civitate Dei*' must perish; the City of God endures with the soul; and Augustine concludes with that text of triumphant consolation from the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God.'

The book deserves its reputation and its almost unparalleled influence. Its weakest point is that of its own and many succeeding ages: a fanciful, and even (the less sympathetic readers may feel) sometimes a reckless liberty of Biblical interpretation, as we have seen with Cain and Nimrod. But it is full of real learning; many important facts of Roman social history are known to us only through Augustine's quotations from older authors. And, above all, it is one of the earliest efforts, if not the very earliest, to construct a philosophy of history; to indicate one guiding thread through the vicissitudes of human events. Even those who are least inclined to accept Augustine's interpretations at their face value may yet acknowledge that, essentially, he was right; that the real interest of history is this eternal conflict of the ideal and the actual, of the state in which we live, and to which on the whole we loyally submit, and of that state which never has been realized, which

perhaps never shall be, yet which, in a supreme crisis, may call upon us for an obedience even above the obedience we owe to human law.

S. Augustine tinged this with a dualism which is often implied in early Christian thought; his own personal experience tempted him even to exaggerate that dualism; any reader may understand this by turning to his Confessions, the first real autobiography in all literature. But the ordinary facts of life force a certain amount of dualism upon all of us; common sense will freely echo Augustine's remark that two bad men must necessarily disagree and contend; that a good and a bad man must needs contend; that contention, therefore, can be eliminated only in a society in which all alike are good. Life is a struggle between body and spirit, between darkness and light; this fact remains even when we have repudiated all the saint's exaggerations, and have done all that truth can do to soften the contrasts in this universe.

The political implications of The City of God, after the breakdown of central imperial authority, will be obvious. The Church, by this time, had strong and legitimate political claims; her organism, however definitely modelled on that of the state, was more elastic, in virtue of its greater spirituality. The breakdown of the civil authority had thrown upon her all responsibilities of social beneficence; even, in some cases, the upkeep of roads and bridges. These duties she shouldered, and reaped her natural reward; especially in proportion as the growing importance of the bishop of Rome focussed her elaborate organization almost as definitely as the still more elaborate civil bureaucracy from which it was borrowed had been focussed in the emperor's person.

Therefore in A.D. 800, when the Empire was revived in the West under Charles the Great, it had already a serious political rival in the Papacy; and upon this rivalry all subsequent political thought of the Middle Ages is more or less definitely hinged. The main lines of discussion were naturally determined by The City of God. It was assumed that Church and

State were as inseparable as soul and body, yet needing no less careful and constant readjustment. Augustine, though not always quite consistent, clearly recognizes on the whole the necessity of rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; but there was much in this book which lent itself easily to the support of papal claims.

Less than a century later (about A.D. 495) Pope Gelasius made a memorable pronouncement. In secular matters, it is for the emperor to make laws, and for the churchman to obey; in matters of religious faith or ceremony, decision rests with the pope. This Gelasian Concordat, as it has been called, was observed by S. Gregory the Great, the converter of the Anglo-Saxons (590-604). He admitted that he was bound, as a subject, to promulgate imperial laws, even while he protested against them as trenching seriously upon Church privileges.

But, in the West, the clergy were almost the only guardians of written records; they alone, as a rule, could read and write; here again, therefore, if their real merits gave them a political advantage which they sometimes exploited to the utmost, this was a pardonable human failing. Nicholas I (858-867) broke the Gelasian Concordat, taking advantage of a passage in The City of God; it is for the sake of peace that men form themselves into a state; therefore, if the civil ruler, by misgovernment, fails to secure peace, it is for the Church to intervene, and to command where he has broken down. A claim of this kind might obviously be construed to justify even the extremest papalist doctrines.

Gregory VII (1073-1085), exaggerating again from The City of God, claimed it as self-evident that the state founded by Christ should dominate the state founded by Cain; the pope, therefore, may make and unmake princes. With Innocent III (1198-1216), a great canon lawyer, these principles were still further developed. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) made claims, we can scarcely say even greater, but expressed in more downright language; all laws (he says) are enshrined in the casket of the papal breast; and, again:

'We declare most solemnly that subjection to the Roman Pontiff is an absolutely necessary condition of salvation for all human beings.' But here (a phenomenon common enough) the extremest verbal pretensions come when the reality is already beginning to decay.

Exaggerated Papal claims The Papacy, by this time, was pitted no longer against emperors among whose subjects it was easy to sow division, but against kings who were already supported by some sort of rudimentary national feeling; a feeling destined to grow in proportion as the political power of the Papacy declined.

This sense of nationalism, as might be expected, grew with the growing reality of national cohesion. At the great universities, from the earliest stages onwards, students were officially grouped under their different nations. The Hundred Years' War was in some real sense a national war; and neither the universality of the Church, nor the universal use of Latin among educated people—factors which have often been credited with far more influence than they really exercised—did much more to end that national conflict than to kindle it.

Definite appeal to national feeling (that is, to such feeling among the barons, since citizens and populace counted for little as yet) was made in 1300 by Pierre Dubois, a pamphleteer who supported Philip IV of France in his quarrel with Boniface VIII. Dubois starts from the postulate that 'it is a peculiar merit of the French to have a surer judgement than other nations,' therefore the peace of the world will best be assured by subjecting it to French rule. Popes, he claims, have in fact more often kindled than extinguished wars; let the Papacy barter its claims to the French king in exchange for an adequate pension, and world peace may thus be secured. Here, of course, Nicholas I's violation of the Gelasian Concordat brings its revenge. If, at one time, the pope may overstep his appointed limits, on the plea of pacification, so at another time may the temporal ruler.

It was a further shock to papal power when Clement V and his successors left Rome for Avignon (1305-1378); and a

still greater when the Great Schism (1378-1418) rendered it almost impossible for some years to decide between rival popes. Here, while S. Catherine of Siena was quite certain that the Italian was Christ's true vicar, S. Vincent Ferrer not only decided for the Frenchman, but undertook to prove by irrefragable logic that all who held to the Italian must be damned, except in so far as some might be excused by invincible ignorance. Then the Council of Constance (1414-1418), by asserting the superiority of general councils to popes, converted an absolutism of many centuries into a constitutional monarchy. But further democratic pressure at the Council of Basel (1431-1443) resulted in reaction, and the last years of the Middle Ages witnessed a growing autocracy in the ecclesiastical as in the civil sphere.

For society was as yet unripe for anything like modern democracy. At the very foundation of medieval political thought lies the emphasis on unity, yearned for all the more passionately because society was in fact torn for many centuries by almost ceaseless wars from without or from within. It was the anarchy of the Dark Ages that gave strength to the feudal ideal (see Chap. 102). And, for the same reasons which had told in favour of the development from anarchy to feudalism, men gradually wel- **Unity secured by Monarchy** come the development of feudal semi-collectivism into the full collectivism of more or less absolute monarchy both in Church and in State. 'Through all the work of medieval publicists there runs a remarkably active drift towards monarchy,' says Gierke; 'and here we see a sharp contrast between antique and medieval thinking.' Professor H. W. C. Davis is of the opinion that 'good government in the Middle Ages was only another name for a public-spirited and powerful monarchy.'

Hitherto we have looked almost exclusively at the academic or official side of medieval thought. But we must not stop here; it is one of the most dangerous errors in historical perspective to judge an age by its greatest men only, though of course we must take the great men first. Historians frequently exaggerate the

efficacy of medieval discipline; and, in consequence, the homogeneity of medieval doctrine. We may see this in one of the most interesting of medieval doctrines, that of the just price in trade, with its corollary, the prohibition of usury. In economics, Roman law had been mainly non-moral: 'caveat emptor'; the man who makes a bad bargain must suffer for it. But early Christian law based itself on the New Testament, and the patristic utterances which Gratian enshrined in his *Decretum* were not only incompatible with investments at interest, but could scarcely be stretched to make room even for the village shopkeeper. The Church receded from this untenable position, but only gradually and, for the most part, unofficially and even unconfessedly.

Something like a practical compromise between the old theory of usury and the necessary expansion of a civilized community was worked out, mainly by S. Thomas Aquinas and his fellow Dominican S. Antonino of Florence (d. 1459). S. Thomas's compromise was in flat contradiction to a quite recent papal decretal, formally embodied in canon law; yet no medieval churchman seems to have been seriously embarrassed, though of course commentators noted the difficulty. Again, in spite of S. Thomas and S. Antonino and the virtually unanimous consensus of the Scholastics, these refinements of thought seem to have penetrated very little among the mass of preachers and parish priests; for on the very brink of the Reformation we may find a distinguished friar preaching the original early-Christian definition at Paris: if anything whatsoever be added to the principal, that is usury.

This, after all, was natural enough. The usury laws, even in their modified post-Aquinas form, were so steadily and so generally broken in practice that men took comparatively little notice of theories; popes and schoolmen and priests might contradict each other without exciting much attention, so long as popes vied with princes in patronising and protecting and taking toll from usurers. It is a healthy reaction which has led to a revived study, in our own day, of these medieval

doctrines. Theirs was a nobler error, on the whole, to ignore economics in favour of morality, than it would be to ignore morality in favour of economics; and, so far, the modern reaction is to be welcomed. But this field is only one of many in which we shall stray very far from historical truth if we imagine that the medieval hierarchy and the universities, or even the whole body of clergy, can by themselves give us an adequate conception of the average man's ideas.

For the average man, unconsciously yet very truly, dictated to his betters, even in regions where a superficial view sees him only submitting to dictation. Many of the most influential medieval doctrines (as, for example, its lurid eschatology) had in fact grown up from below. The schoolmen did indeed defend these tenets with every reinforcement of logical subtlety, but in the tenets themselves they had no original choice; those had been inherited from past generations in which the hierarchy had gradually adopted and consecrated popular beliefs. The same is true even of some among the most important Church ceremonies and holy days. Demand creates supply; simple minds demanded simple solutions of complex problems; and the official answers were dictated, to some real extent, by the intellectual limitations of the questioners.

The lofty abstractions of Paulinism or of the Johannine writings could scarcely have worn through the Dark Ages without a heavy admixture of some such alloy. For unity's sake, Church teachers must be all things to all men, even at the expense of taking, here and there, a permanent tinge from that to which they had condescended. And this idea outlasted the Dark Ages; it may even be said to have attained to its most definite expression only when these were past, and when the world had settled down into the comparative stability of the thirteenth century. By that time, two generations of great thinkers had toiled to weave the accepted beliefs of their day into one harmonious philosophic whole; and then came the temptation to stiffen in self-satisfied repose. A modern

Scholastic can boast, with no more than pardonable exaggeration : ' The thirteenth century believed that it had realized a state of stable equilibrium ; and [men's] extraordinary optimism led them to believe that they had arrived at a state close to perfection.'

In so far, therefore, as medieval thought can be described with any approach to truth in a single sen-

Constant striving
after unity
tence, it may perhaps
be characterised as a
struggle for unity ; a
worship of unity which amounted almost to idolatry. We may apply to the Middle Ages that half-true epigram which reflects one side of the French Revolution : ' Be my brother, or I kill thee !' With the same half-truth we may put into the mouth of a medieval thinker : ' Be at unity with me, or be burned !' We ourselves are too ready, perhaps, to take divergences for granted and even to make a merit of them. But the passion for outward unity was one of the main forces in medieval reconstruction ; it was the most obvious rallying point in Church and State.

The mystic has been admirably defined by Dr. McTaggart as one who feels a greater unity in the universe than that which is recognized in ordinary experience, and who believes that he can become conscious of this unity in some better way than in that of ordinary discursive thought. It would seem, therefore, that all constructive ideas must have a strong element of mysticism ; and this is one justification of the modern revived interest in the Middle Ages. We may hold that there is more real unity in modern society, beneath its outward divergencies ; and yet we may feel that we have something real to learn from those who strove harder than we do for outward unity. At any rate, for them it was one of the necessities of their position ; here, for many centuries, seemed the only escape from anarchy in state or in Church.

We have here only the specially strong and enduring manifestation of a phenomenon which is common elsewhere in history. Rightly enough, men will catch at any escape from anarchy. If the ' ancien régime ' lasted so long, it was

because the alternatives were the tyranny of a squircarchy, or the helpless confusion of a populace which lacked both leaders and political experience. Napoleon, again, was rightly welcomed as the alternative to a mob-rule which had still so much to learn. As the peasants of the Dark Ages were glad, on the whole, to rally round the nearest fighting man, and even commit their liberties to him, so they were quite content to rally round the priest.

The Church, with its strong sense of social collectivity, gave them neighbourly and religious warmth ; her teaching and example, even when all necessary deductions have been made, were definitely on the side of brotherhood. Her higher speculations were mostly above the head of the average man ; though even here there was some real infiltration, and we find Church's bulwark
not infrequent examples against anarchy
of high mystical enthusiasm. Her ordinary ceremonies, and many of her beliefs, were to a great extent sprung from the multitude, and therefore acceptable and comfortable to the multitude. It is noteworthy that, in the Dark Ages, heresy seems to have been always unpopular ; heretics were often lynched, and sometimes, apparently, not even by priestly initiative. Anything rather than anarchy ; and the average man saw that these dissentients were not strong enough, either numerically or individually, to rebuild Church or state if either were destroyed.

But civilization advanced and knowledge increased ; the average man became more thoughtful, and therefore more critical of an institution which had not sufficient elasticity to keep pace with the general growth of society. Scholastic doctrine rested often on foundations of popular belief ; but, in its very completeness, in the perfection and calculated imperishability of its structure, it was apt to find itself finally in conflict with popular feeling. The severest test of a half-truth is that a philosopher should pursue it to its logical consequences. Given the premises which were accepted by hierarchy and laity alike, Aquinas was impeccably logical in proving that it is the Christian's duty to remove obstinate

nonconformists at any cost, even at that of the stake. But to lynch in the heat of passion is one thing, to kill by implacable logic is another; and the Inquisition was never popular, even among men whose ancestors had with their own hands cast the heretic into an extemporised bonfire. Moreover, the most unimpeachably orthodox scholars sometimes recognized that one of the main tenets of the heretics, their avoidance of oaths, could scarcely be condemned in the face of Christ's plain words.

Therefore the cruelties and injustices of the Inquisition—very great, even when we have stripped the story of all exaggerations—go far to account for such an utterance as we find recorded against a heretic of Toulouse in 1347: 'This man Peter said also that, if he could hold that god who, of a thousand men whom he had made, saved one and damned all the rest, then he would tear and rend him with tooth and nail as

The growth of popular mysticism a traitor, and would brand him as false and traitorous, and would spit in his face.' The wave of popular mysticism which seems to have begun in Dominican circles on the upper Rhine at the end of the thirteenth century, and thence to have spread by the trade route to the lower Rhine and England, showed, among other manifestations, a strong tendency to escape from the cruel theology which, as very commonly preached and understood, is set forth without exaggeration in this Peter's words. This humanitarian effort is noticeable in three of Chaucer's contemporaries, Rulman Merswin of Strassburg, Juliana the anchoress of Norwich, and the author (or authors) of *Piers Plowman*.

This last-mentioned poem serves better than any other medieval document as text for a disquisition on the mind of ordinary men in the later Middle Ages. Nobody can understand medieval life who has not read Dante's *Divine Comedy*; but *Piers Plowman* is a better index to the mind of the multitude. Here we have a picture of all classes, including the very poorest, as reflected in the daily thoughts of educated fourteenth-century Londoners at their best. The very incoherence of

the book is in this sense one of its main merits; the author is always thinking aloud; he reveals all his moods, untroubled by fear of self-contradiction; he mirrors faithfully the medley of ordinary human thought.

He shows us one characteristic which ran through the whole Middle Ages and survived, for instance, with so many other medieval factors, in societies like that of the 'The Vision of *Piers Plowman*' the emphasis on privilege side by side with law, and, it may almost be said, on privilege even above law. Radical as the author is in politics and in religion, he accepts the distinction of classes as God-ordained. Not that the compartments are absolutely water-tight, but no interchange is contemplated under normal conditions; he looks upon it as a social scandal that bondmen's bairns should be made bishops and that soap-sellers or their sons should be knighted. As a matter of fact, very few such cases as the former are recorded in all medieval history; hence, no doubt, the greater scandal to the average mind.

There was much else to exercise this fourteenth-century Londoner's mind. The Hundred Years' War and the Black Death have shaken society to its foundations. At one extreme of society are ex-soldiers and labourers taking advantage of the plague to claim higher wages and idler days, though S. Paul wrote, 'he that will not work, neither shall he eat.' At the other, there is a boy-king led by evil counsellors; a nobility and a squirearchy against whose oppressions Peace formally petitions to Parliament in the name of the poor, and Commons who would willingly seize the government, if only they dared to bell the cat. With all this social disorder the author has little sympathy, though he is poor himself, living from hand to mouth, and men take him for a madman because he will not make obeisance to great folk in office or in silks and furs.

One of his main themes is the dignity of honesty, poverty and work. Peter the Ploughman can lead us as straight to heaven as the parish priest himself; yet this, after all, must be by the old and narrow way: 'they that have done good shall go

into eternal life, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.' Meanwhile, it is a disjointed world through which we have to walk. Money rules everything; the man who can bribe is the man who grows to greatness; justice is bought and sold; the great town houses are built and inhabited by wholesale dealers in rotten stuff, who 'poison privily and oft the poor people that parcelmeal buyen.' Life is a jostle for worldly success; 'the most part of this people that passeth on this earth, of other heaven than here hold they no tale.'

Yet our author's own faith is unshaken; he steadily trusts the larger hope. Not that he sees his way so clearly; the whole book is full of theological problems which he attacks yet cannot solve. Nor can the parish priest solve them for him; the friar, again, for all his fat red face and bold verbosity, leaves him equally puzzled; the professional pilgrim proves a broken reed. As loyal church-folk,

Doubts that we all wish to believe in
troubled Piers papal indulgences; yet how
can we reconcile these with
the higher value of good works? How can
we reconcile predestination with free will?
Why should posterity suffer for Adam's
sin? Our poet grapples reverently with
these problems, but he tells us of 'great
folk' at whose high table the after-dinner
discussions are anything but reverent;
'they gnaw God with the gorge when their
gut is full, and maken men in misbelief
that muse much on their words.'

But all this drives our poet more and more into the sanctuary of his own soul. For himself, he is sure of a few fundamental things. Truth is paramount, Truth is God Almighty. But Truth is not mere intellectuality; to learn is 'Do-Well,' to teach is 'Do-Better'; 'Do-Best' is to love. Heaven is not for the wise, as men count wisdom, but for the good. Solomon is probably in hell; yet many poor simple folk 'pierce with a paternoster the palace of heaven.' And, above all, when we have no other stay, let us contemplate the life and work of Christ. Christ died, Christ reigns, and we, if we fight the good fight, shall reign with him; that is the main theme for all the last cantos of this poem.

But 'fight' is the word. True, Christ is in heaven; true, here on earth we have the pope, Christ's vicar through Peter; but Satan had soon crept in after the Ascension, and 'coloured things so quaintly' that honest folk have scarce known what to think. In this England of Chaucer's day the mass of Christians were like shepherdless sheep; they 'blustered forth as beasts over banks and hills, till late was and long.' **Evils of the present world** The professional pilgrim was helpless when these folk, weary of the well-worn shrines, asked the way to a new saint, to Saint Truth; he could only shake his head; that is a saint unknown to the Pilgrims' Way. And, now that Antichrist is preparing another and fiercer attack upon Christ's folk, who have entrenched themselves as best they can within the fold of Holy Church, it is the clergy themselves who are the worst traitors; first the priests, and then the friars. The enemy comes on more fiercely: where is Conscience, who has been set to keep the gate? 'He lieth and dreameth,' said Peace, 'and so do many other; the Friar with his physic this folk hath enchanted, and plastered them so easily, they dread no sin.'

Here, within seven lines of the end of the poem, there seems no room for a hopeful conclusion. Yet the author's personal religion is proof against all shocks of disillusion and disappointment; he is 'one of those rare thinkers who fight fiercely for moderate ideas, and employ all the resources of a fiery soul in support of common sense.' Christ reigns still; if His fold is thus taken by storm, then let us shake the dust of it from our feet and go forth as solitary pilgrims, 'as wide as all the world lasteth,' in search of the Christ that is to be.

The whole book, supported as it is by multitudinous indications from elsewhere, shows us the growth of a simple mystic religion among the people. And this, side by side with the well-known Renaissance of learning among scholars, nobles and merchants, with a general and growing impatience of moral abuses, and with concurrent economic causes, worked for the change from the medieval to the modern mind.

THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC: A ROMANCE OF HISTORY

Rise and Decline of the City built in the Sea
and her Aftermath of Artistic Brilliance

By EDWARD HUTTON

Author of Venice and Venetia, The Pageant of Venice, etc.

SINCE the southern escarpment of the Alps is steep, all the rivers rising there and flowing into the plain are very swift and rapid until the plain breaks them. They bring down and deposit there every sort of alluvium—a source of great fertility. The plain, however, does break these rivers at last and they are sluggish when they reach the sea. Thus, loaded with silt as they are, they and the sea have formed 'lidi' or sand banks, just off the shore, strange inaccessible places which with the salt lagoons behind them are the most characteristic features of the northern gulf of the Adriatic.

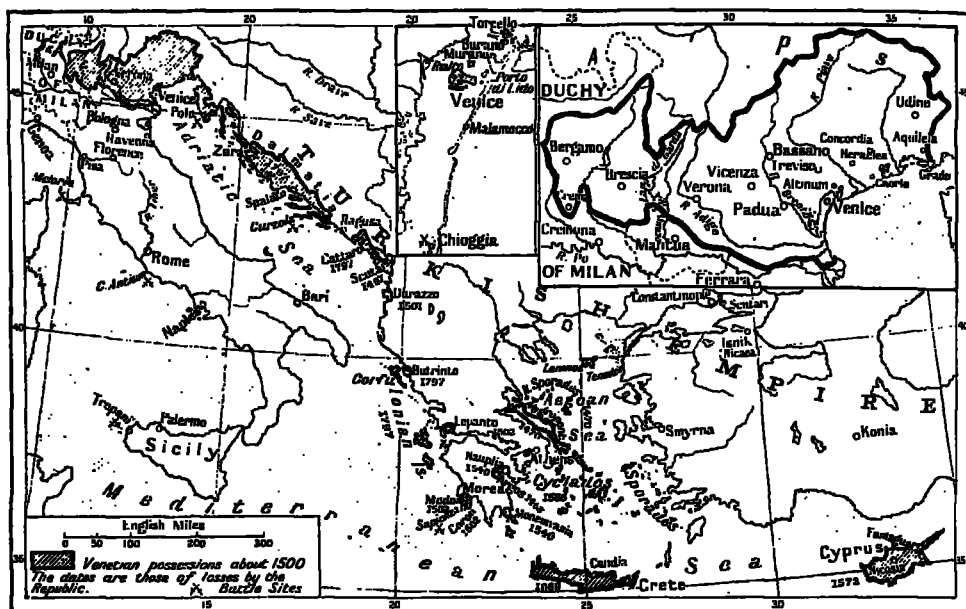
The great Roman city and fortress at the head of the Adriatic had been Aquileia, one of the richest and most populous places in the Roman province of Venetia, which was in full possession of a great civilization. It had suffered many sieges before the year A.D. 401 when Alaric and his Goths thundered at its gates. Alaric pillaged it and passed on. But it was not to render its life to the rude chivalry of the Goths; a worse fate awaited it. In 452 Attila laid siege to it, for three months in vain; but finally he found his way in and after that day no man found even the ruins of Aquileia. Attila marched on other cities of Venetia, which met with similar treatment at his hands: Altinum, Concordia and Padua, Vicenza and Verona; he consumed them all. In that darkness those who were able fled away. In the great calamity the lagoons offered a sort of refuge. As it proved they were to provide a secure sanctuary to these fugitives and their descendants for many hundreds of years, for they were in fact impregnable.

The refugees began to arrive in 452; in 466 they had already formed a sort of state, precarious no doubt and only temporary in its intention; but as the mainland fell into greater and greater confusion, as wave after wave of barbarian invasion swept through, they came to realize that there would be no return. They were continually joined by new streams of exiles, and in 568 they built Torcello—that it might endure. Later they occupied Grado, Heraclea, Malamocco, Rialto and other islands of the lagoons.

God who is our help and protector saved us that we might dwell upon these waters. This second Venetia which we have raised in the lagoons is a mighty habitation for us. No power of Emperor or Prince can reach us and of them we have no fear.

It was in these words that the state of Venice was founded—the first nation, a Latin nation, too, to emerge out of the ruin of the Empire. In the quarrel of East and West the emerging that claim ever grew clearer. of a nation. Yet it must not be forgotten that Venice thus founded on the sea looked in fact East, and though never pledging herself did for her own ends make a formal submission to Byzantium, and that Maurice the Cappadocian in 584 granted her her first diploma as a separate state.

For more than a century the little communities upon these islands of the lagoons, Grado, Caorle, Heraclea, Torcello, Burano, Malamocco, Rialto, Chioggia, had been governed by elected officers called tribunes, each tribune representing an island; Heraclea was the most important. In the year that the diploma was given these tribunes were doubled and a sort of



THE 'EMPIRE' RULED BY VENICE AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The name Venice was not originally applicable to a city but to a group of communities on the lagoon islands, in token of their claim to represent the old Roman province of Venetia. Heraclea was the first capital, then Malamocco, only changed to Rialto (now called Venice) during a siege by Pepin, father of Charlemagne. Trade grew rapidly after the consolidation, and the first territorial expansion was the capture of Curzola from the Dalmatian pirates in 1000. The Italian mainland possessions were acquired between 1340 and 1420; the dates of the various losses are given on the map.

federation was formed, the first step to administrative unity. It did not succeed, and it was not till more than a hundred years later, in 697, that the first unity of Venice was achieved under a 'dux' or doge; and in 709 this state made its first treaty—with the king of the Lombards.

Venice, as we will now call her, had taken as her first patron S. Theodore, who had been martyred for breaking an idol, such as the crocodile upon which his statue now stands in the Piazzetta. But in 829 she put herself under the protection of him who was said to have founded the church of Aquileia after being cast upon the Venetian shore and hearing the voice of the Lord saying: 'Pax tibi Marce, Evangelista meus'—S. Mark.

Now the reputed body of S. Mark lay in a church in Alexandria in the power of the Mahomedan, with whom Venice was not permitted to trade but with whom nevertheless a certain amount of business was done. At any rate two Venetian merchants, called in the chronicles Buono da Malamocco and Rustico da Torcello,

finding themselves in Alexandria in 829, stole away the body of the saint, set sail for Venice and brought it home in triumph. They were met by the whole city in procession headed by the doge and clergy, who brought the body to the shore, whence it was borne by the Venetian nobles on their shoulders to the chapel in what was already the doge's palace, the church of S. Theodore, that is. There it remained, till a great church could be built for it; and from that moment S. Mark became the patron of the Republic.

What can the Venice which received the body of S. Mark have looked like? It must have lacked every feature of the city of to-day except the waterways, and they had no bridges. It possessed, however, a substantial house in the doge's palace and a cruciform church probably covered with thatch, the church of S. Theodore. There was no campanile, though the piles were already being driven to carry it. And the centres of life seem to have been the same as those we know: the Piazza and the Rialto, the former

divided in its whole length, by a canal called the Rivo Battario.

Presently the inevitable quarrels between the islands and the island families were determined. In 1023, after two doges had been banished, it was finally settled that the dogeship was to be a non-hereditary office. An oligarchical state which admitted no hereditary or democratic principle, in form aristocratic, but recruiting itself by co-option and marriage, was formed to embrace all the islands and lidi, and in 1171 began the movement to deprive the people of what elective powers they possessed, a movement successfully completed at last in 1423. The people had been wont to elect the doge in the church of S. Pietro di Castello, the cathedral of Venice, the bishop and clergy assisting at the ceremony. From the high altar the doge took his staff of office and was carried back to the ducal palace, amid the acclamations of all Venice, in a barge of state which he entered barefoot in token of humility.

The oligarchy, thus gradually established, had set itself from the beginning,



S. MARK LAID TO REST IN VENICE

In 829 the reputed body of S. Mark was smuggled from Alexandria. A thirteenth-century mosaic over the principal porch of S. Marco shows its deposition in that church, depicted anachronistically as the glittering temple that it had by then become.

Photo. Alinari



THE LION OF S. MARK

After his arrival S. Mark replaced S. Theodore as the patron saint of Venice. The famous lion of S. Mark (see also page 2813), cast in 1178, stands on one of the two monolithic pillars in the Piazzetta.

even before its triumph was certain, to found upon the sea the greatness of Venice. The command of the sea was an ambition which Venice never set aside till it was achieved. It may be that it was this ambition, inherent in the Venetian people, which imposed upon them an oligarchic form of government. The sea, the command of the sea, perhaps demanded too persistent, too far-sighted and too self-denying an effort for any democracy to have been able to support the strain. It was at any rate while making this effort that Venice became, as England did later, an aristocratic oligarchy represented by a constitutional sovereign, in England hereditary, in Venice elective.

The sea was everything to Venice; not only was she established upon it, but even more than England she depended upon it for all manner of commodities. Those few small barren islands could not even supply food for her people, much less furnish her with merchandise for export. It was by commerce that she lived, and her trade routes were mainly on the sea—mainly, but not wholly, for she needed the produce of the Venetian plain and the Venetian cities, and she needed their markets to dispose of what she brought home along her sea lanes; above all she came to need the ways that they commanded northward over the Alps.

The main trade routes of the Republic are therefore these: two by sea, one east, one west; one by land to the north. By



ESPOUSAL OF THE SEA

The yearly ceremony of the espousal of the sea, whereat the doge cast a ring into the waters from the poop of the state barge *Bucintoro*, is thus depicted in Giacomo Franco's '*Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane*' (1610).

British Museum

the eastern sea route her merchants reached Alexandria and Egypt; Smyrna, Aleppo, Syria, Cyprus; Constantinople and the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. By the western sea route they reached Sicily, Tunis, Barbary and the ports of Spain, and, by the Strait of Gibraltar, England and Flanders. By the northern route, always at the mercy of the cities on the mainland, 'terra firma' as she called it, her citizens trafficked with Germany and central Europe and journeyed to the great fairs at Cologne and Frankfort (see map in page 2900).

She thus became the greatest of all merchant cities, a central exchange; she was never a great manufacturing city. She produced nothing, or next to nothing, for export; on the contrary, what she exported were such things as English woollens to the east, and Eastern silks to Flanders. Her local industries were numerous enough, as the early foundation of her many guilds proves; but these productions were not among her great exports. She produced chiefly glass of all sorts, and this she did send abroad to some extent; silks and velvets and cloth

of gold and silver, metal work, stamped leather and lace were also among her products and in the last-named she cultivated some export trade. She was also to export her books, for with the invention of printing at the end of the fifteenth century she soon established the most famous presses in Europe.

For all this merchandise passing to and fro Venice needed, and by a long and persistent effort she obtained, the command of the sea. And this command and her intimate association with the sea, her helplessness without it, were significantly symbolised in an annual ceremony known as the *Espousal of the Sea*.

We have seen that politically Venice leaned to the East as her formal act of submission in 584 serves to show, but in philosophy and religion she was wholly of the West. Her patriarchate was a Western patriarchate dependent upon Rome, and her religion was that of all Western Christendom. It is not surprising, then, that in these conditions, when the emperor Barbarossa in the twelfth century quarrelled with the pope Alexander III, and in the confusion which followed proclaimed a pope of his own—the antipope Victor IV—Venice actively sided with Alexander III, and won a naval victory over the emperor's son.

It was on account of this naval victory on behalf of the pope that Venice obtained from him the titular dominion of the sea, a title renewed every Ascension Day in a great ceremony known as the *Espousal of the Adriatic*. Nevertheless, this ceremony and all it claimed did not originate then. It was far older, dating from 997 when Doge Orseolo II had swept the pirates from the Adriatic. The pope regularised this claim, and as in the medieval world every dignity and title must of necessity derive from a recognized source, the investiture of Venice by the pope with the lordship of the sea had a real value. Moreover the pope gave to the doge a ring with which he was to wed the Adriatic, for he desired that this ceremony of marriage should be added to the older ritual that took place outside the Porto di Lido on Ascension Day. Therefore, when the doge's barge

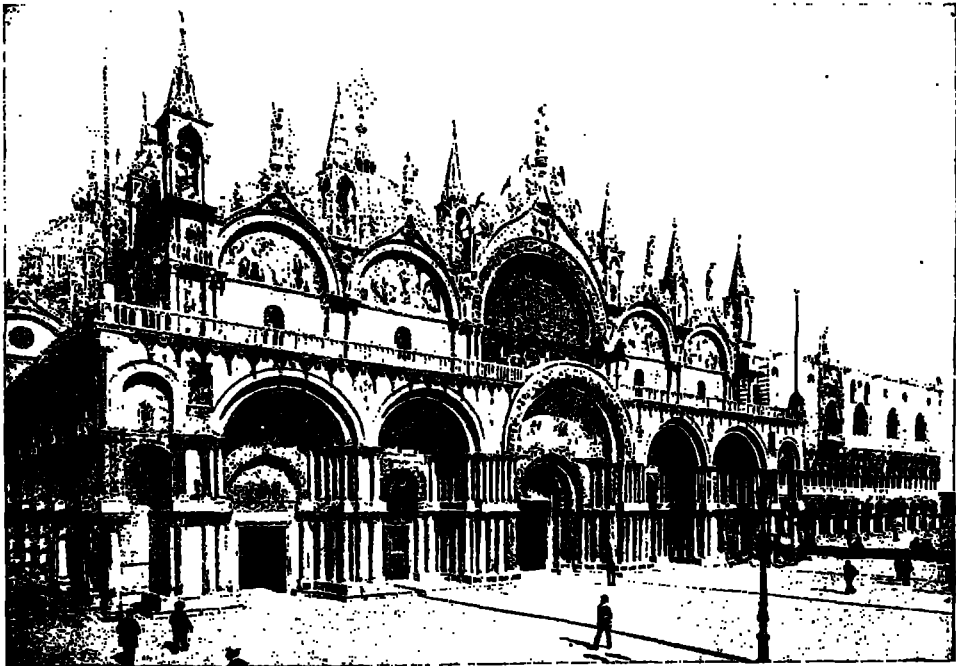
arrived outside the port, the poop was presented to the sea, and the bishop, blessing the ring, presented it to the doge before he poured holy water from a vase upon the waves, whereon the doge must throw the ring, saying: 'O sea, we wed thee in sign of our true and perpetual dominion.' The relations between Venice and the sea were to be not less close than those between a man and his wife—Venice and the sea were one.

That Venice in fact as well as name held the dominion of the sea appears at once in perhaps the most extraordinary event of the thirteenth century, the fall of Constantinople before the crusading army of 1204 (see page 2749). This amazing achievement was conceived and led by Venice, could not have been achieved by any other power and was only successful in her hands because she held the dominion of the sea. The booty was enormous. Some of it may be seen in the great church of S. Marco, the great

bronze horses of Constantine, for instance, later set up over the porch there (see page 2296), and many of the precious marbles, for S. Mark's, though not the cathedral, was the most glorious church in Venice.

But the loot was by no means all. In that tremendous victory Venice found herself. To her fell the Cyclades and the Sporades islands of the Aegean; she purchased Crete, the mother of Greece; Zara was already hers and the coast of Dalmatia; not the Adriatic alone but the eastern Mediterranean was in her grip; she held the gateways of the Orient. It must have seemed to Venice, even to the world, like an apotheosis.

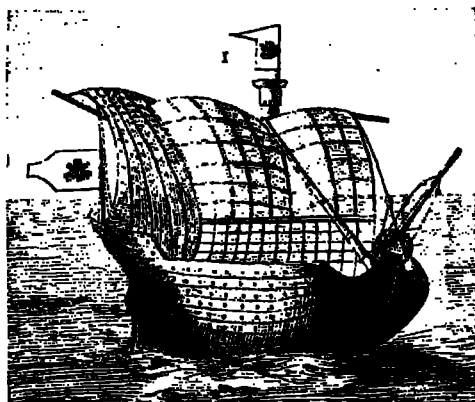
But that tremendous adventure had to be paid for. Out of it rose the greatest naval struggle of the Middle Age, the fight between Venice and Genoa for the mastery of the sea, which fills the next one hundred and seventy years. Both cities fought with great tenacity and



GLITTERING FACADE OF S. MARCO ON THE PIAZZA, NOW THE CATHEDRAL

The small chapel that received the bones of S. Mark when they arrived from Alexandria grow in the course of centuries to be the glory of Venice, far outshining the cathedral. Its present form dates from the rebuilding in the middle of the eleventh century under Doge Contarini, when a blend of Lombard and Byzantine traditions resulted in a style of architecture that can only be called Venetian, but its somewhat flamboyant appearance is due to embellishments continued from that day to this.

Photo, Brogi



VENETIAN TRADING VESSEL

A drawing on a Venetian map of 1366 shows the type of ship in which the trade of Venice was borne during the period of her life-and-death struggles with Genoa for the mastery of Mediterranean commerce.

From Zanetti, 'Dell'origine di Arti Venetiani'

courage, for both felt that their existence depended on the result. They were fighting for the command of the Mediterranean and the commerce of the world; the result was decided by the superior wealth and therefore the superior recuperative power of Venice.

The series of campaigns was opened by Genoa at Acre in which the Genoese sacked the Venetian quarter. Venice replied by sacking the Genoese quarter and crushed the Genoese fleet in those waters. This was the first round; the second opened in Constantinople, where in 1261, in the absence of the Venetian fleet, the Greek Empire was restored. It naturally favoured the Genoese merchants, so that they threatened to dominate the whole Levant. Again, in 1264, Venice destroyed the Genoese fleet at Trapani. But Venice was not content. She determined on the destruction of Genoa as a naval power. She was ready for any means. She supplied an admiral to the Pisans in their great engagement with the Genoese fleet at Meloria in 1284. The Pisans were destroyed. It was Genoa's turn. Strong at Constantinople, with a new and victorious fleet at sea, she closed the Dardanelles. Venice sent forth another fleet under Ruggiero Morosini. He forced the Dardanelles, burned the Genoese quarter at Galata, threatened the emperor and returned to Venice with a vast booty.

Nevertheless, the Genoese, meeting a Venetian fleet of ninety-five sail off Curzola, broke it. Peace was made and we see the truth in the fact that that peace was not unfavourable to Venice.

But new quarrels arose about trade in the Black Sea. Again Genoa was most fortunate, was able to threaten Venice itself and almost annihilate the Venetian fleet at Sapienza in 1354. But as before, Genoa was too exhausted to advance.

None of these three campaigns had been decisive; a fourth was necessary. The immediate quarrel was over the island of Tenedos which commanded the approach to the Dardanelles, and which Venice had unscrupulously obtained in 1377. Out of Venice sailed Vettor Pisani with the banners of S. Mark and broke the Genoese off Cape Antium. By command of the Senate he wintered at Pola, and was surprised by Luciano Doria of Genoa and his fleet destroyed. Pisani was imprisoned on his return. Thereafter the Genoese and the Paduans, their allies, closed on Venice. Carrara of Padua held the mainland; Doria blockaded the city from the sea, with his base on Chioggia. He should have struck at Venice herself; he proposed to starve her.

Then Venice arose. She was not to be beaten. She led Vettor Pisani out of prison and gave him her last ships. He found Doria in Chioggia and blocked the Venice triumphs over Genoa blockader. In vain Doria tried to dig himself out through the sand banks. Pisani, his men half mutinous, waited, willing to see him starve; till on January 1, 1380, Carlo Zeno, the adventurous captain, reinforced him. Then he took the offensive, forced the Genoese off the banks back into Chioggia and received the surrender of the Genoese fleet. Genoa was broken for ever.

The internal policy of Venice had been established as an oligarchy under an elective doge, who more and more became a mere figurehead in the end of the thirteenth and the first years of the fourteenth century with the elimination of the popular vote in the election to the dogeship. But though the democratic principle was thus wholly abolished, the



SOLDIERS AS SEEN BY VENETIAN ARTISTS

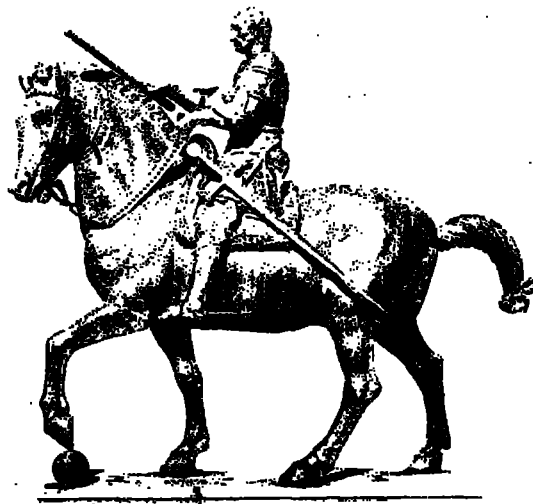
These paintings, by Giorgione (1477-1511), left, in the cathedral of his native Castelfranco, and, right, Paolo Cagliari of Verona ('Veronese,' 1528-88), both painters who received their training at Venice, show the soldiers of the maritime republic at two successive periods of her mainland wars.

Pinacoteca, Modena (right); photos, Anderson

ally himself with Genoa she saw her danger and was compelled to reverse her whole policy by making war on the mainland. She raised an army of universal service and overthrew the Scala of Verona.

The situation was wholly new to her. Till now she had been an impregnable fortress holding the sea which was her frontier. In 1339 she became a continental power with a land frontier as easily attacked as any other. What she now had to fear was the growing power of the Visconti of Milan. Their territory ran with that of Padua. Every attack they made on the Paduans was in a very real sense an attack on Venice. Nor in these circumstances could she trust Padua, for in its peril Venice being nearer must seem more dangerous than Milan. So it

proved, and in the bad year 1354, when the Genoese fleet threatened the lagoons, Padua sent aid to the enemies of Venice and even after the peace continued to oppose her. For over fifty years the intrigue and the struggle went on, Padua trying to save her independence as a 'buffer state' between Milan and Venice. In 1405 Venice arranged with the duchy of Milan and seizing the two Carraresi, lords of Padua, strangled them in prison and entered into their dominion. The land wars went on, often under the famous condottieri, Carmagnolo, Gattamelata and Colleone, against the Visconti and the emperor till 1450. But Venice had won. She had restored the frontiers of the old Roman province of Venetia and more; and this, save for one brief interval, she ruled till her fall in 1796.



GENERAL WHO FOUGHT FOR VENICE

For her mainland wars Venice often hired the services of 'condottieri,' or mercenary generals. One such was Erasmo de Narni ('Gattamelata'), who died at Padua in 1443 while Donatello was residing there; to whom is due this magnificent equestrian statue, the first of its type since classical times.

Photo, Anderson



ECCLIASTICAL POMP IN THE QUEEN CITY OF THE ADRIATIC : PART OF A CANVAS BY GENTILE BELLINI

Brother of the more famous Giovanni and son of Jacopo, who was also a great painter, Gentile Bellini is one of the galaxy of artists who enrich the fame of Venice. He lived 1429-1507, when the power but not the brilliance of the republic was passing its zenith, and was invited to Constantinople to paint the sultan's portrait (see page 3124). This example of his work shows the religious procession at the festival of S. Mark crossing the Piazza.

The Academy, Venice : photo, Anderson

The state thus formed, whose boundaries were the Alps, the Po, the Adda and the sea, was quite different from any other in Italy, and it alone remained stable and firm during some four hundred years, for more than one reason. Oligarchies have always been the most lasting form of government ; they seem better than any other to form, hold together and to express a nation. That may be one reason. But at least of equal importance is the fact that Venice by virtue of her command of the sea was herself impregnable. Moreover, she established good government, the best that Italy had ever seen since the fall of the Empire. So much the best was it, that when by an infamous intrigue of the Papacy Venice was deprived of her mainland possessions in 1509, they of their own accord in 1512 returned to her. More than any other modern state she seems to have inspired the love of her dependencies, so that they were always loyal to her and ready to fight on her behalf.

Those generals who had entered her service and finally secured her so great an inheritance, Gattamelata and Colleone, were honoured ; they had their monuments, great equestrian statues (see also page 2243), perhaps the greatest in the world, in Padua and in Venice. These works were created for the Venetians in the fifteenth century by the hands of the Florentine sculptors Donatello and Verrocchio ; since Venice had no one of her own capable of producing such works. Indeed, for all her splendour Venice was much later in producing a school

of art than either Tuscany or Umbria. Not before the appearance of the Bellini in the fifteenth century did she produce any painters of first-rate ability ; and when the Venetian school does at last appear it is as essentially different from any other as Venice was herself from any other Italian state. But it was not less glorious ; on the contrary, it surpassed in many respects every other school in Italy and must be regarded perhaps as the greatest school of painting of which we have record.

The Florentine school was the production of Giotto, not of Florence ; the Sienese of Duccio, not of Siena ; but the Venetian school was fundamentally the

**Venetian school
of painting**

production of Venice. Venice was more than these communes of central Italy; she was a nation, the only nation in Italy, and she produced a national school of painting. And there is something else, too: the Tuscan schools of painting, the Umbrian school also, had worked in the service of the Church, their painting was essentially religious; the Venetian masters worked in the service of Venice, their work was not religious at all, its impulse was civic, it served not the Church but the State. And if the final quality of the Florentine school is its sense of tactile values, of the Sienese its sense of line, of the Umbrians its pictorial sense, the soul of Venetian painting is colour.

The names of the masters of this great national school of painting fill the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and in some sort continue gloriously till the fall of the Republic. Jacopo and Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Vittore Carpaccio, Cima, Catena, Bissolo, Basaiti, Giorgione da Castelfranco, Sebastiano del Piombo, Palma Vecchio, Titian, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Pietro Longhi, Tiepolo, Canaletto, Guardi: they are like an army with banners. They have left us no great series of frescoes such as are the glory of Florentine and Sienese painting in S. Croce in Florence, in S. Francesco at Assisi, in S. Maria Novella in Florence; these great religious stories were painted in the service of the Church. It is not in churches that we shall find in Venice anything that may match with these, but in the Doge's Palace, where three great series of paintings have been destroyed and replaced finally by the glorious works we see, and in the 'scuole,' the guild houses, in the Scuola di S. Rocco and the Scuola di S. Maria della Carità.

And these Venetian masters have not only worshipped and glorified Venice as



PIAZZA S. MARCO BY CANALETTO

As the years wore on the greatness of Venice declined, but not her gaiety nor entirely the genius of her artists. Antonio Canal ('Canaletto'), 1697-1768, was painting her canals and palaces only a generation before the city fell to Napoleon. This view of the Piazza includes the campanile that collapsed in 1902.

National Gallery, London

in those great pictures in the Doge's Palace; they have painted Venice herself, her Piazza, her canals, her palaces, over and over again as no Florentine or Sienese ever seems to have cared to do with his native city. So Gentile Bellini paints the Piazza di San Marco, Sebastiano and Mansueti, too; Giorgione begins the series of wonderful Venetian landscapes; Titian and Tintoretto give us an innumerable portraiture of doges, nobles, men of letters and fair women. With Veronese we pass through the courtyards and galleries of the Venetian palaces and with Longhi we see the 'interior' life of the town; Canaletto paints the whole city and Guardi the canals and lagoons.

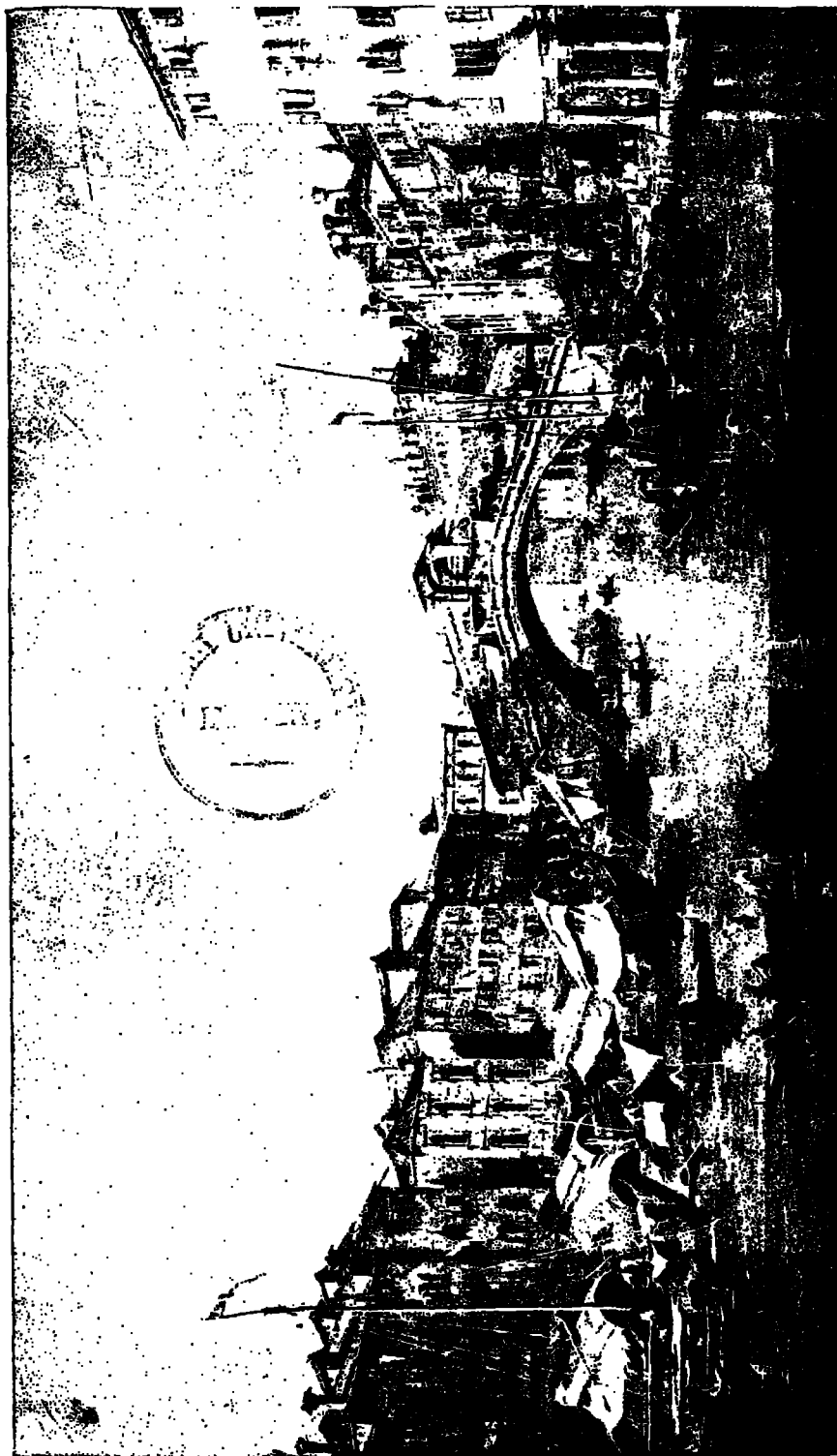
Nor was it only in painting that Venice excelled. Quite as important as her achievement in that great art was her wonderful success with the printing press



BUSY WATERSIDE SCENE OPPOSITE THE PIAZZETTA IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VENICE

The Venetian was far more 'national' than the other Italian schools of painting; from the first we have a glorious series of paintings allegorising the greatness of Venice, or, later on, reproducing her external splendours, such as cannot be paralleled for other Italian cities. Canaletto and Guardi set themselves to recording the beauties of her canals and palaces as they were in the last days of her independence; this canvas, of the school of Canaletto, shows gondolas moored at the Molo in front of the Doge's Palace, with the Riva degli Schiavoni stretching along the Canale di S. Marco beyond.

Wallace Collection; photo, W. E. Gray



A GUARDI CANVAS : THE RIALTO BRIDGE AND FONDACO DEI TEDESCHI SEEN FROM THE GRAND CANAL
 Venice's main artery is the serpentine Canal Grande or Canallazzo intersecting the whole city, and the bridge seen in this canvas by Francesco Guardi (1712-1793) was once the only link between the two halves. It is the famous Rialto bridge, built, in its present form, of marble by Giovanni da Ponte about 1590. Immediately beyond it on the right is the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (Warehouse of the Germans) built in 1505 by Girolamo Tedesco on the site of a warehouse that had belonged to them since the twelfth century. Giorgione and Titian collaborated in the painting of its frescoes.

Wallace Collection; photo, W. E. Gray

— a subject which needs no further stressing here as it is fully treated in Chapter 125.

The sixteenth century thus opened in Venice in a blaze of glory and hope. But, as it proved, two events had already compromised the future for her: the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the opening up in 1497 by Vasco da Gama of a new route to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. There was something more: the advent into Italy of the great European powers, France, Spain and the Empire. The splendour of Venice had never appeared so great; her magnificence drew the whole of Europe, her luxury and wealth impressed all strangers, her ceremonies were unmatched in the world and she was the 'revel of the earth'; but she was already in decline. She did not of course succumb in a day. She had long centuries to live, but the curve of

her greatness had reached its zenith and was already falling.

We may observe now a certain rigidity in the Venetian government, perhaps inherent in the Venetian character. It could not transform itself to meet new conditions. Venice lived by commerce. When commerce began to decline nothing was done. The nobles simply abandoned trade altogether, retired to their country estates and became a decorative but useless encumbrance upon the state. The accumulation of wealth gradually ceased, the distribution of wealth began.

So long as the weak Byzantine Empire remained in control at Constantinople, when the power of Genoa was broken Venice was actually mistress of the Mediterranean without a rival in the commerce of the Levant. But with the advent of the Turk her whole position was in jeopardy, her possessions coveted and threatened by an infidel power with whom she could not come to terms without treachery to Christendom. It was obviously too late for her to enter upon a fight to the death, and as obviously beyond her strength, especially as her frontier on the mainland was likely to become more and more insecure.

It is possible that she might have faced this catastrophe if, as it was developing, she had not been half ruined by the discovery of the Cape route. This struck at her heart. Venice recognized it at once with almost uncanny clairvoyance. As was written, the whole city, on receipt of the news of Diaz's voyage,

was distressed and astounded and the wisest took it to be the worst tidings we ever had; for it is well known that Venice reached the height of her glory and riches by commerce alone, and now by this new route the spice cargoes will be taken straight to Lisbon whither the Germans, Flemings and French will rush to buy them. The goods will be cheaper there than in Venice; for by the old route



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DOMESTIC GROUP

Of the same generation as Canaletto and Guardi, Pietro Longhi (1702-62) dedicated his skill to the social gaieties of the festival-city of Europe rather than to her outward appearance. This quiet canvas of a domestic group, in almost Hogarthian strain, shows the every-day costume of the period.

National Gallery, London

his intention of turning the foreigners out of Italy.

Venice lay dying, wounded to death by all these things. How could she hope to face the Turk, when the Europe that she strove to protect against Moslem aggression was leagued against her? But the immediate peril passed. After 1512 the possessions of Venice upon the mainland returned to their allegiance of their own accord. In 1518 peace was made with the emperor; in 1523 a treaty was signed. In 1527 came the sack of Rome and Venice reclaimed all her ecclesiastic rights which she had surrendered to Julius II.

Meantime, she had already taken up her great business of facing the Turk. In 1462 a crusade was proposed and accepted against the Ottoman power, but Venice was left alone to carry it out. This dragged on till 1479, when peace was made. War again broke out in 1499, to be followed by peace in 1503. Then in 1536 came the Third Turkish War in which Venice was allied with the pope and the emperor; but at the peace in 1540 she lost Nauplia.

Nevertheless, it was probably at this period that Venice appeared most splendid. In the earlier part of it Giorgione, Titian and Tintoretto were painting in Venice; Pietro Aretino was living there, the loudest voice in Italy, perhaps the scourge and certainly the screw of

Venice in the 16th Century princes. The whole city was taking on its last magnificent transformation; it was free, the freest city in the world and perhaps the most beautiful. But all this splendour and pleasure hardly masked the truth; Venice was dying, war was beating her to death, and the ruin of her commerce did not allow her to recuperate. It is perhaps the anguish of her condition that we see reflected in the last tremendous canvases of her greatest sons, Titian and Tintoretto.

By the middle of the century she had lost all her possessions in the East except a few towns in Dalmatia and certain islands, the chief of which were Corfu, Crete and Cyprus. Her navies were still at sea. By 1570 the Turk, who had hitherto known nothing of the sea, had become perhaps the greatest sea power in



DRESS OF A YOUNG NOBLEMAN

Sumptuous yet not foppish, the costume of this young nobleman of twenty-six years, Lodovico Martinengo, provides a contrast with the graver garb of the senators in page 3045. The portrait is by Bartolommeo Veneziano (1480-1555).

National Gallery, London

the Mediterranean. Indeed, on the eve of Lepanto the Turk boasted not less than three hundred sail. Venice had perhaps one hundred ships. The Turk coveted the islands and especially Cyprus, whose surrender he now demanded. Venice arose and refused. The Turks fell on the island, which was heroically defended by Marcantonio Bragadin. In vain. All the Venetian women there were carried off to fill the harems of the East, or to be slaves. Bragadin was taken. His ears and nose were cut off and he was first obliged to witness the barbarous deaths of his comrades before he was hung up by the hands and slowly skinned alive. They stuffed the skin and bore it to Constantinople, but one who loved him, at the risk of worse than death, stole the terrible thing and brought it to Venice.

Venice, however, had found allies. Young Don John of Austria, twenty-six years old, led the great fleets of Christendom to battle. They found the Ottoman

navy at Lepanto and they left the enemy ships at the bottom of the Greek sea, slaying the infidel to the number of eighty thousand. This befell on an October day in 1571, and the loot was brought to Venice. But the Republic got nothing but revenge out of the victory. In a single year the Turks were at sea again, and in 1573, deserted by her allies, Venice lost Cyprus.

Once more only was she to stand up and hold the attention of all Europe. Venice had always maintained a somewhat independent attitude towards the Vatican. We see this in that law of hers which insisted that not only the patriarch, but all the bishops of the Venetian dioceses, must be Venetians; and again in her enactment that the Holy Office could only act within the Venetian state by consent of the Venetian government. In the fourteenth century the doge had actually declared that the pope had nothing to do with temporal affairs. The printing press, too, was less bound by restriction in Venice than elsewhere in Italy, and the Vatican must long since have regarded the ecclesiastical policy of Venice as tainted with Erastianism.

Since the formation of the League of Cambrai relations with the Papacy must in any case have been difficult; and towards the end of the century several critical questions were pending, and these were no doubt not rendered more easy of solution by the general upheaval of the Reformation and the declaration of what may be styled 'martial law' that followed it at the Council of Trent. So these Venetian questions, which might not have become crucial at another time perhaps, came to seem so at this, and it soon became obvious that Venice must either abandon what she regarded as her immemorial rights or suffer an interdict. She was given, in fact, twenty-four days to make up her mind. In all this affair the man who inspired the action of Venice was Fra Paolo Sarpi, a man of genius, born in Venice in 1552 and one of her greatest men of letters.

The interdict fell. The Orders which obeyed, against the command of the Venetian government, the Capuchins, Theatines and Jesuits, were expelled. All

Europe was on tiptoe. It looked from outside as though Venice might join the Protestant party, and Sir Henry Wotton, England's ambassador, even put forward a scheme for a Protestant League to include Venice. But Venice was in fact as Catholic as the pope. No one had anything to gain from such a quarrel but Spain, and Spain's gain meant France's loss. The genius of Sarpi ended the mighty war of pamphlets in a compromise; relations with Rome were resumed; Sarpi was stabbed almost to death, but recovered; and the great dispute concerning the supremacy of the state which had ravaged Europe here ended happily.

But it is clear that Venice, though she kept a bold front to her enemies, was dying. In the seventeenth century she definitely assumed the position that she has filled of carnival ever since, as a joy city and little else, a carnival town, still rich and ever beautiful, the 'masque of Italy.' It was then that John Evelyn visited her, and has left a long account of her delights in his *Diary* (1641). St. Didier (1680) came too, and Amelot de la Hous-say (1676). The corruption of manners began the decadence which was to make her famous all through the eighteenth century and which was to produce Casanova. Eighteenth-century Venice with her carnivals, her 'magazzini,' her 'ridotti,' her operas and ballets, her open convents, her masked balls, lives again in the marvellous pages of this corrupt adventurer. Indeed, we have not anywhere else so vivid a picture of life at this time.

Rousseau came to visit her, Gozzi and Goldoni produced their plays, Galuppi wrote his toccatas and Monteverde his songs, and the lovely masses of Lotti echoed under the mosaics of S. Mark. The whole world was at play, exquisitely if a little dangerously, on the great Piazza and the Grand Canal, lighted by coloured lanterns or the moon. This happy state endured almost to the end of the eighteenth century; till suddenly—the cannon of Napoleon. The end had come at the hands of the soldier of the Revolution whose armies took possession of the city on May 16, 1796. The Republic of Venice after a thousand years was dead.

THE POWER OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE

Wonderful commercial Expansion of the
medieval City States of North Germany

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IN the earlier Middle Ages the Germans, under efficient leadership, had seized the imperial crown of Christendom and long maintained—for more than three hundred years—their hegemony in the Western world, the Catholic Roman civilization of the European continent.

But the ill-knit, ill-organized German kingdom, which was the pillar and ground of that Holy Roman Empire, broke down beneath the burden of tasks and troubles too large and too heavy for it. For the imperial position, for the Roman sovereignty, for dominance in Italy and elsewhere, outside the orbit of 'Teutonism,' Germany sacrificed her political strength. Especially from the Italian connexion, and from the fatal conflicts with the popes and the Italian cities, the disintegration of Germany steadily developed.

With the death of Frederick II, with the Great Interregnum, the 'Empire Romain-Germanique' really lost its old meaning. From the ruin of the Hohenstaufen it emerged 'living indeed, and destined to a long life, but so shattered, crippled and degraded that it could never more be to Europe what it once had been.' Upon the wreck of the old imperial kingdom now grew apace a new world of principalities, ecclesiastical and secular, countships and lordships and city states—'a confused congeries of undeveloped political structures, but full of vitality.'

By the side of the fading imperial glory, the weakening political cohesion, there were remarkable developments of certain sides of Germanic life. The princes of Saxony, the Sword Brethren, the Knights of the Teutonic Order and the burghers of the Hanseatic League now completed

with sword and plough, with ship and market, one of the most significant and important colonial achievements of Christian history. There was a Teutonic conquest and settlement of vast lands, and especially of coast lands, not only beyond the Elbe (which had been left behind even in the twelfth century), but beyond the Oder, and even beyond the Vistula. Yet farther, beyond the Niemen, and up to the Gulf of Finland, its spray was dashed upon the East Baltic shores.

The Hanseatic League of the North German towns, in its growth and strength and splendour, is the chief exception (and a notable one) to the supposed inertia of Old Germany in matters commercial and in matters maritime. It is also, as already noticed, one of the chief exceptions to the supposed inactivity of the Germans before Bismarck in colonisation. It is the most striking North European parallel to the city-state life of medieval Italy or of ancient Hellas. It offers instructive evidence of German ability—even in the darkest times of national fortune—to combine, to federate and to develop fresh and living political organisms within the dead or dying husk of a national kingdom. And it shows—not for the first time in history, but on a larger scale than before—the outstanding German capacity for the evolution of urban civilization, forecasting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the development of the nineteenth. Hamburg and Bremen illustrate this with peculiar exactness.

The Hansa of the northern coast towns, the Hanseatic League of history, whose

essence was the alliance between Hamburg and Lübeck, had of course no original monopoly of position. It was but one of many associations of burghers or of country folk formed for mutual protection and advantage in a thirteenth-century time of ever-increasing danger and anarchy, imperilled by an always weakening central power. While the imperial electors were looking for kaisers rich enough to be ornamental, weak enough to be powerless (for under these very conditions was Richard of Cornwall elected), the more vigorous, manly and aspiring elements of German middle-class life were taking measures for self-preservation, comfort and advancement. The leagues of Rhine cities, the Swabian city leagues, the leagues of mountaineers and foresters in Old High Germany, were other examples of the same tendency. Even the lesser nobles now moved in this direction, and formed associations to maintain themselves against the emperor on one side, the great princes of the Empire on another and the cities on a third. From the High German leagues, in part at least, sprang the Swiss Confederation (see Chap. 121), which ultimately developed into a new European nation.

The expanding, colonising, proselytising, fighting, adventuring instincts of the Germanic race, in the service of the Church

Expansion of **Militant and of their own**
Teutonic Order **expression, under aristo-**
 cratic leadership, in this

time of troubles. From the poor and weak beginnings of a crusading hospital (in the Levant of the twelfth century) the Teutonic Order, before the middle of the thirteenth, had become a national agency for conquest and settlement. It had transferred its energies to the German eastern borders; it was uniting with the Sword Brethren and adopting their policy; it was founding a new colonial empire for Germandom in Baltic lands. Hand in hand with the knights and followers of this military monasticism, in these lands of 'Easterlings,' went the merchants of the Hanseatic League. They, too, shared in the 'Drang nach Osten.'

In the days of Richard II of England and of the early Wycliffites the Hansa had

come to include more than ninety cities. And although the most vital centres of the league were in the northern coast-towns, and although Lübeck already led the whole confederacy, many of the cities lay far inland. Magdeburg, Brunswick, Cologne, Göttingen, Münster, even Berlin, were examples of this. The future capital of Prussia and of the new Germany, in the fourteenth century a little fishing village on the Spree, only gained admission to the league with difficulty.

In this zenith-time, in the century between the Danish wars—the struggles against Waldemar Atterdag (1361–70)—and the great discoveries of the later fifteenth century, the Hansa steadily developed its organization

Golden Age of
Hansa League

as well as its prosperity. First came a triple, then a quadruple, division by 'regions' or 'quarters.' The Westphalian and Saxon Quarters, in which the chief towns were Cologne and Brunswick, were mostly within the old German lands, as they had existed, or had been extended, before the truce of Church and State in 1122. But the Wendish Quarter, whose capital was Lübeck itself, the leading city of the whole confederacy, was essentially a colonial land. It included Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and lay mainly in those thinly-peopled Slavonic territories whose Germanisation was begun by Henry the Fowler (see page 2499), but not seriously carried through (especially in the coastal regions) until after the Hildebrandine struggles and the Truce of 1122; while the Prussian and Livonian Quarter, whose centre was Danzig, comprised the most advanced lands of Teutonic colonisation, and its most daring Baltic advances, right up to Riga and Reval.

In these central and later Middle Ages, in fact, and notably between 1200 and 1400, German colonial activity in the Baltic offers a certain parallel to ancient Hellenic activity in the Black Sea. If the Greeks studded the Euxine with their settlements before the days of Marathon, the Germans founded in that 'Mare Clausum' of the North fourteen large towns, and many more of smaller size and lesser note, between the time of Magna Carta and of Agincourt.

At the height of their power the Hanseatics, controlling to so great an extent the trade of the Baltic, from Lübeck to Danzig and from Danzig to Königsberg, Memel, Riga and Reval, were also possessors of a controlling influence in those important lands of Holstein which divided the two seas. Faced by the constant hostility of the Danes, the North German League, even in the fourteenth century, attempted on a small scale what was completed in the grand style in the nineteenth. The Stecknitz Canal, to connect the North Sea and the Baltic, was primarily a work of the ubiquitous citizens of Lübeck. Begun in the first half of the fourteenth century, it was finished in 1400—a curious forecast of the Kiel Canal of modern times, at whose opening in 1895 little was said of the modest medieval predecessor.

Outside German lands the Hanseatic League maintained important trade relations, especially with the Scandinavians, the Russians, the men of French Flanders

and the English. In Russia they had valuable interests in Pskov and Ladoga, not very far from the frontiers of the Teutonic Order, when these frontiers had reached their farthest extension. And they were apparently in touch, also, with some Russian centres farther inland, such as Smolensk. But their chief Slavonic market was in Old Novgorod, the great city on the Volkhov, near Lake Ilmen, about 100 miles south-south-east of the modern Leningrad. In this city 'of marvellous greatness' a vast commercial quarter, a *Handelsseite*, balanced the 'cathedral side,' the *Sophien-seite*, across the river. Along with Bruges, London and Bergen, it was, from the thirteenth century, the main outpost of this German trade in non-German lands.

German trading settlements had existed on the Volkhov at least as early as the eleventh century—before the Norman conquest of England. In the thirteenth century—so calamitous for all the Russian lands—the importance of Teutonic com-



PANORAMIC VIEW OF DANZIG IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Danzig, situated at the junction of the Mottlau and Vistula, four miles from the Gulf of Danzig, has ever been an outlet for Polish commerce to the Baltic and thus was the natural centre of the Prussian and Livonian Quarter of the Hanseatic League in the fourteenth century. This view of the free city was drawn in 1574 to the order of Adam Wachendorf, secretary of the Hansa counter in London. The fourteenth-century church of S. Mary and the spired Rathaus are still standing.

From Braun and Hohenberg, 'Théâtre des cités du monde'

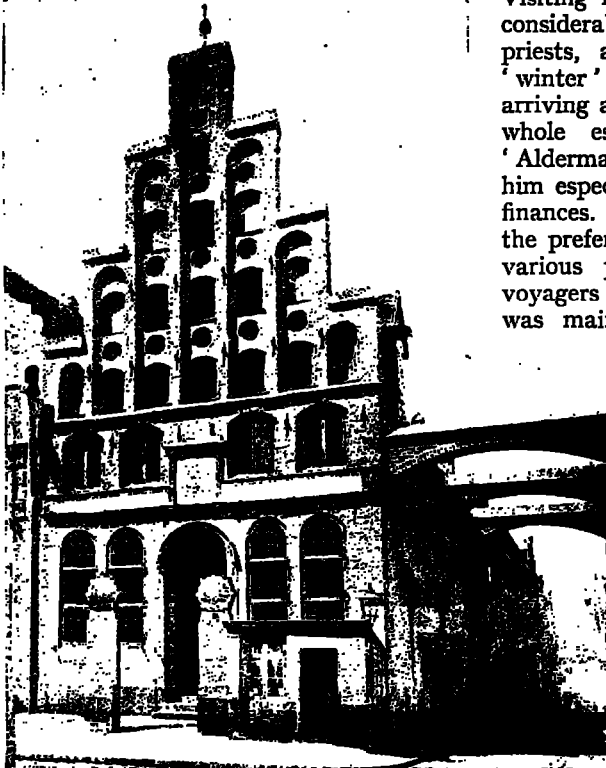
merce in the great Russian trading town decidedly increased, aided by such privileges as were granted in 1269 to the German settlement. At the zenith of Hanseatic power, the merchants of this Court or House of the Nyemtsi, or of S. Peter, established in Novgorod and west Novgorodian lands, as in the Bergen of the Norsemen, an ascendancy not unlike the trade domination of Venetians or Genoese in certain ports of the East Roman Empire at certain periods. To a great extent the Hanseatics monopolised, in the later Middle Ages, the foreign trade of Livonia, and for their Livonian privileges they paid on a ridiculous scale—a little cloth, some gloves or other peppercorn rent. With some success the Teutonic merchants even tried to compel the Novgorodian law to ensure the prior payment

of German creditors in the case of native bankruptcies. Still more curious are their efforts to prevent non-Hanseatic foreigners in Novgorodian lands from learning Russian, and to prevent Russians from settling in the Livonian coast lands or engaging in the Baltic maritime trade. As in Bergen and London, this Teutonic colony (on the 'commercial side' of the Volkhov) was not only factory, but also fortress and commercial monastery, whose garrison was strictly celibate, avoided to the best of its power all social intercourse or partnership-trading with the Russians, and was bound by many other regulations.

From the 'skra' or constitution of this settlement we gather many details, and can form some picture of Old Novgorod its life and organization.

Visiting merchants, always travelling in considerable bodies with their chaplain-priests, and known as 'summer' and 'winter' travellers, were constantly arriving and departing. The head of the whole establishment was the elected 'Alderman of the Court of S. Peter'—to him especially fell the supervision of the finances. Merchants arriving by sea had the preference over the land travellers in various privileges—so had the winter voyagers over the summer. The trade was mainly in timber, metals, honey, wax, leather, salt and furs on one side; in woollen and linen articles, and in objects of luxury, on the other.

Even in the early days of Frederick Barbarossa in Germany, and of Henry II in England and the Angevin lands, Bremen merchants appear in Livonia (1157), and Cologne merchants are recorded as trading with the Russians (1167). German enterprise was even then helping to found the Livonian Catholic bishopric which was fixed at Riga in the early thirteenth century, and which formed one of the main supports of the Order of Sword Brethren, and so of that Teutonic Order in which the Sword Brethren were



HOME OF LUEBECK'S SHIPPING GUILD

Lübeck, in association with Hamburg, was the parent city of the Hanseatic League, and in the fifteenth century held precedence of all the allied cities. Among the many architectural monuments of its medieval commercial greatness is the Guild-house of the Shipping Company, built in 1535.

Photo, Bernhard Nöhring, Lübeck

merged from 1237. The agreement concluded (in the last days of the Crusading Age) between Old Novgorod, Lübeck and the Hanseatics of Gothland shows that by 1269 the German merchants of the Baltic coasts had long possessed an establishment in the great Russian city of the north-west.

In the early days of this factory the yearly profits were usually stored at S. Mary's church in Visby. The Gothland influence, so remarkable at this time, also appears in the probability that the 'skra' of Novgorod was a work of Gothland merchants. Even the Court of S. Peter in Novgorod was itself, perhaps, at first a dependency of Visby. But in the fourteenth century the Gothland ascendancy is first rivalled, then overshadowed, by that of Lübeck. Thus from 1346 the Hanseatic president in Novgorod is chosen, by representatives of the Hansa towns, from among the merchants of Lübeck and Visby.

Except in French Flanders, as at Bruges, no field of foreign trade gives so wide and full a medieval picture of Hanseatic life and energy. Not merely from Lübeck, from Bremen and from Hamburg, but from Brunswick, Magdeburg, Duisburg, Dortmund, Münster and lesser towns, German merchants come to Russia, and especially to Great Novgorod, often travelling by the dangerous overland routes. Even Russians sometimes venture far afield in search of trade profits.

The growth of German trade among these eastern Slavs was not only due to the business abilities of the Hansa merchants. It was aided by the disasters of the Russian people in the Mongol Age, especially between 1220 and 1380, between



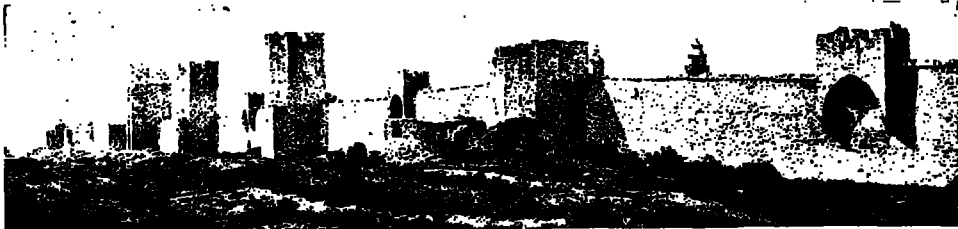
SANCTA MARIA TEUTONICORUM

Until superseded by Lübeck the Gothland Association was paramount in the Hansa, legislating and acting as court of appeal in trade matters. The treasury chest of the Association was kept in this church of S. Mary at Visby.

From Schäfer, 'Die Deutsche Hansa,' Velhagen & Klasing

Magna Carta and the last days of John Wycliffe. Yet in all this time, and down to the fall of Novgorod (before the Muscovite conquest) in 1471, the natives of this wonderful city republic are themselves full of commercial energy and enterprise, and in no wise the mere subjects of a domineering foreign influence, although deeply indebted to that influence.

None the less, all these foreign, western, connexions and entanglements and affections of Novgorod, its Teutonism, its



WALLS THAT DEFENDED VISBY IN HANSEATIC TIMES

Visby, on the west coast of Gothland, was the centre of Scandinavian trade in the Baltic, and from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries enjoyed very great prosperity as the headquarters of the Gothland Association of German traders. The town was fortified at an early period; the existing walls date from the end of the thirteenth century. Some forty of the towers are well preserved.

Photo, Dr. F. Stedinger, Berlin

'Latinism' (in the language of Muscovite prejudice) endangered the republic, and helped to ruin it in the later fifteenth century, in the days of Edward IV of England (1471). To save itself from Moscow the city of the Volkhov was in the very act of transferring its allegiance to Poland-Lithuania, when it was attacked and subjugated by the new Russian power. 'Thus,' exclaims the Moscow chronicler, 'thus did the Lord God . . . punish the men of Novgorod . . . for their faithlessness and for their defection to Latinism . . . subjecting them to the strong hand of Ivan Vasilyevich, Grand Prince of All Russia.' It was a fatal blow to the Hanseatic trade in all this region.

With Norway the Hansa developed commercial relations and a commercial power scarcely less remarkable. Quite early in her history Lübeck obtained control of important branches of the trade of Bergen; and by the middle of the thirteenth century she even dominated the meal and malt commerce of the city. But when the Hanseatics began to seize the monopoly of the stock-fish they provoked something like a national economic reaction, which imposed fresh customs duties on all foreign merchants, and excluded them from the carrying trade in the stock-fish and in the butter of Norway.

On the other hand efforts such as those made in 1284 to restrict their Norse commerce still further, as in the vital articles of corn, malt and beer, led the Hansa to extreme and successful measures of reprisal. The Norwegian ports, banned by the League, were soon glad to make terms again, and in the middle of the fourteenth century we even find the right of trading in any commodity, in the market of Bergen,



HANSEATIC RELICS IN BERGEN

Bergen, in Norway, was in the firm grip of the Hanseatic League from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. The League's house in the Tydskenbryggen is carefully preserved and contains a fine collection of Hanseatic relics. This is one of the dormitories, and above is the apprentices' room.

granted in 1350 to the Hanseatics, at least in name, by King Magnus VII, otherwise Magnus Smek of Norway and Sweden.

Although in 1376 the government of Norway gave or confirmed to the Hanseatics the privilege of trafficking in all the towns, villages and ports of the country, almost all the activities of the German merchants were concentrated upon Bergen and its splendid harbour. And after the disasters which fell upon the city in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries—in the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc—the Teutonic interlopers (who were grievously suspected of favouring, and perhaps of

aiding, the pirate raid of 1428) tightened their hold on Bergen. They developed herein a veritable 'imperium in imperio,' as self-sufficing, as arrogant and as aggressive as any Venetian or Genoese enclave in the East Roman Empire.

As a fully organized 'komtor' ('counter' or out-settlement) of the Hanseatic League, however, the Bergen colony (perhaps dating in this sense only from 1343) was younger than Bruges, Novgorod or London. And its career was marked by an exceptional rudeness and even brutality of action, policy and manners. In no foreign land did the German traders behave so much as masters of the soil. Norway, which had sent her sons all over the world in the spacious days of Viking migration—ninth, tenth, eleventh centuries—had drained herself only too effectually. The empire of the North Sea had now passed to others. And prominent among these were those German ports which maintained in Bergen, in the zenith of Hanseatic power, a trade garrison of some 3000 aggressive and exclusive mercantile monks—traders bound to celibacy;

strictly forbidden even to sleep outside the factory; guarded by arms and savage dogs; admitting their own novices—their young clerks and office boys from Germany—only after probationary rites of extreme ingenuity and savagery; and tyrannising almost at will over the life and commerce of the Norwegian harbour.

In Sweden the Hanseatics were especially welcome, and especially prosperous, though here they never seem to have essayed quite so harsh a tyranny as in Bergen. Yet their grip on Swedish commerce was strong, and in Stockholm itself they gained no small share in the local government. Influence in Sweden was essential for that empire of the Baltic which was so central a feature in Hanseatic ambitions. They helped the Swedish rulers against the ambitions of the Danish kings of the fourteenth century, and they had their reward.

Their exports of copper and iron became very notable, and in several cases they acquired complete control of Swedish mines. Good stone for building, such as granite and limestone, and all the chief



BERGEN'S GERMAN 'BRIDGE' WHEN THE HANSA RULED THE TOWN

Bergen, with its fine harbour and great shipping and fishing industries, attracted the German merchants of the Hansa at an early date, and from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century the League was established there with autocratic supremacy in Norwegian trade. Above is a reconstruction of the so-called German 'bridge' on the north side of the harbour, a long row of gabled wooden houses flanking the shipping-crowded quay.

Reconstruction by R. Christiansen from Schäfer, 'Die Deutsche Hansa,' Velhagen & Klasing

products of northern forests—timber, pitch, tar and the rest—were also brought by the Hanseatics from Sweden and Finland, as from Russia, both to brick-using North Germany and to other lands. Swedish iron was even then of international importance. A really immense trade in the salting

and packing of herrings was maintained by the League control of German merchants in the then famous and coveted province of Skania—Swedish since 1658, and in some earlier epochs, but Danish in most of the great days of the Hansa—in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The herring industry produced regular colonies along these coasts—for the fish were remarkably steady in their preferences, and rarely changed their habitat. When they did so, as in 1313, the event spelt absolute disaster to one side of Hanseatic trade.

Like the strong Tudor monarchy in England, its contemporary, the strong Vasa monarchy in Sweden, finally broke the power of these foreign merchants in the interests of national strength and wealth and honour. Gustavus Vasa is here a parallel to Queen Elizabeth. The days of patient milch kine, as he said, were gone. Never would he sacrifice the well-being of his country to these Teutonic butchers.

The Hansa trade with what we may call French Europe centred in Bruges in French Flanders. The German komtors in Ghent and Ypres were very subsidiary. The immense power and the extensive privileges of these North Teutonic traders in 'Brugge,' as in London, not unnaturally aroused a local and nationalist jealousy and resentment. And as the economic power and prosperity of the Flemish world increased (to its zenith in the early and middle sixteenth century), so that world shook off the foreign influence and assumed control of its own household. But in the fourteenth century the might and privileges of the Hanseatics were still great. Documents such as the grant of 1338 from Louis I of Flanders—Louis de Nevers (see page 3083)—are good evidence of this.

Yet in Flanders the Hanseatics, and other Germans, from the very beginning of the thirteenth century found an urban civilization and a commercial prosperity

perhaps more developed than in any other Christian region (outside Italy) except in their own chief cities, such as Lübeck. Here they were conscious of a wealth, a business capacity and a mercantile development fully equal to their own. Here they found, for instance, a system of insurance more advanced than in the North German communities. Their factory at Bruges, therefore, was not a colony of vigorous trading pioneers among a commercially backward race. It was something of a finishing school for the ablest mercantile intellects of the Hanseatics themselves. And usually in Flanders they were on their very best behaviour. Bruges is indeed a contrast to Bergen.

Yet here, as in Russia, in Norway or in England, we find many of the fundamental lines of exclusive Hanseatic policy once more. Here also the factory of the Hanseatic 'nation,' the

'residence of the Mercantile-monastic German merchants,' policy in Bruges was organized like

a mercantile-monastic garrison. The residents, some 300 strong in the most prosperous times—living under the rule of aldermen and councillors—were strictly bound to celibacy; were strictly forbidden to associate in any close relations of daily life or in commerce or partnership with the natives of the country; were not permitted to quit the factory for good within a given number of years; and lived day and night under well-defined regulations. The statutes of this komtor, drawn up in 1347, became a standard. Here first we find a mention of the three-fold (later four-fold) regional division of the Hansa—the Wendish-Saxon, the Prussian-Westphalian and the Livonian-Gothlandian.

The Bruges colony of the League played a prominent part in Hanseatic policy, for it was guided by some of the ablest heads among the German traders. They were men who could think out, initiate and develop great schemes, who were always on their guard against the dangers of faction and disunion, who knew how to adjust means to ends. They were also devoted servants of the Hanseatic ideals. What Franciscans or Jesuits were to the Church of Rome in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, that the Bruges factory,

more Hanseatic than the Hansa, was to the League in the later Middle Ages.

The neighbourhood of Rochelle, fairly early in the history of Hansa enterprise, acquired a certain importance in reference to the salt trade. For a time, moreover, the North Germans had a footing in Bordeaux. At the end of the thirteenth century one of the most able and vigorous of French sovereigns and statesmen, Philip the Fair, granted very ample privileges to the Hanseatics, and especially to those of Lübeck, Gothland and Riga. He gave them, in fact, in his own words, unlimited commercial freedom in the lands of the French kingdom, under one condition—they were not to import anything from England.

At the end of the Middle Ages, when Hansa power was already waning, Louis XI, that consummate politician (1461-1483), and Charles VIII, his unwise son (1483-1498), markedly

favoured the Hansa—as a power which might balance English unfriendliness, and might help to augment the treasures of an ambitious monarchy, as yet possessed of no extensive foreign commerce. It was a typical incident in the policy of Louis, the friend of merchants, the enemy of barons.

In the central and eastern lands of Christian Spain—Portugal is in a different category—the Hanseatics never seem to have obtained much influence, or a very cordial reception. Yet they certainly developed a moderate commerce here in the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth. In 1383, when the League was at its zenith, we find the government of John I, of Castile and Leon, closing the country to Hanseatic trade and seizing Hanseatic ships. And in 1441 we find the Hansa attempting reprisals upon Spanish mercantile intercourse with the Netherlands—until in 1472 the economic quarrel is ended, and German merchants are again received, in what is soon to be the realm of Queen Isabella and the heart of the new Spanish monarchy.

In Portugal, so much more commercial and oceanic in her interests, conditions were more favourable. The great port of Lisbon, so prominent both under Moslem

and Christian domination until its eclipse in the later sixteenth century, was quite a rallying point of Teutonic trade. The country which developed so active a commerce with England even in the thirteenth century, and a respectable traffic with Ireland in the fourteenth, was naturally willing and eager to open relations with the Eastland merchants. As we see from such a document as the Pullison Petition of 1574, an active and lucrative English carrying trade had grown up between Hanseatic ports such as Hamburg and the Portuguese harbours—German commodities being shipped to Britain and thence in English ships with English crews to the Douro and the Tagus.

The English trade of the Hansa was one of their most important fields. Long before the great North German League of the thirteenth century took final shape, German merchants

Early activities
in England

had been welcome and influential in South Britain. The beginning of their English activities may, no doubt, be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon intercourse and friendship with the Germans of the Dark Ages and of that spring-time of new life, the tenth century. The West Saxon house of Alfred and the Old Saxon house of Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great recognized some community of blood and interests, and a certain measure of mercantile intercourse was a natural result. In the twelfth century we find rather abundant evidence of German trade activity in England, especially in the England of Henry II.

Under Henry III there was plenty of encouragement to this foreign element, which was able to some extent to instruct the less developed English mercantile world. In 1236, as in 1257, we meet with grants of privilege from the weak and harassed Plantagenet to the merchants of Cologne and Lübeck. Under Henry's greater son, the mighty statesman, conqueror and legislator, Edward I, we find the Hansa traders insisting with remarkable firmness and success on the observance of the Carta Mercatoria of 1303; and long after the days of the creator of Parliament these same Hanseatics are able to keep the English sovereigns to a



A BUSY DAY IN A MEDIEVAL HARBOUR

Many little details of commercial activity in a German seaport are contained in this frontispiece to the maritime section of a Hamburg statute book dated 1487—grave merchants in earnest colloquy, bales of merchandise being lowered into holds and merchantmen hoisting sail and putting out to sea.

From Schöler, 'Die Deutsche Hanse,' Vellinghen & Klasing

satisfactory observance of that commercial charter. For the tremendous conflict of the Hundred Years' War with France, among other things, long made English rulers and statesmen indisposed to quarrel with the useful and formidable naval power of the Hanseatic League.

Some of the crown jewels of England, under Edward III, the ever-necessitous, the insolvent debtor of so many creditors, were kept for a good time at Cologne, in pledge for the repayment of a considerable loan. The same king had also borrowed very heavily from the great commercial house of the Bardi in Florence, and the failure of that house at this very time was in no small measure due to him. The Hanseatics skilfully 'bought up the opportunity.' They met the English

sovereign in all his needs—crown jewels, old loans, new advances. They put a fresh sum of £30,000 sterling at his disposal. He was able, for a time, to fight his French wars, to gain his dazzling and deceptive French victories, with the help of these moneys of the Easterlings. To German merchant princes, therefore, Edward III granted, among other things, a lease of some of the tin mines of Cornwall which already belonged to the Prince of Wales. And this was but one of various favours and recompenses.

Centring in London, the German traders in England had powerful and interesting affiliations with a number of the chief trading towns of the eastern counties, with York and Hull, with Norwich and Yarmouth, with Lynn and Boston. Far in the west the great port and market of Bristol also received their attentions.

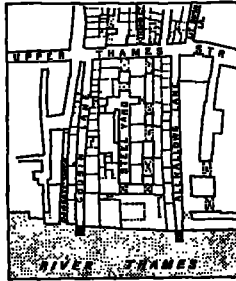
But here, even more than in Flanders, the Hanseatics found themselves at variance with the native people, peculiarly full of a high-spirited and even fierce nationalism,

whose local pride and exclusiveness, partly due to their insular situation, were noted even by the men of the Middle Ages. More than those of Bruges, the citizens of London were in constant rebellion against the privileged position of these foreign Easterlings.

In the fifteenth century something like an unofficial (and even later an official) war typically developed between the English seafaring and mercantile interests and the Hanseatics. But by the mediation of Charles the Bold, or the Rash, duke of Burgundy, and by a treaty signed at Utrecht in the reign of Edward IV (in 1474), the English—while gaining fuller access to Baltic trade, especially at Danzig—restored the Hansa to more than their old advantages and privileges in Britain.

As at Bergen, Novgorod and Bruges, the London factory, the famous Steelyard—near Dowgate, just above London Bridge—had much of the appearance and reality of a fortress, much too of a semi-monastic character. No merchant of the League could marry—save by extraordinary favour. And every one of these warrior merchants kept a full equipment of arms, offensive and defensive, in constant fear of attacks by the London mob.

But in England these Hanseatics never ventured, as in Norway, upon local tyrannies and usurpations, or upon the brutal 'games' and repulsive rites of initiation by which they made their dominance in Norway still more odious. On the contrary, they endeavoured in many ways to propitiate. The lord mayor of London, the chief inspector of customs in the Port of London, the alderman who acted as arbitrator in questions at issue between the Easterlings and the



THE LONDON STEELYARD

Chartered in the thirteenth century, the London factory of the Hanseatic League, just above London Bridge, was finally shut down in 1598. Above are the ground plan of the Steelyard and an engraving of it by Hollar.

natives were regularly placated with valuable presents. London citizens were welcomed in the garden of the Steelyard, where many games went on, and where Rhenish wine and German beer, and Continental fish, from salmon to sturgeon, were to be had.

Yet the Easterlings lived in perpetual fear, and were ever on their guard against attacks by the English populace; their great London factory was defended by lofty and massive walls, with few windows; and the preparations for armed defence were ample. In the earlier days of this 'Guildhall of the Germans' the English had a native chief-inspector of the Hansa trade on the Thames, but the creditors of English kings, in the fourteenth century, effectually got rid of this restriction. And however conciliatory in England the Hansa was no less exclusive in essentials.

If any of the League's servants entertained non-Hanseatics, or permitted native women to enter the factory, or even fenced or played tennis with the English, he was fined according to the degree of his offence. And at nine every evening the front doors of the various dwelling-houses of the London Steelyard—as of the Bergen, Novgorod and other factories—were carefully shut and locked, and the keys kept for the night by the house-masters.



MERCHANT OF THE STEELYARD

The opulence and grave dignity that characterised the merchant princes of the Hanseatic League are admirably presented in this superb portrait of Georg Giese, merchant of the Steelyard. It was painted by Hans Holbein in 1532.

Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin: photo, Mansell

As English commerce and enterprise came to a new birth under the Tudors, and began to grow into a vigorous youth under Elizabeth, an overwhelming nationalism pressed for the curtailment of Hanseatic privileges in England. It is well known how hard and long the German merchants struggled, but how vainly, against this current—until, in the last years of the sixteenth century, they were expelled from their Teutonic guildhall on the Thames, and the gates of the Steelyard were closed behind them. Their local rivals were triumphant.

With Ireland the Hanseatics developed an interesting, surprisingly vigorous commerce (especially in flax), which itself is an

evidence of an Irish economic civilization very different from the degradation and barbarism which has been sometimes pictured. Edward I of England made special arrangements to encourage the Teutonic trade with Ireland from 1273. And even with Scotland there is some evidence of Hanseatic traffic in the later Middle Ages, in the zenith of Hanseatic activity.

With Italy, even in the earlier and darker Middle Ages, before the first Christian millennium, there had been a certain German commerce. And the Hanseatics of the North shared in the not inconsiderable Teutonic trade with the peninsula. Venice, Genoa and Milan were all termini of important trade routes from the lands beyond the Alps; and German merchants, like German armies, seem to have made especial use of that easiest of the great Alpine passes, the Brenner. It is far less known that in the fourteenth century a postal service was developed between Wismar and Augsburg, which itself had a natural bearing on German-Italian connexions, for the wealthy and rising commercial centre of Augsburg was one of the most notable starting-points for Italy.

The imperial connexion of the German kingdom and the Italian, though already fatally weakened in the political sense by the middle of the thirteenth century, still retained a good deal of economic value in subsequent times. And the Hanseatics made their profit out of this. In the early fourteenth century Marino Sanuto, the

Venetian, of Torcello, so interesting from his passionate devotion to the ideal of a crusading revival, in his *Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, is himself a good evidence of Italian-Hanseatic relations. He seems to have visited 'Amburg,' 'Lubec,' 'Visinar' (Wisnar), 'Rostoc,' 'Xundia' (Stralsund), 'Guspinal' (Greifswald) and 'Sectin' (Stettin). And he draws attention with great enthusiasm to the value of this maritime Germany for the organization and equipment of an oversea crusade. A fleet manned by these seamen would indeed be helpful, he suggests, for the Christian reconquest of the Levantine coast lands.

Even in the thirteenth century German merchants (mainly South German), such as those of Augsburg, Regensburg, Ulm and Nuremberg, who at certain times and to a certain extent were leagued with the northern Hansa, were maintaining a noteworthy commerce with Italy, and especially with Venice, where the famous and beautiful merchant-palace known as the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, or Factory of the Teutons (see page 2915 and illustration in page 3043), still witnesses to this.

As the fifteenth century went on, with the decay of the Italian commercial republics and of Italian mercantile energy (except in Venice), the Hanseatics for a time stood out, especially in England and France, as the strongest group of foreign traders in some of the chief western states. This was especially the case in Britain, where Hanseatic disaster was so much slower of foot than in Russia, or even in Sweden. And yet, despite all its energy, all its diplomacy, all its resources, all its success, despite the place that it filled in the life of the German people and in the commerce of Europe, this Hanseatic League declined in the sixteenth century almost to the consumption which devoured it in the seventeenth. 'Most of their teeth have fallen out, and the rest do sit but loosely in their head.' So in 1601 wrote John Wheeler of the Society of Merchant Adventurers, with something of a rival's triumphant hatred.

Apart from the eternal laws of change, there were certain special reasons for the

decay of this Hansa. For one thing, it had no basis of manufactures or industries. It was an organization of carriers and intermediaries. Another weakness lay in the Hansa's lack of coercive power. Except for the 'verhansung' or boycott, the League failed to develop an efficient system of discipline among its members. Unquestionably the organization of the League, even at its zenith, was somewhat weak, and its claim, expressed in many a document, to be a 'nation' was imperfect. It termed itself a 'firma confederatio,' but the federation was lax indeed. It had no regular administrative machinery for the guidance of the League as a whole. It had no adequate financial provision for common purposes. It had not even a common seal. The governing body of the confederacy, such as it was—the Hanse-Tag, naturally an assembly of town representatives, and usually called together at the summons of Lübeck—was irregularly held, badly attended and rather ineffective.

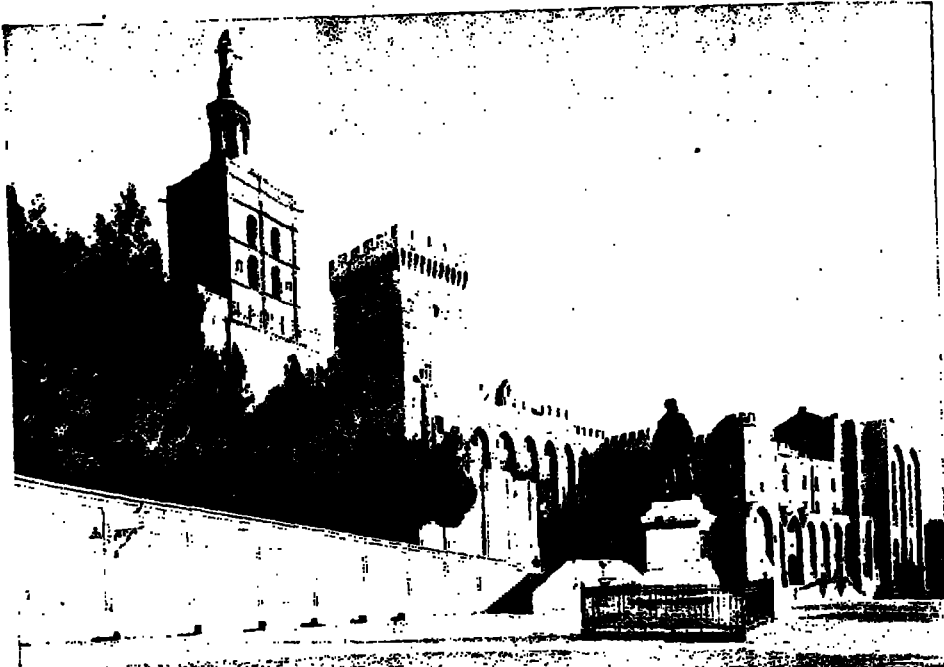
To some extent, moreover, one must admit that the Scandinavian union of 1397—the Kalmar Settlement—and the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1386, even in their fifteenth-century Checks to general development, began to German expansion injure Hanseatic power and prosperity, by injuring the power and prosperity of German expansion generally. The new and greater Poland struck down the Teutonic Knights, from the days of Tannenberg (1410) and the Second Peace of Thorn (1466); this was a development which was necessarily unfavourable to Hanseatic activity and influence.

Similar were the results of the growth of the New Russia of Moscow. When Ivan the Great conquered Old Novgorod, as we have seen, he dealt a serious blow to the trade and strength of the German merchants. The kontor of the Hanseatics in the great Russian trading-town was inevitably closed within a few years (in 1494). The growing vigour and independence of English, as of Flemish, trade and the increasing vehemence and definiteness of English nationalism, as of Flemish particularism, also checked the Hansa, and undermined its privileged position, at the other end of Europe.

But perhaps nothing contributed to Hanseatic decline more vitally than the Hanseatic failure (typical in this of the whole of the German people) to take advantage of the new discoveries, of the oceanic expansion of Old Europe and Christendom by the explorations and colonisations of the age of Columbus. New trade routes, new markets, new resources, new possibilities of wealth and power were now opened which revolutionised the whole world of commerce, and other worlds besides. The Hansa traders, with strange lethargy, had almost no part or lot in this mighty work, or in its results. It is easy to note the fact; difficult adequately to explain the reasons. They were content to stand aside, and the stream of history left them behind—until almost complete ruin overtook them in the cataracts of the Thirty Years' War.

Whatever the charges made in certain quarters, at least, of Hanseatic greed and of the cheats of Hanseatic trade, and of arrogance and tyranny in exercising commercial and other domination among some indigent and backward peoples at certain times—and we have some curious examples of these accusations, even from ecclesiastics—we can fairly say that the history of the League on the whole is not a dishonourable one. It is no mere record of extortion and exploitation. The Hansatics worked hard and effectually to relieve the misfortunes of the shipwrecked and of those who had suffered a like disaster on land, both as to persons and as to property. They did something to improve the state of the roads, to keep them in better repair and to clear them of brigands.

They did even more (as some have pointed out) to secure the safety of the northern seas, to drive away piracy, to reduce unreasonable imposts, to organize among themselves a better system of justice and to secure redress of wrongs in foreign countries. They rendered considerable service to the cause of individual liberty. They struggled with some success against the ruthless exercise of the right of escheat. Freedom owes something to them. So does the cause of ordered government. So does urban civilization.



AVIGNON : HOME OF THE PAPACY DURING ITS 'CAPTIVITY'

In 1309 Pope Clement V transferred the papacy to Avignon, and the Gothic Palace of the Popes (top) was begun by Pope John XXII in 1316 and continued by his successors. It covers more than an acre and a quarter, a sombre mass of buildings resembling a fortress rather than a palace. The town is still surrounded by the ramparts built by the popes, with immensely strong walls with machicolated battlements flanked by thirty-nine massive towers and pierced by several gates.

Photo (above), Lévy-Nourdin, réunis

CHURCH AND PAPACY: A TIME OF UNREST

Effect of the Avignon Captivity and the Great Schism on Minds such as Wycliffe and Huss

By H. B. WORKMAN

Principal of Westminster Training College, London; Author of *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, *Life of John Wyclif*, etc.

IN Chapter 95 we traced the rise and growth of the papal power until its culmination in the dreams and theories of Hildebrand. In the times of Innocent III (1198-1216) these reached their most extensive realization, though Gregory IX (1227-1241) and other popes were not lacking in their determination to push papal pretensions to the extreme. But when King John surrendered England into the hands of the legate of Innocent III at Dover (May 13, 1213), receiving it back at the price of a yearly tribute of 700 marks for England and 300 for Ireland, the humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa was more than repeated, not now as a single act of the individual but of the nation. In less than a century from this startling event papal arrogance received a set-back from which it never recovered. For the Papacy the fourteenth century was one of disaster. Event after event struck at its authority—the downfall of Boniface VIII, the captivity of Avignon, and the subsequent Great Schism, only healed at Constance (1415)—in part revolt against the past, in part a stretching out towards the new ideas of the future.

In the downfall of Boniface VIII we see the rise of the new nationalism. Hildebrand had promulgated the theory that subordinated the nations to the overlordship of the Papacy, and Innocent III had carried this into practice. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) was a man of consummate political genius who yet failed to recognize that his ideals and methods belonged to a past age. In Edward I of England and Philip IV of France he had to deal with two monarchs who, though in different ways, expressed the

hopes and determinations of the new nationalism, and did not intend to allow for one moment the pope's claims to temporal supremacy. When, in the famous bull 'Clericis Laicos' (1296), Boniface prohibited the imposition of taxes upon the clergy without the sanction of the pope, both monarchs took measures which forced Boniface to yield. When, in 1299, Scotland appealed to Boniface against the conquests of Edward, claiming to be a fief of S. Peter, and Boniface summoned Edward to submit his quarrel to the pope's determination, the parliament which met at Lincoln (1301) replied that they 'would not permit our lord the king to attempt compliance with demands so unprecedented and unlawful.'

Blind to the significance of the English parliament's warning, Boniface plunged into an additional quarrel with Philip, and in bull after bull asserted his supremacy over all temporal governments. 'The spiritual and the temporal sword'—so runs the famous *Unam Sanctam* (November, 1302)—'are alike under the control of the Church. From henceforth we declare and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation that every human creature be subject to the Roman Pontiff.' Philip summoned the nation to his aid, arraigned Boniface before the bar of his parliament, accused the pope of heresy and intolerable crimes and appealed to a general council of the Church. Boniface retorted with solemn excommunication and threats of deposition. But his weapons had become blunt with centuries of use. Meanwhile William de Nogaret, a

doctor of laws from Toulouse, and the exiled Sciarra Colonna, undertook to make the pope a prisoner, and bring him before a council at Lyons. The barons of the Campagna, groaning under the nepotism of Boniface, entered heartily into the conspiracy.

The pope had retired to his native Anagni. There, on September 8, he intended to pronounce the deposition of

Philip in the same cathedral. The tragedy in which his predecessors had of Anagni excommunicated the great

Hohenstaufen emperors. But on September 6, in the early dawn, the conspirators surrounded the palace of the pope and unfolded the banner of France. For three days the old man was subject to the violence of the mercenaries, who knew not what to do with their prisoner. On the fourth day he was rescued, and returned to Rome, where he shut himself up in the Lateran, tortured by desire for revenge and consciousness of impotence. In the bitterness of his fall he lost his reason. He refused food, 'he believed that everyone who came near him would take him to prison,' and on the thirty-fifth day he was found dead upon his bed (October, 1303). He had died of a broken heart.

Boniface perished not alone in his ambition. In his grave was buried the Hildebrandine ideal; Anagni stands over against Canossa and Dover. New forces had arisen which Rome could neither understand nor destroy. Benedict X, the successor of Boniface, was wise enough to recognize his powerlessness. Instead of excommunicating Philip and canonising Boniface as a greater martyr than Becket, he meekly reversed his predecessor's decrees. The Papacy capitulated to the secular power. The next pope, Clement V (1305-1314), was a Gascon, the tool and nominee of Philip. His first act was to transfer the Papacy to Bordeaux, then Avignon. There for seventy-three years it remained in its 'Babylonish captivity,' under the protection of the kings of France, while Christendom slowly became aware of the ruin of the dreams of Hildebrand.

The first result was a complete decadence. In all Europe, except Italy, the fourteenth century was a period of weary reaction and stagnation. Thought lost its

vigour, art was dying, poetry was mute, development was checked; the Inquisition began to fix a stranglehold on all that was most progressive. For a century the Papacy struggled on, helpless, discredited, what strength was left to it being due to realization that its final fall would have ruined much else beside. 'Men felt,' writes Bishop Creighton, 'that the old landmarks were passing away, but did not yet see what was to take their place.' The irresistible current of time was sweeping men away from their old moorings into regions of new thought.

Hitherto in every movement there had lurked the spirit of Hildebrand; now all wearily waited for a new prophet. The failure of the teaching of Wycliffe and Huss, as well as that of the more conservative efforts of the Council of Constance, made men turn for their deliverance to more daring proposals. First the Renaissance, then Luther, made articulate the cry of new hopes. But in the fall of Boniface we mark the real beginning of that complex change in the life and creed of Europe to which men have given, somewhat loosely, the name of the Reformation.

It would be a mistake to suppose that men threw over Boniface's secular yoke because they had ceased to believe in the pope's spiritual pretensions. This came later in the century with the teaching of Marsiglio of Padua, Ockham and Wycliffe. The earlier revolt was political, not religious; social, not moral; a protest against a centralised yet omnipresent world power, in theory spiritual, in practice secular, which had outlived the conditions of its birth. The imperial idea, which originated with Alexander but was completed by the Caesars, was exhausted even in its newer and more spiritual form of the Holy Roman Empire.

Again, the fall of the Papacy coincides with the fall of the great medieval anti-national or international institutions: monasticism, the friars and the military orders. In these the Papacy had found her strength; in the hours of weakness they had saved her. Of the three the monasteries, especially the Benedictine, were the oldest and wealthiest. The emancipation of so many of them—in the case of the

Political causes
of the revolt

Cistercians, of all—by the fiat of successive popes from the visitation of the bishop had made them in every land the zealous dependants and champions of the Papacy; while their wealth, accumulated contrary to the intentions of their founders, had cut them off from their former care for local interests. Their life was ebbing away, their work was done.

When Boniface fell, Rome looked in vain to the various orders to avenge her disgrace. No Bernard stirred the passions of men on her behalf; no new orders rose to her relief; no Dominic marshalled new watch-dogs ('Domini canes') of the Papacy. Monasticism was intent only on the preservation of its wealth and privileges; the friars on forgetting the rules of their founders. The ideal, in fact, of religious life had changed. The current had set in from the monastery to the rectory. The downfall of the Papacy coincided with a revival of the influence and character of the secular clergy. But the secular clergy, because of their organic connexion with the state, have never for long resisted the state, or supported ultramontane pretensions. The anti-nationalism of the regulars—for so their enemies would translate an internationalism centred in Rome itself—is no part of their record or creed.

But the best illustration of the power of the new nationalism will be found in the story of the fall of the famous Templars;

for the military orders
 — Templars, Teutonic
 Knights Templars Knights, Hospitallers of
 S. John of Jerusalem—

were strictly the regiments of the pope, to whom alone their grand masters owed service and fealty. Interdicts could not darken the houses in which they dwelt; they were released from all control of bishop or prince. Rome curtailed them round with exemptions and immunities, and in return their swords were ever at her service. National ties were few; their land was the Church; their prince the Holy Father alone.

They paid no taxes. When asked by a king of England for subsidies, they replied that the request might cost him his throne. They were only endured by the new kingdoms because of their service in the Crusades; for the military orders were

the sole hope of a distracted Palestine. Only through the Teutonic Knights could Germany hope to push back its marches, or to force into a reluctant Christianity the heathen Letts. With the end of the Crusades their end came also. The Hospitallers saved themselves by finding a new field of service; the conquests of the Teutonic Knights were not yet complete, but the Templars were adrift without a purpose, by their wealth and discipline a menace to Europe.

The danger was great. Boniface, acting on a suggestion of Innocent, had proposed the union of the orders into one army of the Papacy. The scheme would have enslaved Europe for centuries. **Menace of the Military Orders** Nationalism and liberty would have been at the mercy of the Janissaries of Rome, who would have added invincible courage to obedience as absolute as that of the Jesuits. Their fall was necessary if the new nations were to survive; their maintenance should have been the first care of the popes. Europe seemed on the eve of a struggle the end of which might have been doubtful when Papacy and Templars fell together.

It is an astounding fact that the suppression of the Templars was wrung from the Papacy itself. But the puppet at Avignon had no choice. At all costs Philip must render impotent the mailed hand of the Papacy; so Clement V, at the bidding of France, condemned an order whose greatest crime was unswerving fidelity to Rome. On October 13, 1307, the unsuspecting Templars were seized and handed over to the Inquisition, at the head of which was the confessor and tool of the king. In England, where save on this one occasion the papal Inquisition never succeeded in establishing itself, the fatal court was introduced for the purposes of this trial through the connivance of Edward II. Once in the hands of this tribunal the Templars in England and France were powerless. Some were tortured until they subscribed to the falsest tales, while others more heroic were burnt at the stake.

For seven years the orgy of plunder and torture went on in the vain hope of extracting evidence that would justify



POPE BONIFACE AND HIS CARDINALS

Pope Boniface VIII died in 1303. This picture representing him presiding over a conclave of cardinals is the headpiece to a manuscript copy of his Decretals, dating from 1380. It contains a slight anachronism, the tiara not having come into use in the time of Boniface.

British Museum, Additional MS. 23,923

the findings of the Council of Vienne (1311). At last, in 1314, the farce was ended. The grand master, Jacques de Bourg-Molay, was roasted at Paris on the island of the Seine 'in the light of the setting sun,' while the bull of Clement (Vox in Excelsis, May, 1312) proclaiming the suppression of the order and the confiscation of their property was read to the people. The Papacy, in fact, had suppressed itself by means of its own Inquisition. Behind de Bourg-Molay it is Rome that we see falling 'in the light of the setting sun.' Clement had completed the overthrow that Boniface had begun. Nationalism was triumphant; the Hildebrandine dream had vanished. Administrative centralisation, whether secular or spiritual, had ceased to be the ideal. The building up of the nation began to be revealed as the desired goal.

In our condemnation of the transfer of the Papacy to Avignon we must be on our guard against a common error. Historians of every school now deplore the Babylonish Captivity, recognizing in it a mortal sin against the past, treason against the genius of the Papacy itself. In consequence they have been too inclined to condemn all the popes of Avignon as wicked or corrupt. Of Clement V and Clement VI nothing can be said that is too hard; over all their acts there is the

smirch of the unspiritual. But justice is rarely done by historians to the other popes of Avignon, to the amazing industry of John XXII, the reforming zeal of Benedict XII, the efforts of the austere though weak Innocent VI to stem the corruption of the age, and the high character and ceaseless toils of Urban V. In part the current verdict upon Avignon, whether that of contemporaries—whose statements are too often coloured by their prejudices—or of a later age, is due to the outrage of her finance, the extortions first systematised by John XXII. In England there was an added cause, fear lest the Papacy should be degraded

into a creature of France, and that the streams of English gold sent to Avignon should thus assist her enemy. With Dante and other Continental thinkers the cause of condemnation was their consciousness of something missing, though they knew not what. In reality Europe had lost her centre of balance and was groping for a substitute. When men attempted the cure we see at once hopeless divergence. Grosseteste, the great bishop of Lincoln, if we may take an illustration from the previous century, would have been satisfied with financial reform and stricter discipline. He scouted that idea of a national Church, so dear to Gerson and the Gallican bishops.

Dante in his *De Monarchia* pleaded for the restoration of vanished ideals and the reconstruction of ruins, and advocated the re-establishment of the Ghibelline Utopia: Empire and Papacy once more the joint lights that should rule the day and night; the Holy Roman world empire to be once more the panacea for the world's fatigue; his hope for the future is in an ideal secular monarch, 'rex mundi et Dei minister.'

Gerson, on the contrary, repudiated the hopes and ideas of the great Florentine. He had drunk too deeply of the new

Divergent views
about Avignon

national spirit which was fusing France out of a score of great, almost independent fiefs, to be deceived by the imperial ideal. For the two great lights of supreme emperor and supreme pope he cared little; he would have reduced an autocratic Papacy into a constitutional monarchy, in which the real power should lie in a council or parliament; the old imperial idea to give place to a new federalism or grouping by nations. At Constance (1415) Gerson, D'Ailly, and the other advocates of this conciliar remedy had their chance and signally failed. Others, for instance S. Catherine, more conservative than Gerson, considered such innovations needless; all would be well, they urged, if the Papacy could be brought back to Rome, and the Schism ended. To Marsiglio, Ockham, Wycliffe and Huss such reforms seemed a mere tinkering with evils for the cure of which they turned to more revolutionary methods. Nor must we over-

look the Mystics, who pleaded amid growing darkness for the place and power of the inner light.

In this hopeless divergence of the reformers before the Reformation lay the opportunity of the Curia. They divided and ruled. The net result of a century of revolt was to show the impossibility of any reformation which left the Papacy in its old position. This negative conclusion is the great work of the fourteenth century; we use the term to cover the period from the transfer of the Papacy to Avignon down to the failure of the conciliar idea at the Council of Basel (1438). But this conclusion, negative though it was, prepared the way for more positive projects. The methods of the sixteenth century will not receive fair treatment unless we remember the experience of the fourteenth. The reformation that succeeded is one with, and can only be understood by its relations to, the reformation that failed.



FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

The Council of Constance was convoked by Pope John XXIII at the instance of the emperor Sigismund, with the object of ending the Great Schism. It held its sessions in the Cathedral of Constance, beyond the choir, behind the statue of the Virgin Mary. The first session was held on November 5, 1414, and is thus depicted in a chronicle of the proceedings written in 1419 by Ulrich von Reichenenthal, a citizen of Constance who was an eye-witness. The Council closed April 22, 1418.

From 'Concilium Constantense,' *Société archéologique russe*

The continuance of the Captivity at Avignon was impossible. But the attempt to end it involved the Papacy in another disaster, the Great Schism. The first attempt to return to Italy was made in April, 1367, by Urban V, largely through the persuasions of the emperor, Charles IV of Bohemia, who in this voiced the public opinion of Europe. In October the pope entered Rome, and for the first time for sixty-three years a

The Vatican becomes the papal residence pope celebrated mass in S. Peter's. The old palace of the popes, the Lateran, was in ruins; henceforth the popes took up their residence in the Vatican, conveniently near the refuge of the castle of S. Angelo. Urban soon wearied of his exile and of the political difficulties in Italy in which he was involved, and in April, 1370, set off on his return to Avignon. Eight months later Urban was dead (Dec., 1370), a punishment, as it seemed to S. Bridget of Sweden and to Petrarch, for his return. With the accession of his successor, Gregory XI, controversy over the renewed Captivity once more broke out. Yielding to the invectives of Bridget, and then after her death (July, 1373) to the nobler persuasions of S. Catherine of Siena, in fear also lest Italy should be lost for ever to the Papacy, Gregory returned to Rome (Jan., 1377); but he had scarcely entered the Vatican before the French cardinals began plotting once more to transfer the Papacy to France. Gregory, who knew no Italian and was dismayed at his surroundings, would have yielded to their persuasions had not his death intervened.

The death of Gregory (March 27, 1378) found the French party among the cardinals unprepared. According to law the election of his successor must be held at once, in the place where he died. Gregory XI, as if to ease the way for the French, had issued a bull conferring on the Sacred College the amplest powers of choosing time and place of election. But the municipal authorities of Rome were determined that the French cardinals should find no excuse of violence for postponing the election until they had left Italy. A block and a very sharp axe were placed in the middle of S. Peter's as a warn-

ing against disturbers of the peace. In frequent deputations the authorities urged upon the cardinals the sufferings of Italy; only the election of an Italian could save the Church. Another circumstance, besides the location in Rome, was in favour of the Italians. For the election of a pope a two-thirds majority was necessary. The French, it is true, possessed this, but were divided among themselves; the seven Limousins were anxious for the elevation of another from their province, the birthplace of the last four popes; the four other Frenchmen determined that they would not have another pontiff from Cahors or Limoges; they would rather support the Italians.

The result of the political situation and of the threats of the people was the election of the Neapolitan Bartholomew of Prignano, the recently appointed archbishop of Bari. The next day was one of considerable disorder. Six of the cardinals took refuge in S. Angelo, and the enthronisation was delayed. But ten days later, on Easter Sunday (April 18), the new pope was crowned as Urban VI.

No election could have been more unfortunate. The character of Urban, it is true, was without blemish. He had a reputation for piety, justice and business ability; he was **Character of Pope Urban VI** also a master of the canon law and a diligent student of the Bible. Austere and grave himself, he hated worldliness and simony. Nor did Urban's eventual failure lie in lack of good intentions. He wisely resolved to free the Papacy from its dependence on France. He told the French cardinals, to their dismay, that he had decided to remain in Rome. He prepared, on the advice of S. Catherine, to break down their predominance by a new creation of Italian cardinals.

There can be no doubt that matters would have settled down, and the election of Urban, however little it was desired, have been recognized by the whole College. The French cardinals wrote to their six colleagues at Avignon that the choice was a divine inspiration; they consoled themselves with attempting to obtain for themselves and their friends prebends and graces. But Urban, who should rather, as a shrewd

German observed, have been called Turbanus (troublesome), alienated even his friends by his want of tact and dignity. He mistook rudeness for strength, obstinacy for resolution, and irritating restriction for reforming zeal. With the wisest of popes the crisis would have presented difficulties. The tactlessness of Urban turned discontent into rebellion; his insolence to his cardinals gave it justification.

Early in July the French cardinals, 'for reasons of health,' retired to Anagni, carrying with them the jewels of the Papacy. Thence in a series of letters they proclaimed that the election of Urban was invalid; it had been forced upon them by the Roman mob. Encouraged by the support secretly promised them by Charles V of France, they issued a circular letter calling upon Christendom to reject Urban's authority as that of an intruder. They had chosen Bari, they owned, but only as the result of the threats of the people, and because they believed that 'he was possessed of a conscience that would not hold' the Papacy under such circumstances. A few days later they were joined by the remaining cardinals. Urban was left without the support of a single member of his College. Except S. Catherine, he had scarcely a friend. 'He began,' writes Niem, 'to repent and weep bitterly.'

But on September 28 he plucked up courage, and issued a declaration of war by the creation of twenty-four new cardinals. Two days later

Beginning of the Great Schism the French replied by a conclave in which they elected as their pope the Savoyard, Robert of Geneva. The Great Schism (1378-1418), with all the disasters that it involved for the Papacy and Christendom, had begun. To hold Urban alone responsible would be unjust, though the defection of all the cardinals is proof of his folly and explanation of the perplexity of Europe. With some truth it might be urged that the Schism was inevitable. Behind the rebel cardinals stood the same France that had formerly led the revolt against Boniface VIII, strengthened now by seventy years of successful enthrallment of the Papacy, determined at all costs to

maintain this control. In reality the Schism was the issue of the two contending forces of the later medieval world—the new spirit of nationalism and the spirit of international solidarity which formed the basis of old-time Catholicism.

The French, Gascons and Italians were all seeking to reduce the Papacy into a national institution; the French, that it might be subordinate to their country; the Italians, in the hope that it might be the centre of a new unity for their distracted land. On the other hand the old underlying ideas which gave strength to the Holy Roman Empire and solidarity to Europe, the consciousness of continued unity in a spiritual headship which belonged to all because it belonged to none, had contributed powerfully to the bringing back of the Papacy from Avignon. But for solidarity, as for the Holy Roman Empire, the French cardinals cared nothing. 'I am now pope,' the French king Charles V is reported to have exclaimed on the election of the antipope. The story is probably false, but the return of Clement to Avignon (June 20, 1379) assured French control.

The election of the antipope was the triumph for the French idea; their choice of the cardinal,

Count Robert of Geneva, **Robert of Geneva**
was sufficient proof that **first antipope**
they were inspired

merely by political motives. Few men were more devoid than Robert of all spiritual principle. He had shocked even the mercenaries of Italy by his pitiless cruelty at Cesena (February, 1377). His contemporaries called him 'a man of blood,' and spoke with sarcasm of the 'broad conscience' of one whom they compared with Herod or Nero. But judged merely as a political move the election of Robert, who took the title of Clement VII, showed the wisdom of serpents. This lame, squinting Savoyard, 'squat, fat, but eloquent,' was related to several princely houses, including the royal house of France. Hitherto known as a leader of mercenaries Robert now developed political ability of no mean order. His character changed. From a brigand he became a pope, dignified, astute. His previous avarice became reckless

profusion. Urban on the contrary sank from a painstaking student into a reckless and cruel freebooter, the story of whose later years is one of the most revolting in history.

The nations of Europe at once ranged themselves into opposing camps, adopting and publishing their rival excommunications. National jealousies took control of all ecclesiastical questions. France, on the instructions of her king, decided for Clement, and wherever French influence prevailed the Clementines held the field, as in the Latin nations in general, except Portugal, already the ally of her deliverer, England. England and England's possessions in France identified themselves with Urban as part of the Hundred Years' War. Germany and Bohemia adopted Urban's cause. One result was the penetration of Bohemia by the doctrines of Wycliffe, an event that would not have happened if England and Bohemia had been in opposite camps.

The religious orders also lost their international character, yielded to local passions, and were split into hostile factions, part owing obedience to one General, part to another. Nor did the



CONFESSION OF SINS

This and the illustration opposite are from a fifteenth-century French manuscript. Confession to the parish priest once a year was made obligatory on all persons by decree of the Lateran Council in 1215.

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2019

Benedictines escape, in spite of their individualist constitution. In many dioceses, for example Liège and Mainz, two bishops were struggling for the same see—one bishop being in actual possession, another appointed by the rival pope to oust, if he could, 'this son of damnation.' In some places the people took matters into their own hands and decided for strict neutrality. The confusion was indescribable. In Rome itself a party of soldiers held out for some time for Clement, and drove Urban from the Leonine city. As we read in a contemporary poem :

In Rome itself we have a Pope ; In Avignon another,
And each one claims to be alone, The true and lawful ruler.
The world is troubled and perplexed ;
'Twere better we had none
Than two to rule o'er Christendom, Where God would have but one.
Christ gave S. Peter power to bind, And also power to loose ;
Now men are binding here and there :
Lord ! loose our bonds, we pray.

In April, 1382, Urban wrote to Wenzel of Bohemia annulling all treaties made with schismatic nations. Everybody was for pitching everybody else into the sea, if he belonged to a nation owning another pope, as a heretic dog beyond hope of salvation. In Danzig the priest refused to proceed with the mass until a Scot was ejected from the church. Inasmuch as Scotland clung to Clement, he considered that all of that race were heretics.

'So general strife,' wrote Wycliffe with justice, 'as now is among many realms was never heard of before from the beginning of the world.' The Schism, it was calculated, caused in all the death of at least 200,000 people, an estimate, whether exaggerated or not, which shows the carnage into which it plunged Europe.

We have dwelt at some length on the disastrous effects of the Captivity and the Schism upon the Papacy because only by realizing this dark background can we see in their correct light the movements for reform or revolt. Rottenness at the centre will also largely explain the degeneration of the clergy, both secular and regular, friars as well as monks, while this degeneration in its turn is the vindication of the attacks of the reformers. To these

interconnected events and causes we must now turn our attention.

There were in the fourteenth century two main movements of revolt, the one associated with Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham, the other with Wycliffe and Huss. Of the two the first was the more original in thought; but in part it was political. Marsiglio and Ockham rallied to the side of Lewis the Bavarian in his struggle for the crown of the Empire with a rival supported by the French king and by pope John XXII. The details of this protracted conflict need not here concern us (see Chronicle XXI). But the help given to Lewis by spiritual enthusiasts and political speculators makes it memorable.

Marsiglio's *Defensor Pacis* (1324) is undoubtedly the most original political treatise of the Middle Ages. No seer ever had a clearer vision of the new order towards which the world was slowly moving; no prophet ever probed deeper into the future. In Marsiglio's works we find set out in clear outline ideals which now regulate all democratic governments, though not all of his concepts have as yet been put

Marsiglio of Padua's system to the full test. The most characteristic political ideas of Wycliffe, apart from Marsiglio's republicanism, are found expressed with greater clarity, though with the same intolerable prolixity, in the writings of the Italian; so much so that Wycliffe's conclusions in the judgement of Gregory XI in 1377 'but represent with a few terms changed the perverted opinion and perverted doctrines of Marsiglio of Padua, of damned memory, and of John of Jandun,' the friend of and collaborator with Marsiglio.

Marsiglio, for instance, brushes aside all arguments for the pope's temporal jurisdiction. The state is supreme: .

What have priests to do with meddling of secular coactive judgements, for they ought not to be lords temporally, but to be servants and ministers for the example and precept of Christ? . . . Neither bishop nor pope has any coactive jurisdiction in this world, neither upon any other person being no priest, unless such jurisdiction be granted to them by the human power.

Excommunication, in fact, can only be decreed by the congregation. Other



BURIAL OF THE DEAD

In a cloistered graveyard three priests are officiating at a burial. One holds the cross and one asperges the corpse with holy water held by a clerk. It was not unusual at this time to bury the dead uncoffined.

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2019

illustrations could be given which would abundantly justify Gregory's verdict. To the state belong all patronage and ecclesiastical property. Patronage, as a rule, should be administered by the free election of the parish itself, with which should rest the power of dismissal. The state can at any time secularise superfluous ecclesiastical properties to its own uses. Church government is a question of expediency; the Papacy a matter of convenience as providing a needed president for the councils of the Church. But the councils, as voicing the Church Universal, and not the pope, are the supreme power in the Church.

The Bible is the foundation of faith and of the authority of the Church. The sole business of the priest is to preach the faith and administer the sacraments. The clergy, in all but their strictly spiritual



ABUSES IN THE CHURCH

A hostile article on monastic abuses in a medieval work thus depicts two monks engaged in hunting. The upper picture illustrates the undue influence by which the mendicant friars extorted title-deeds to property from women.

British Museum, Royal MSS. 6 E.vi and vii

functions, must be treated exactly the same as all other members of the civil society, save only that their crimes should be punished with greater severity because they cannot plead the same excuse of ignorance. The power of the keys is limited; they open and close the door of forgiveness, but the turnkey is not the judge. Without the penitence of the sinner priestly absolution is of no avail. Errors of opinion, however great they be, must not be punished, unless dangerous to society. Even in this event, the punishment must be decided by the civil courts. Of opinions Jesus alone is the judge in the world to come.

Associated with Marsiglio was the Englishman, William of Ockham. Ockham was one of the leading philosophers of the age, the founder of a philosophy that

to-day would be called Conceptualism. He was the leader also, along with Michael of Cesena, of the Spiritual Franciscans, the party among the Grey Friars that pleaded, though with much extravagance, for the literal carrying out of the intentions of S. Francis. Their main tenet, the absolute poverty of Christ—Whom His disciples must also imitate, 'naked, following a naked Christ'—need not detain us. But in upholding this principle Michael and Ockham became involved in a struggle not only with the friars in general but with John XXII, to whom the whole idea seemed both repugnant and impracticable.

Beneath the academic issues of the struggle there were two principles of the utmost importance. The first struck at the worldliness of the representative of the Principles involved Apostles and at the in the struggle lawfulness of all church

endowments. The second was a direct challenge to the claim of the pope to be the infallible dictator of right and wrong, with power of binding and loosing at will. For John XXII had asserted that he could remit in this matter of poverty the stringent rules which S. Francis had imposed upon his followers, thereby claiming a new power of the keys. From this the quarrel passed into a still larger issue. In a flood of manifestoes of portentous length Ockham maintained that the pope may err, a general council may err; only Holy Scripture and the beliefs of the Church are of universal validity, and with them to guide him the meanest peasant may know the truth. Through Marsiglio and Ockham Europe was thus aroused to the criticism of an institution which for centuries she had accepted without question as of divine origin. Belief in the infallibility of the Papacy was gone. Henceforth the more conservative leaders, such as D'Ailly and Gerson, looked to the guidance of a general council; the more revolutionary, such as Wycliffe and Huss, to the development of the ideas of Ockham.

The details of the life of Wycliffe (died 1384), especially before 1360, are often obscure but his influence is beyond dispute. The source of this influence

is clear. As a schoolman he was the acknowledged leader among his contemporaries at Oxford. As a politician he voiced for some years the national aspirations, or rather the national dissatisfaction. As a reformer he promulgated ideas that would have destroyed the medieval church. But extreme as his views became in his last days, he obtained a hearing because he expressed in clear, logical form what many were feeling but had not fully considered. This triple combination gives the secret of the strength as well as of the weakness of Wycliffe's revolt. For Wycliffe stands half in and half out of the Middle Ages. In this we must confess that Wycliffe is the inferior of Marsiglio, of whom it would appear he had never heard, and who in his thoughts belongs to the future rather than to his own age.

The same double character is seen throughout Wycliffe's life. He is a master of English—a language only just claiming with hesitation its place as a literary organ—as well as of Latin, the historic language of Church and State. As he abandons Latin for English, the academic disputant, whose style and matter are medieval, passes with ease into the pamphleteer whose outlook and appeal are to a new world, in essence an English world, no longer divided as in the countless borough charters of the previous generation into French and English. As a politician he is eager for reform, yet he allies himself with John of Gaunt whose whole attitude is reactionary. He appeals by his democratic conceptions to the growing towns; at the same time he wraps up these conceptions in the terms of a decaying feudalism.

Wycliffe as a schoolman has not always received the recognition he deserves. Yet without such recognition his work as a reformer cannot be rightly appraised. For the importance of Wycliffe's attack upon

the medieval church lay in the fact that the assault was conducted not by an obscure fanatic, but by the foremost schoolman of his age—'the flower,' as his enemies owned, 'of Oxford'—at a time when the decay of Paris had left Oxford without a rival. The first of the reformers was, in fact, the last of the schoolmen, according to the judgement of an uncompromising opponent: 'the most eminent doctor of theology of his times, in philosophy second to none, in the training of the schools without a rival.'

Equally clear with the source of Wycliffe's influence is the general development of his teaching. Religious teachers, as a rule, have owed their influence in politics to their reputation as saints or reformers. We may instance S. Bernard, Savonarola, Luther and Calvin. With Wycliffe the development was otherwise. From subtle disputations at Oxford, Wycliffe passed, like William of Ockham, into politics, bringing thereto the methods



THE FORTRESS OF THE FAITH

The intensity of the reformers' assault upon the dogmas and superstitions of the Church is the subject of this picture in a fifteenth-century Flemish manuscript. It represents the four great Doctors of the Church defending the fortress of the faith against heretics attacking it from all sides.

British Museum, Royal MS. 17

and, we may add, the lack of practicality of a great schoolman. He was the brains of the party who sought in parliament and elsewhere to resist papal claims, to reduce the pride of the bishops, to win back from the Church much of its excessive riches, and to curb, if not destroy, the overgrown wealth and power of monks and friars. Hitherto reformers, Hildebrand or S. Bernard, for instance, had attempted to accomplish their reforms from within, and would have resisted interference by the state. Wycliffe introduced a new idea by calling upon the state to reform an unwilling Church.

Throughout the fourteenth century two movements in England are perceptible, both tending in the same direction, both temporarily defeated, both preparing the way for future triumphs. The one attack, the more popular and influential, was directed against the temporal and political power of the clergy; the other attack, undertaken by the few and appealing only to the more spiritual, was set against the dogmas and superstitions of the Church. On all sides we discern signs of revolt: in some, fear lest the Church should become too strong for the state; in others, a desire to deliver religion from a degrading

materialism and to give its government and theology a new content. The two movements, though finally they became separate and even opposed, for a short time were united under one leader. This leader was John Wycliffe.

From political movement Wycliffe passed in the last years of his life to the special work which has given him his place in history. Stirred to wrath by the Great Schism, he attacked the whole medieval conception of the Church, and lashed with his scorn its characteristic institutions, the Papacy and monasticism, especially the friars, at one time his allies. He felt that the souls of men were being sacrificed to an overgrown sacramental system, at the roots of which he struck by his attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation, and by his claim for the priesthood of the simplest believer. Next, Wycliffe laboured to effect the revival of religious life, especially among the lower classes, by the restoration of simple preaching through his brotherhood of Poor Priests, and by the distribution to the people of the Word of God in their mother-tongue. Though Wycliffe himself contributed little or nothing in the way of direct translation, he was the inspiration of a band of Oxford scholars, chief among



EXTRACT FROM THE EARLY VERSION OF THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE

The translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular with which Wycliffe's name is associated was begun about 1380—a cardinal event in the history of the Church, since it was the earliest complete rendering of the Bible in English, and also of English literature. The first, or Early Version, was completed about 1383. Above is a portion of a page from it. The revised Later Version, a more idiomatic rendering with fewer Latinisms and archaisms, was completed in 1396.

British Museum, Egerton MS. 617

**JOHN WYCLIFFE, REFORMER**

John Wycliffe (c. 1328-84) began his public career as a political anti-clerical propagandist, disseminating his teaching by pamphlets in English and through his Poor Preachers. The first English Bible was his crowning achievement.

By permission of the Earl of Denbigh

whom were Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey, by whom the whole Bible was translated into the English tongue, at first in a rough paraphrase, and then, about 1396, by Purvey, into a more literary edition. In all these aspects—schoolman, politician, preacher, reformer—Wycliffe was the foremost man of his age, the range of whose activities was not less remarkable than the energy with which he pursued his aims.

The influence of Wycliffe for a time was extraordinary. Oxford was on his side, while by his Poor Preachers he attracted the people. But the times were not yet ripe. The revolt of the universities was crushed by the vigilance of two great prelates, Courtenay and Arundel, while after Wycliffe's death the leaders in his movement, Repingdon, Hereford and others, found refuge and preferment in orthodoxy. Even Purvey for a while denied his former chief, though in the end he became constant to his first professions. The upper classes, many of

whom had been attracted by Wycliffe's teaching, possibly because of the hopes it gave of the plunder of the Church, found it expedient to rally to the new nationalist movement which under Henry V reached its zenith in Agincourt. Only among the burghers of the larger towns, among the cloth-workers of Norfolk and Suffolk—at that time the wealthiest and most populous of all the English counties—and later in the villages of the Chilterns did Wycliffe's doctrine still continue an abiding force which neither king nor bishop could crush, until it emerged in the large revolt which we call the Reformation.

The life of Wycliffe becomes of added importance when we remember that his

**THREE PIONEER REFORMERS**

The close connexion between Wycliffe, Huss and Luther is quaintly illustrated in this picture in a Bohemian psalter of 1572, which represents the first striking a spark, the second kindling the coals and the third brandishing a torch.

Prague University Library; photo, Posselt-Smith

influence outside England was even greater and more abiding than in his own country. Among the many fictions concerning Wycliffe, at one time accepted as history, is the story that the Reformer in his last years 'sought a voluntary exile rather than change his opinions.' So he came to Bohemia 'already slightly infected with heresy,' and was 'received by that rude race with great honour.' In return he established them in the belief 'that little reverence was due to the priesthood, and no consideration at all to the Roman pontiff.' This fable of a sixteenth-century writer is one of those

the three reformers. For though Huss did not embrace all Wycliffe's ideas, the doctrines for which he was condemned at Constance, especially those contained in his book, *De Ecclesia* (On the Church), were copied by him almost verbatim from the works of Wycliffe. The Englishman was right who tells us that as he listened to the guarded answers of Huss before the Council he detected the manner of Wycliffe. By a strange injustice the doctrine of the plagiarist, because Huss was linked with a national movement, came to be regarded as almost the original, while Wycliffe, from whom he had borrowed, and from whom the national movement had drifted away because of the victories of Henry V, receded into obscurity. To a great extent this was due to the fact that while Wycliffe's works slumbered undisturbed in Continental libraries, the works of Huss were printed at an early date. The flames which rose at Constance on July 6, 1415, displayed to posterity the form of Huss in clearer illumination than that of his English colleague. Only deep in the background has



guesses at truth which anticipate modern research. 'O good God,' added an indignant Czech scribe, condemned to copy out one of Wycliffe's Latin treatises, 'do not let this man come to our beloved Bohemia.' His prayer was not answered. Wycliffe lived again in Bohemia; Huss and Jerome of Prague continued the work which he had begun.

In a Bohemian psalter of 1572, now in the university library at Prague, there is a remarkable picture. Wycliffe is represented as striking a spark. Huss is kindling the coals, while Luther is brandishing the lighted torch. The picture is correct in its belief in a close connexion between



MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS

Despite a safe conduct, John Huss was arrested, tried and condemned as a heretic by the Council of Constance. These pictures from von Reichenthal's manuscript (see also page 3067) show him, crowned with a paper mitre inscribed *Heresiarch*, on his way to execution, July 6, 1415, and his death at the stake.

From coloured woodcuts in '*Conciliumbuch*' Augsburg, 1483

been discerned, since then, the shadow of that man for whose doctrine Huss went to the stake.

Huss in his turn handed on the torch to Luther. In February, 1529, after pondering the matter over with Melancthon, Luther wrote to Spalatin :

I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of Huss without knowing it. With a like unconsciousness has Stau-pitz taught them. We are all of us Hussites without knowing it. I do not know what to think for amazement.

It must not be assumed that by this confession Luther intended to hint that he had become Luther by the help of Huss. He was feeling his way rather to a doctrine of evangelical continuity than hinting at any relation of cause and effect. But the result of Luther's discovery of Huss and his ignorance of Wycliffe was the printing of several of the works of Huss, often with a preface or notes by Luther, and thus the importance of Huss was once more emphasised at the expense of the English master. Nearly four centuries elapsed before the right perspective was obtained of the theological output of the two reformers, Wycliffe and Huss.

We have pointed out already that the nationalist movement in England under Henry V crushed out Wycliffism; in Bohemia, on the other hand, the revolt of Huss against the Church was linked up with and assisted by the nationalist consciousness of the Czechs. From the earliest years the history of Bohemia has been marked by the intense rivalry of Czech and Teuton. Whatever the one adopted was sufficient reason for its rejection by the other. Now it happened that each of the two peoples adhered to a different school of scholastic thought; the Czechs were Realists, the Germans Nominalists. It was as a Realist that Wycliffe first appealed to Huss, but from this philosophical position



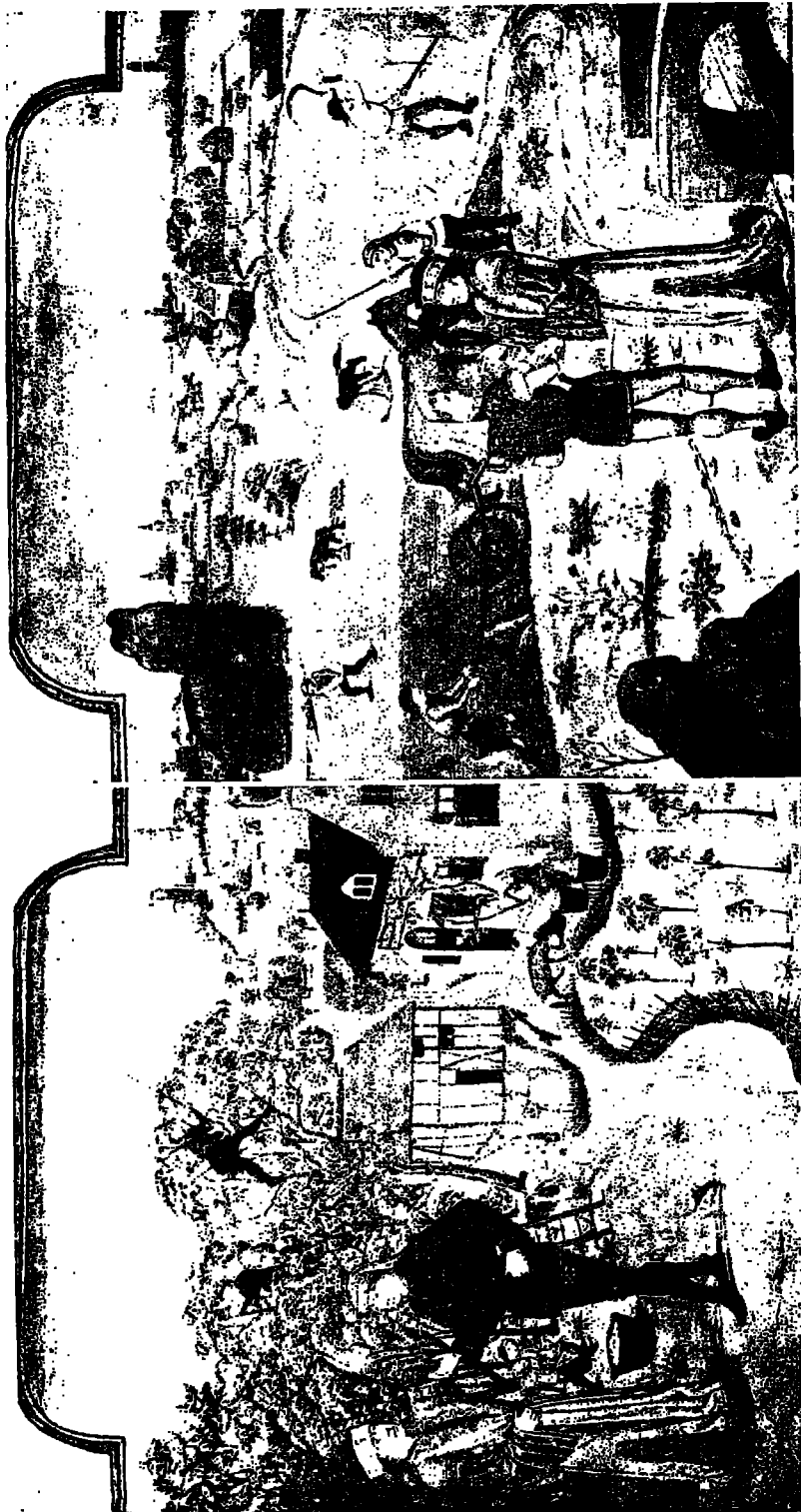
RED RUIN IN THE HUSSITE WARS

Extraordinary ferocity characterised the warfare by which the emperor Sigismund sought to suppress the league into which John Huss's followers formed themselves after his martyrdom in 1415. A fifteenth-century manuscript thus depicts distracted villagers vainly resisting the imperial troops.

German Museum, Nuremberg

he soon advanced to the adoption of Wycliffe's religious theories. But this adoption soon became more than a theological controversy. Wycliffe and Huss became the leaders of a nation in their struggle with the Germans. It was as a national hero that the appeal of Huss largely consisted, while his martyrdom was felt to be a national calamity.

In the century of warfare which took place before Rome could destroy the forces of the Hussites we see more than a religious struggle. It was one episode in that long controversy between Czech and German which has issued in the triumph of Czechoslovakia, and which has made Huss the symbol of its long martyrdom. The revolt of Huss was thus another illustration of the triumph of the nationalist idea which had broken up the unity and conception of the Holy Roman Empire, and was destined in the immediate future to destroy the unity of the Church and the supremacy of the popes.



APPLE HARVEST AND AGRICULTURE : SCENES OF MEDIEVAL HUSBANDRY IN WESTERN EUROPE

It is refreshing to find, amid the unearthly splendours of monastic illuminations and the monotonous trappings of chivalry, a group of fifteenth-century French and Flemish manuscripts depicting the daily life of the soil. On the left, the apple harvest, with beaters up the trees and an old crone ineffectively trying to frighten an errant pig from his stolen meal ; on the right, ploughing, sowing, harrowing and reaping, all shown as simultaneous operations. In Flanders itself it was mainly the burghers of the towns, at the period with which we are dealing, who fought to extort privileges from their feudal overlords ; but in Switzerland it was country folk such as these who united to rid themselves completely of feudal control.

British Museum : Additional MS. 19720

POPULAR MOVEMENTS OF THE PERIOD

Ferment of Unrest that invaded the Mind of Burgher or
Peasant in Flanders Switzerland France and England

By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON

Professor of History in the University of Leeds; Author of *English Monasteries*, etc.

THE thirteenth century saw the fulfilment of medieval effort. During its course those institutions which had been slowly built up on a series of precedents assumed definite form. It produced the greatest achievements of medieval art; it witnessed the reduction of theological and philosophical thought into closely allied systems. But, while the medieval ideal of a corporate Christendom, in which all races were bound together by a common polity, was never more prominent in the minds of men, the elements which threatened the ruin of the structure thus raised were already actively at work.

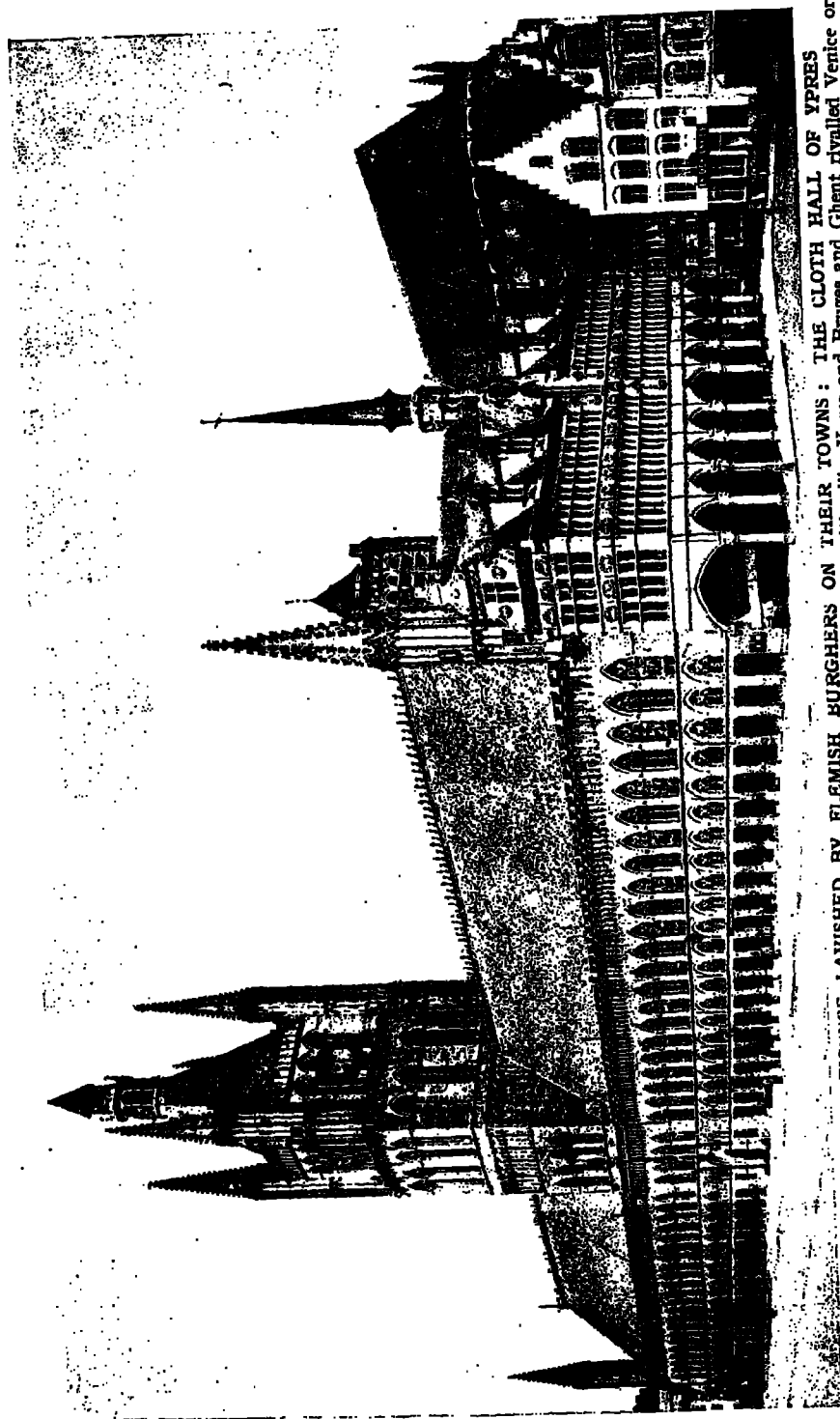
The development of separate European nationalities, each with its local constitution worked out upon its own lines, was the first manifest step in the progress of that individualism which is the fundamental characteristic of the Renaissance. Not that the Middle Ages came suddenly to an end with the failure of the political schemes which they had conceived as inseparable from the divine government of the universe. The medieval point of view was never held more devoutly or put more clearly and compactly than by Dante, whose great poem was, nevertheless, in its debt to classical antiquity and its mastery of a vernacular language, the starting-point of the literature of modern Europe. While feudalism was weakened and repressed by strong national monarchs, the outward forms and trappings of the system remained; at no time were the splendour and romance of chivalry so apparent as in the fourteenth century, when it was in its decay.

Further, while within the nations which had come into being the sense of individual liberty was extending to all classes of the

community, the desire for individual expression took the form of that corporate action which on a large scale had influenced and guided every single department of medieval life.

The most active factor in the decline of the feudal system was the growth of municipal life, largely fostered by monarchs and local lords who found in its encouragement a means of support in their strife with rebellious and ambitious feudal subjects. It is true that the premature appearance of the civic spirit in Italy (see Chap. 106) was a protest against the dominion of a foreign ruler who used the forces of feudalism in his attempts to crush it. Elsewhere, however, cities and towns had obtained privileges and liberties from rulers who recognized the value of their assistance in the establishment of a central authority. In England the progress of the towns was peaceful. Controlled by and attached to a strong central government, they had little inclination to prosecute those rivalries of which continental towns offer so many examples.

The history of the great foreign centres of trade which were most closely connected in commercial interest with England is somewhat different. During the thirteenth century the towns of the Netherlands rose to a high condition of prosperity. While in northern Germany the cities of the Hansa (see Chap. 119) were developing their dominion over Baltic trade, successive counts of Holland were enfranchising the ports and market towns of the Zuyder Zee and the lower Rhine, and such places as Amsterdam and Dordrecht were rising in importance. But



EXAMPLE OF THE MAGNIFICENCE LAVISHED BY FLEMISH BURGHERS ON THEIR TOWNS : THE CLOTH HALL OF YPRES
 The thirteenth century in Flanders, as in Italy, was a great period of civic expansion, and cities like Ypres and Bruges and Ghent rivalled Venice or Florence or Milan. Flourishing trade found feudal restrictions irksome—hence popular uprisings such as those of the Artevelde; but it also expressed itself in noble civic buildings, of which none was finer than the Cloth Hall of Ypres, centre of the cloth-making industry, as it was before its destruction in the Great War. It was built 1200-1314, the magnificent Gothic belfry in the centre being earlier than the flanking wings.
Photo, E.N.A.

the most conspicuous cities of the Netherlands were the three great towns of Flanders, Bruges, Ghent and Ypres, the two last the capitals of the cloth-making industry, at which the wool imported from England was made into fabrics of a quality renowned throughout Europe. In these places civic prosperity attained a pitch hardly less remarkable than that reached by Florence and the Italian republics; and, here also, art progressed by the side of manufactures. The chief architectural monuments of these cities recall the days of their early fame. The famous belfry of Bruges (page 2907), with the exception of its uppermost stage, a much later addition, was completed in 1296. Before that time the magnificent belfry of Ypres had been finished, and during the course of the next century the two long wings of the Cloth Hall were added on either side of the tower, composing a building which, until its destruction in the Great War, was the finest monument of civic architecture in the north of Europe.

By force of circumstances the towns of Flanders became the field of a popular struggle for liberty against feudalism

**Flemish struggle
against Feudalism**

which began with the first years of the fourteenth century. While in the dominions of the count of Holland, a vassal of the Empire, the towns took their normal place upon the side of their lord in the conflict with his baronage, in Flanders the towns had to fight their own battle against the united opposition of their count and his nobles.

In 1300 Philip IV of France, the suzerain of the count of Flanders, avenged himself for the support which Flanders had given to Edward I of England in the recent war by annexing the county and imprisoning the count, Guy of Dampierre. The French invaders were unable to keep their hold upon their conquest. In March, 1302, the Frenchmen in Bruges were massacred in a popular rising. An army, containing a large proportion of the feudal knighthood of France, entered Flanders and was utterly defeated before Courtrai by a body of Flemish burghers. Robert of Artois, its general, was slain, and with him many nobles. Seven

hundred spurs, picked up on the field of battle after the headlong flight of the French, were hung up in the church of Courtrai, from which the fight earned the name of the Battle of the Spurs. The defeat of the French cavalry by a force of infantry armed with pikes, although aided by the disadvantage of the ground for horsemen, gives the battle a place of some moment in military history.

The victory of Courtrai, however, complete as it was for the time being, was not one of those demonstrations of national unity that decide the

future of a people asserting its independence. It was won mainly by

**Events after the
Battle of Courtrai**

the men of two cities, Bruges and Ypres; and, though their success involved the expulsion of French garrisons from Ghent and from Courtrai itself, there still remained a strong French party in Flanders. Throughout the next quarter of a century the Leliaerts, the party of the fleur-de-lys, represented the feudal interest at war with the freedom of the towns. The young count of Flanders, Louis of Nevers, who succeeded his grandfather in 1322, was ready at first to grant civic liberties to his subjects, but was loyal to the tie of fealty which bound him to the French king as his superior lord, and found his allies in the nobles whose hereditary claims were threatened by the growth of municipal autonomy. Moreover, Ghent, jealous of the power and wealth of Bruges and Ypres, was the headquarters of French sympathies. When, in 1324, Louis, as the result of continued oppression of the towns, was taken prisoner by the burghers of Courtrai and Bruges, Ghent took his part.

At the coronation of Philip of Valois at Reims in 1328 Louis made his complaint against the rebellious cities which were withholding from him the fief for which he was summoned to do homage. The first act of Philip's reign was to invade Flanders on behalf of the expelled count; the Flemish nobility rode under his banners, and the men of Ghent laid siege to Bruges. On August 23, 1328, the Flemish insurgents, led by a captain known as Zannekyn, attacked the French army from a strong post on the hill of Cassel. At first their impetuous onset carried all before it; but

the fortune of the battle was changed after the first heat of the courageous but inexperienced force had spent itself, and the Flemish pikemen, massed solidly together in a circle, were surrounded and slaughtered by the feudal cavalry.

Louis, after the first severities of his restoration, showed clemency to the towns which he had brought to obedience with the aid of France, and allowed Bruges and Ypres to resume their privileges. But his continued dependence upon France and his preference for residence at the French court soon lost him what temporary popularity he had recovered. The commercial interests of Ghent were too strong for the maintenance of its hostility to its rivals, and, when the assertion of Edward III's claim to the French crown threatened the trade with England on which the cloth workers of Flanders depended for their raw material, economic pressure brought

about the union of the divided cities. The embargo placed by Edward upon the export of wool to Flanders dislocated the industry of Ghent and threw its weavers out of work. The count made an ill-advised attempt to terrorise his disaffected subjects by the arrest and execution of Sohier of Courtrai, a prominent burgher who had received the English envoys sent to Ghent to bargain for an alliance between Flanders and England; but he failed completely in his efforts to maintain his authority, and eventually fled to France.

Meanwhile, the burghers had found a leader in a citizen of Ghent, Jacques van Artevelde. In the crisis of 1337, after the arrest of Sohier, his reputation for sound wisdom—he had passed his fifty-second year—brought him to the front. In answer to an appeal for his advice, he addressed the citizens at a meeting summoned outside the town on December 28,



CASTLE WHENCE THE COUNTS OF FLANDERS RULED THEIR FIEF

The feudal seat of the counts of Flanders against whom the Flemish burghers were pitted was the Oudeburg, or s'Gravenstein, in Ghent, built in 1180 by Philip of Alsace and now restored. Here, after Louis count of Flanders had fled to France, Jacques van Artevelde in 1339 received his ally Edward III of England, and persuaded him to assume the royal arms of France, and here John of Gaunt (i.e. Ghent) was born to Edward and Philippa in the following year.

Photo, Donald McLeish

and urged upon them the advantages of a commercial alliance with England. He laid equal emphasis upon a neutral attitude to the impending war; the maintenance of friendship with England was essential, but an open breach with France was unnecessary, as the French king would have his hands too full to interfere with Flanders. His counsels were received with enthusiasm. The artisans of Ghent, anxious to make their voice heard in civic affairs, recognized in him an enlightened popular leader. The course which he proposed ensured a speedy revival of industrial activity, and with these prospects he coupled the hope of a confederation of towns which would draw to its support the trading communities of the neighbouring states. A few days later he was elected captain-general of Ghent. At the head of a host of partisans prepared to enforce his policy he reorganized the government of the city upon democratic lines, and for the next few years was uncrowned king of Flanders. English trade re-entered the country; the flight of the count was followed by no reprisals from France; and the papal interdict laid upon Flanders was disregarded.

While the federal league of Flemish towns, which was one of Artevelde's chief objects, became a recognized fact, his ideal of neutrality was rendered impossible after the visit of Edward III to Ghent in 1339 and his attempt to establish a continental league against France. The claims of feudal precedent were still so strong with Artevelde that he hesitated to acknowledge a suzerain in Flanders other than the French king. The difficulty was surmounted by the expedient of persuading Edward to assume at once the royal arms of France and so receive the homage of Flanders as king of France. This was in January, 1340, and during the year the victory of Sluys (see page 3000) proved the foresight of Artevelde's policy.

The success thus gained, however, produced little result. The siege of Tournai by Edward and his allies was abortive. During the truce which followed, the projects of an Anglo-imperial league and a confederation of Flanders with the towns



FRANCOPHIL COUNT OF FLANDERS

Louis of Nevers, who succeeded Robert of Béthune as count of Flanders in 1322, had spent his early years at the French court; hence his sympathies were with France and the Flemish nobles rather than the Flemish burghers.

Recueil d'Arras; photo, Giraudon

of Brabant and Hainault died natural deaths. Count Louis returned to Flanders with an undertaking to be guided by the league of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, and employed himself in endeavouring to win back the allegiance and submission of his subjects. Disputes broke out among the towns; Ghent and Ypres laid jealous claim to the monopoly of the cloth industry and roused the enmity of the smaller communities, which found ready protection from the count.

Artevelde meanwhile lost his hold upon the affections of Ghent. The stringency of his rule provoked active opposition; hostilities broke out between rival guilds, and on May 2, 1345, a fight took place between the weavers and fullers, in which the fullers lost their warden and fifty of their brethren. England and France were again preparing for war, and Flemish industry was once more menaced. In July, 1345, Artevelde left Ghent to interview Edward at Sluys. It was suspected that, after the failure of his earlier plans,



BURGHERS OF GHENT BEFORE LOUIS OF MAELE

An incident of the second great Flemish revolt in which Philip van Artevelde figured is thus depicted in a Froissart manuscript. The burghers of Ghent are before Louis of Maele in the fruitless attempt to obtain favourable terms which preceded Philip's open declaration of war in 1382, and his victory at Bruges.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 2644; photo, Catala

he was prepared to suggest the expulsion of the count and the offer of his inheritance to Edward's heir, the Prince of Wales. On his return to Ghent he found the city in an uproar. His house was beset by a crowd which demanded from him an account of the treasure which he had received during his years of autocratic rule. Unable to obtain a respite, he appears to have attempted to escape, but was intercepted by the mob and slain.

It was the misfortune of Jacques van Artevelde that his sudden rise to power was the result of a moment of panic, in which his fellow-citizens were ready to accept any counsel that would deliver them from peril. He was able to present them with ideals which were a credit to his public spirit and statesmanship, and to those ideals he was able to give some

practical shape, if only for a time. As a popular leader, however, he was too ready to interpret literally the promise of his followers 'to hearken to and believe, fear and serve him.' When his schemes had failed, the severity with which he had used his dictatorship aroused popular resentment, and he fell a victim to a second panic which he found himself powerless to control. Further, while his championship of civic freedom exercised a permanent influence upon the cities of the Netherlands, it was waged against a feudal tradition which was too binding to be met with success by single-handed opposition, and the project attributed to him of superseding the ruling dynasty by a foreign line alienated his supporters and was a powerful factor in his downfall.

For thirty-four years after the death of Jacques van Artevelde Flanders enjoyed an uneasy peace. Count Louis fell at Crécy in 1346. His son, Louis of Maele, was accepted by the towns and maintained the Francophil policy of his

father. Meanwhile, under the revival of feudal rule, the towns reverted to their old rivalries. It was not, however, until 1379 that the burghers once more broke into active rebellion. In that year the count imposed a tax to pay for the expenses of a Whitsuntide tournament to be held in Ghent. The men of Bruges granted the demand in return for the concession of the making of a canal which would give their trade direct access to the districts of which Ghent held the keys. A rising took place in Ghent. The rest of Flanders followed suit, and Bruges itself was compelled to join the insurgents; Oudenarde alone remained faithful to the count. At first, in spite of the support of the towns of Brabant and Hainault, the revolt was suppressed. Bruges was captured, and Ghent was left to withstand a siege.

At this crisis the citizens of Ghent appealed to Philip, the son of Jacques van Artevelde, who was living among them in retirement, and urged him to take up the mantle of his father. The events of 1339 and 1340 were repeated. Philip accepted the dictatorship thrust upon him. By severe measures he crushed the party which recommended surrender, and opened the common council of the city to the whole people. After a fruitless effort to make favourable terms with Louis of Maele, he declared war. On May 3, 1382, the men of Ghent defeated the count in sight of the walls of Bruges; Louis fled to

France; the garrison of Bruges took refuge in Oudenarde; and the rest of Flanders cast off the feudal yoke.

The triumph of the popular party, however, was short. In November a great French army entered Flanders. Ypres at once submitted; and the French advanced to the Lys. On November 27; at Roosebeke, the Flemish forces, wedged together as at Cassel in 1328, were hewn down by the French cavalry, and Artevelde, more happy than his father in his end, lost his life. The result of Roosebeke brought satisfaction to neither party. The position of Flanders was



FIRST ASSAULT ON THE MEN OF GHENT AT ROOSEBEKE

Philip van Artevelde's victory at Bruges was of little avail, for in November of the same year the king of France invaded Flanders and met the men of Ghent near Roosebeke. His frontal assault was withstood by the pikemen, but the French cavalry passed round their flanks, hemmed them in and crushed rather than howed them to death. 'Never,' says Froissart, 'for so great a slaughter did one see so little blood flow.' Note, in this miniature, the 'bombardes' used by the Flemings.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; MS. 2644



BISHOP SPENSER'S FLEMISH EXPEDITION

Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich—the same who two years earlier had crushed the last of the English peasant rebels at North Walsham—led an expedition into Flanders in 1383 at the instance of Pope Urban. The good bishop, mitre on helmet, is in this Froissart miniature seen closing in on Ypres.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 2644; photo, Catala

complicated by its adhesion to the Roman pope in the schism which had begun in 1378; the campaign of Roosebeke had taken the form of a crusade on behalf of the antipope, and the count and nobles, whose religious sympathies were suspect, were excluded from it and saw their country under the control of foreigners.

The fate of Ghent itself remained doubtful. In answer to an appeal for help, a large and ill-disciplined force, allured by the indulgences promised to the partakers in a counter-crusade, entered Flanders in 1383 under the leadership of Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich. Although a capable soldier, the bishop was forced by his captains into abandoning his plan of an invasion of France for the siege of Ypres in conjunction with the men of Ghent. During the siege the English army suffered heavily from sickness and desertion; dissensions broke out between the bishop and his subordinates, and the expedition ended ingloriously. Not until 1385 did Ghent cease to resist.

By that time Louis of Male was dead, and his son-in-law, Philip of Burgundy, had become count of Flanders in right

of his wife. Under the rule of the house of Burgundy the Flemish towns recovered their prosperity and splendour, and became centres of thriving trade and artistic energy; but the republican freedom to which the efforts of the Artevelde had aspired died with Philip at Roosebeke.

Yet, if the wider aims of Jacques van Artevelde had failed, and if those of Philip had been abruptly checked before their full tendency was clear, their influence lasted in the popular form of municipal government of the Flemish cities. They had ruled in Ghent with the support of the great body of craftsmen, whom they admitted to civic rights, and had depressed the oligarchies of wealthy merchant families in whose hands political influence had hitherto lain in Ghent and the neighbouring

towns. The democratic basis of civic government which they had established stood firm, and, though the opposition between the bourgeoisie and the artisan class continued under the orderly rule which the dukes of Burgundy introduced into Flanders, neither party was able to dislodge the other from its position of influence in the city states.

Although the Flemish towns throughout this period were at constant variance with their hereditary lord, they showed no general disposition to dispense altogether with a feudal sovereign. Apart from their inability to form a permanent confederation with a united aim, they were content to live under a ruler who would assure to them privileges which left them free to carry on their trade with profit; and the Burgundian dynasty satisfied this requirement. There is thus a striking contrast between the movement which has been described and the contemporary struggle for independence in Switzerland.

In this struggle an important part was taken by towns with strong commercial interests; but the strife was in the main

Results of
Flemish risings

waged between a rural population and its feudal lords, and its object was to remove the oppression of the masters who stood between it and the supreme authority of the Empire.

The struggles in Switzerland With this object, confederation was not merely a means to an end: it was from the beginning the only means, and became an end in itself. The most remarkable feature of the conflict was the persistence of the league which it called into being, and the entire failure of its opponents to divide its constituent members.

The Swiss republic had its beginning in the districts bordering upon the lake of Lucerne, the three 'forest cantons' of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden. After the extinction of the line of the Swabian dukes of Zähringen, the house of Hapsburg, not yet a competitor for the imperial throne, had extended its dominion over the collection of miscellaneous fiefs, many of them held by monastic lords, within the duchy. As early, however, as

1231, the rural inhabitants of the Urnerthal (Uri) were made directly dependent upon the Empire, and became a political commonwealth governed by an officer or 'landammann' elected by themselves. In 1240 the emperor Frederick II took the men of Schwyz under his protection, without expressly exempting them from the Hapsburg dominion, but reserving the appointment of the landammann to himself and his successors in the Empire.

The development of Unterwalden, the Unterthal, is less distinct, and its feudal rule was divided. But, after the excommunication of Frederick II at Lyons in 1245, a temporary alliance was formed between the men of Schwyz and those of Stanz in Unterwalden against the encroachments of Rudolf II of Hapsburg. In the interregnum which followed Frederick's death the Hapsburgs strengthened their position in Swabia; and the election of Rudolf III as German king in 1273 not only brought Schwyz for the time being into direct contact



LUCERNE AND THE HOMELAND OF THE REDOUBTABLE FOREST CANTONS

The centre of the Swiss struggle lay by the Lake of Lucerne, and the rough nature of the country that nurtured the men of Schwyz, Uri and Unterwalden, who in 1291 formed the league that was to have such a troubled and successful history, can be realized from the forests still clothing the hills in the background above. But the cities, apart from Zürich, were not primarily concerned; thus

Lucerne itself, whose medieval walls occupy the foreground, did not join until 1332.

Photo, E.N.A.

with the Empire, but brought Uri into dependence upon a Hapsburg emperor.

Thus, on the death of Rudolf in 1291, Schwyz and the as yet imperfectly organized communities of Unterwalden remained subject to the house of Hapsburg, while Uri was still imperial territory. But the aim of Schwyz was to achieve

the state of immediate dependence upon the Empire, which was the logical consequence of

the protection granted to it in 1240. Accordingly, on August 1, 1291, little more than a fortnight after Rudolf's death, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden entered into a covenant of mutual defence, which included regulations for the common settlement of differences and the punishment of crime. The league contained no hint of opposition to feudal superiors, but expressly enjoined the duty of obedience from the subject to his lord; at the same time, its terms insisted on the appointment of native magistrates and the rejection by the confederates of magistrates who bought their offices. There was no attempt to formulate a common constitution, but the covenant was supplemented by a few general rules of common action for the protection of life and property.

Circumstances, however, brought the confederates into opposition to the Hapsburgs, whose power had been greatly increased by Rudolf's acquisition of the duchy of Austria. A coalition was formed against Albert, the son of Rudolf, which included the free imperial city of Zürich; and towards the end of 1291 Uri and Schwyz entered into an alliance of three years with this city, then upon the verge of an unsuccessful war with the Hapsburg faction. When the candidature of Albert for the imperial crown was rejected, and Adolf of Nassau was chosen by the electors, the forest cantons felt the advantage of a choice which gave them a temporary safeguard against the Hapsburg dominion. In 1297 Adolf granted charters in similar terms to Schwyz and Uri, which placed them both upon an equal footing with regard to the Empire; and in 1309 these were confirmed by the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, and a charter issued to

Unterwalden, which had now taken definite shape as a community superintended, at any rate since 1304, by a landammann of its own. The appointment of an imperial bailiff for the three cantons marked their unity as a part of the Empire.

Henry, however, was unwilling to do injustice to the house of Austria by the grant of such privileges. While the cantons showed their gratitude by supplying a contingent for his Italian expedition, Leopold of Austria also served him in that adventure, and gained a promise from him to protect his rights, which was fulfilled by the appointment of a commission to examine the claims of both parties.

It was during the contest for the Empire between Lewis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria which succeeded the death of Henry that the real struggle between the Swiss and the Hapsburgs began. The heroic legends of William Tell and the oath of Rütli appear

to be without historical foundation; they are among those epic tales in which the spirit of a national movement takes definite form, and which abide as incentives to patriotic zeal. As a matter of fact, the rule of Albert I of Austria, under which the episode of Tell is supposed to have taken place, was not conspicuously marked by acts of oppression; and the real beginning of the war of independence was an act of aggression on the part of the Swiss.

The claims of religious houses over property within the cantons led to continual bickering between the monasteries and the free tenants whose aim was to get rid of intermediate lordships that separated them from the Empire. Of these quarrels the most enduring was that between the men of Schwyz and the abbey of Einsiedeln. An attack upon the monastery in January, 1314, by the Schwyzers was the ultimate cause of the campaign in which the two brothers who shared the Austrian heritage endeavoured to recover the obedience of their troublesome subjects.

The position was complicated by the claim of Frederick of Austria to the imperial crown. His rival, Lewis of Bavaria, protected and encouraged the Swiss, while Frederick, exercising the rights of

emperor, put them under his ban and attempted to crush them by force. On November 15, 1315, Leopold and his army were defeated by the confederate cantons at Morgarten. The Austrian forces were caught in a trap, where, before the main conflict began, they were cast into confusion by the stones rolled down upon their ranks from the mountain sides. This was the first great victory of Swiss freedom, and from the position won by it the conquerors made no backward step.

The immediate consequence of Morgarten was the renewal of the triple confederation at Brunnen on December 7, 1315. The emperor confirmed their privileges and pronounced the deprivation of the Hapsburg dukes. The war continued, but with an interval of truce from 1318 to 1323, and without any success on the Austrian side. During the next few

Lucerne joins
the federation

years the influence of the confederates extended itself to their neighbours. Schwyz entered into friendly relations with Glarus, and in 1332 Lucerne, not as yet wholly estranged from Austria, joined the league. For the first time a town of some commercial importance, from its position on one of the high roads to Italy, threw in its lot with a movement confined hitherto to a number of rural communities.

Meanwhile Zürich, which we have already seen in temporary alliance with Uri and Schwyz, was undergoing internal changes that eventually brought her into permanent relations with the forest cantons and Lucerne. The conflict within the city between the ruling oligarchy of rich merchants and the increasing power of the craft guilds led to a remodelling of her government upon democratic lines. The popular leader, Rudolf Brun, obtained an ascendancy, not unlike that of Jacques van Artevelde in Ghent, which lasted for nearly a quarter of a century until his death in 1360. Under pressure of the siege of Zürich by Albert II of Austria, the city entered the confederacy in 1351.

In the following year the league enlarged its borders by invading the territories of Glarus and Zug and forcing them into alliance. The actual union of these new members with the league was

long delayed. They were not included in the peace with Austria which put an end to the siege of Zürich and established for the time being a 'modus vivendi' between the house of Hapsburg and the cantons. A second invasion and conquest of Zug by the men of Schwyz in 1364 determined the adhesion of this small canton, but it was not until after the battle of Sempach in 1386 that the bond with Glarus was renewed.

No permanent arrangement with Austria was possible, and the league was perpetually threatened by the endeavours of the Hapsburgs to preserve their authority in a district which was obstinately opposed to their dominion. The peace made in 1352 was soon disturbed by a renewal of hostilities between Albert II and Zürich. These were brought to an end by the intervention of the emperor Charles IV, who in 1355 arranged a peace that secured the safety of Zürich and the cantons on the basis of the restoration of conquered territory by both sides. The result of this was a rapprochement between Zürich and the duke of Austria, which, had it lasted, might have endangered the freedom of the confederates.

Rudolf Brun, towards the end of his life, was won over to the Austrian interest, and while still upholding the independence of Zürich and its allies and the imperial suzerainty, nevertheless lent his influence to supporting the Hapsburg domination over the outlying districts which for a time had entered the league. But in 1353 the league had acquired an important source of strength by concluding an alliance with Berne, which brought it into contact with the Burgundian territories to the west. Although for the time being the part played by Berne was cautious, this union had its practical effect upon the final events which put an end to the strife with Austria.

The peaceful relations between Zürich and Albert II were broken by the second invasion of Zug, which was a breach of the terms of peace made in 1355. By a fresh peace in 1368 Austria surrendered her claims to Zug; and this was followed in 1370 by a covenant between Uri,

Relations with
the Hapsburgs

Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zürich and Zug, directed against the pro-Austrian party, which, with clerical support, was still holding up its head in Zürich.

This covenant, which imposed an oath of loyalty to the confederacy upon all persons within its limits, cancelling any oath by which they might be bound to Austria, also subjected the clergy, except in purely spiritual cases, to the local temporal courts, and provided for the safety of trade upon the highways of the towns and cantons. Hitherto the provisions of the league, while establishing certain principles of common action, had not gone far towards the formation of a common constitution. The covenant of 1370 was a notable step in this direction. The confederation appears for the first time as a single body politic, founded upon a democratic basis, and pledged to an individual and permanent line of action in state affairs.

Berne was not a party to this document ; but during the next few years Berne, with its neighbour Soleure, was engaged in strife with feudal adversaries, in which it profited by the inactivity of the house of Hapsburg,

Leopold III engaged in consolidating its new possessions in Tyrol and the adjacent districts. A division of the Hapsburg inheritance in 1379 between the brothers Albert III and Leopold III gave to the latter Tyrol and the other provinces which lay outside Austria proper. His ambition led him to turn his attention to the recovery and expansion of the former Hapsburg lands to the west. The towns and territories of Swabia and the Rhine formed leagues to bar his progress, the danger of which was increased by the weakness and disunion of the Empire under the rule of Wenzel of Bohemia.

In 1385 Zürich, Berne, Soleure and Zug allied themselves with the Swabian and Rhenish confederates. Lucerne followed suit, and in the sequel bore the brunt of the conflict. At the end of the year the men of Lucerne stormed the fortress of Rotenburg, which guarded the road to the Aargau, and a few days later entered Sempach, which belonged to Austria, and admitted it to their citizenship.

Leopold had little to fear from his Swabian opponents, whose interests counselled them to peace, and was able in the summer to concentrate himself upon Lucerne. At Sempach, on July 9, 1386, he suffered a complete defeat which virtually freed the Swiss confederacy from Austrian encroachment. His knights, dismounted and fighting in heavy armour on a hot day, were borne down and put to flight by the infantry of the forest cantons. Out of a force of some fourteen hundred cavalry, six hundred and seventy-six lay dead upon the field, including the duke himself and a crowd of his nobles. Hostilities dragged on for some years after Sempach, until in 1394 a peace was concluded for twenty years with Leopold IV. The later part of the war is marked by the battle of Näfels on April 9, 1387, in which the men of Glarus were the chief factors.

In 1394 more than a century had passed since the first league of the three cantons. Since then, the fortunes of the confederation had advanced, not without temporary checks, but without a backward step. The action of a few peasant communities had attracted to its support rich and powerful towns. The popular party among the burghers, in its contest with privilege, had found common ground with the countrymen who were engaged in maintaining their liberty against feudal lordship. Their interests were at one, and the bond thus created withstood all attempts to break it. The next century saw further developments in the history of Switzerland, in which its southern and western districts were involved, and the power of the last of the great dukes of Burgundy was broken at Morat, Grandson and Nancy, as that of Austria had been broken at Morgarten and Sempach.

The history of France in the fourteenth century is that of a nation struggling slowly towards coherence, but hindered by the absence of effective means of common action, by the prevalence of feudal tradition throughout the provinces, and by the disastrous consequences of the war with England. The whole tendency of events led to the strengthening

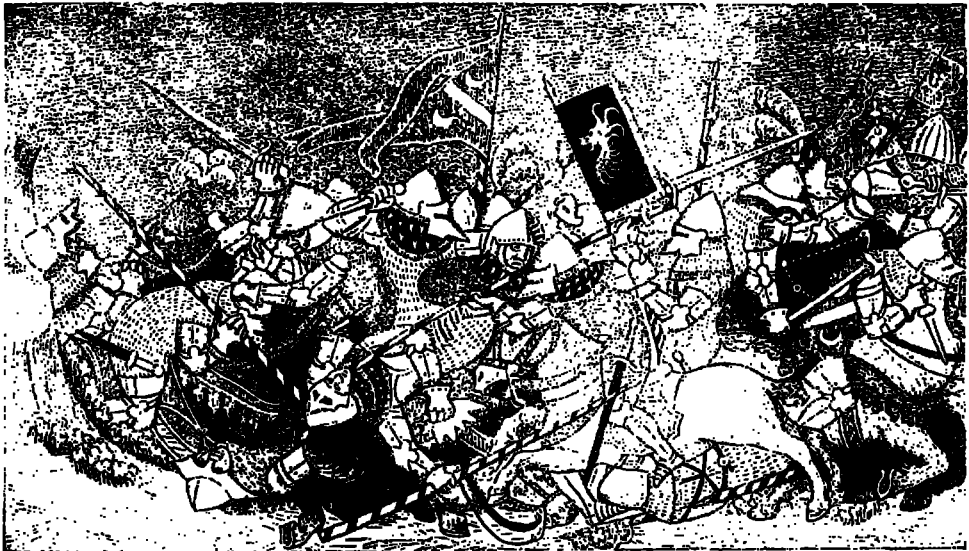
of the royal power. Through all the misfortunes of the monarchy during this and the next century, the crown remained the one rallying-point to which the nation could resort with security, and, in spite of periods of bad government and weakness, the monarchy

Aspect of the French struggle kept a popularity which enabled it to surmount the most severe crises. As in Flanders, the towns of the kingdom afforded the greatest cause of anxiety to their sovereigns; but the position of the king of France was different from that of a feudal lord like the count of Flanders, who could depend upon no constitutional means for the repression of disturbances, and could rely for the maintenance of his authority merely upon the mutual jealousies of his opponents and upon foreign aid.

Movements in the towns, moreover, were isolated efforts. No confederacy of cities was formed: the towns moved along parallel lines, but without unity, and in their midst there was always present the element of disunion supplied

by the enmity between the ruling class and the artisan populace. Although in Paris, from 1356 to 1358, Etienne Marcel played a part which owed something to the example of Jacques van Artevelde, he showed little of the ability of the Arteveldes or of Rudolf Brun to weld together all sections of the people in common measures of self-defence.

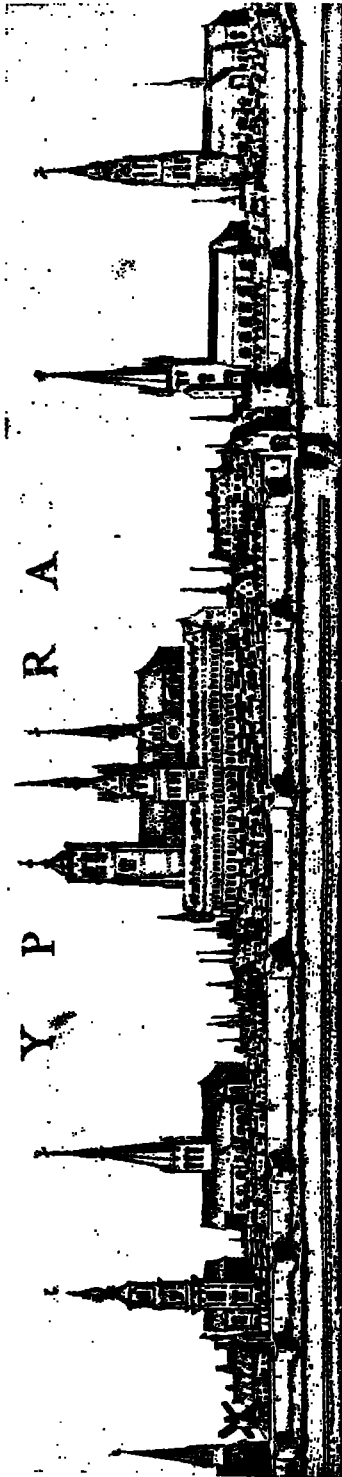
After the defeat of Poitiers in 1356, France entered upon a period of anarchy. King John was in captivity; the dauphin Charles, his lieutenant in the kingdom, was a youth of nineteen, delicate in health, surrounded by counsellors in whose wisdom and unselfishness no trust could be reposed, and as yet unknown for those qualities which were to gain for him the name of the Wise. The rural districts were ravaged by bands of marauders, the 'free companies' composed of disbanded soldiers under leaders whose only trade was war and pillage. The only places of security were the walled towns, and at this point Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, won prominence in national affairs by his energy in



CAVALRY SUCH AS FELL BEFORE THE SWISS INFANTRY AT SEMPACH

At the battle of Sempach in 1386 a great Austrian host, containing as its nucleus a body of fourteen hundred horse, the flower of Austrian chivalry, was defeated by the Swiss peasant infantry of the forest cantons. It was a hot July day, and one of the reasons for the defeat may be appreciated from this German miniature in a manuscript of Rudolf von Hohenem's *World Chronicle*, done only the year before the battle, which shows the ponderous armour of the period.

Landesbibliothek, Kassel



TYPE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN : YPRES WITH ITS CLOTH HALL AND CATHEDRAL SAFE BEHIND MOAT AND WALL

Lack of combination among the French towns made any such career as that of the Artevelde impossible, but they gained in importance from the appalling anarchy into which the 'free companies' had plunged the countryside, and their walls were a real necessity even in times of peace; Ypres before the Great War—seen here in part of a 17th-century engraving—was a splendid example of what the walled and moated medieval towns of Flanders and North France looked like. It was his measures for putting Paris into a state of defence that first brought Etienne Marcel into prominence.

Photo, E.N.A.

putting Paris in a state of defence against the imminent renewal of war.

A cloth merchant by trade, he stood at the head of an organized municipal oligarchy which controlled the commerce and industry of the town, exercising in his person a jurisdiction which at this moment gave him unlimited opportunities. The unique position of Paris as the capital of the realm made his action one of national importance. His first object was to use his authority in the chief city of France on behalf of administrative reform, and, at the meeting of the States-General of the north of France in Paris in October, 1356, he led the party which demanded the dismissal of the unpopular counsellors and the appointment of a royal council chosen from and answerable to the three estates.

Marcel, however, could not count upon the entire disinterestedness of his colleagues, nor could Paris, a community of burgesses with divergent sympathies, achieve the work of reform by the exercise of its sole influence. Force of circumstances brought Marcel into co-operation with a party, reinforced by a strong section of the nobility and by support from outer districts of the kingdom, which was agitating for the delivery of Charles ('the Bad'), king of Navarre, from the confinement into which he had been cast by King John in the preceding April. Moreover, Charles, a grandson of Louis X, had pretensions to the throne and, in spite of the incompatibility of his claims with English dominion in France, could count upon English support for the time being.

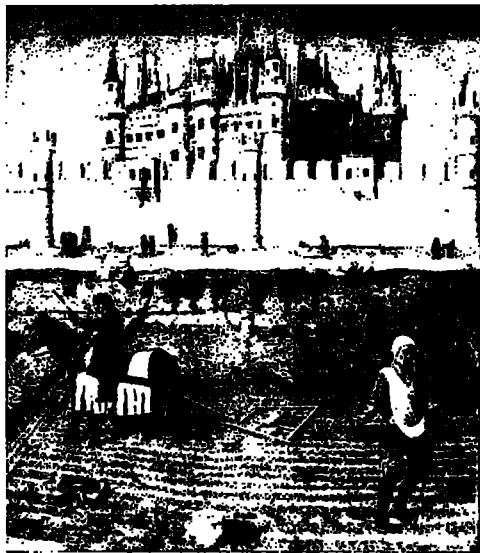
For a time the dauphin temporised with Marcel and expressed himself willing to submit to his leading. The Estates met again in February, 1357, and the 'Grande Ordonnance,' issued in March, committed the crown to a sweeping scheme of reform in the general interest of the commons. In May, however, the king, a prisoner in London, sent messengers to repudiate the measure. The attempt to carry it into practice broke down, and for a time the dauphin was able to assert himself. He left Paris for Rouen, where he obtained the promise of an aid from the clergy and

nobles of Normandy. But the collection of the tax imposed was a different matter ; disappointed of funds, his only course was to trust in the offer of the citizens of Paris to supply his needs and withdraw their requirements. His return was merely the signal for the renewal of importunities. He was obliged to summon the Estates in November, when he was met by a demand for the deliverance of the king of Navarre. But, before this was granted, Charles the Bad had escaped from his prison at Arleux, and was at Amiens, where he received an invitation from the Parisians to come to the capital. Armed with a safe conduct from the dauphin, he reached Paris on November 29, and was escorted into the city by Marcel and an armed guard.

The dauphin was now surrounded by his enemies ; for not only had the Parisians willingly welcomed this dangerous competitor and listened with patient admiration to the long harangue in which the king of Navarre, an eloquent amateur preacher, explained his position and his zeal for reform to them, but troops of Navarrese and English soldiers were block-

ing the roads to the west and south of the city. In Paris the partisans of Charles the Bad were supreme, and in January, 1358, their master felt himself secure enough to leave Paris for Rouen and do honour to the remains of those who had perished as his suspected accomplices at the time of his arrest.

The dauphin took advantage of his departure and his example to appeal publicly to the populace in a speech which summed up his own helplessness and their danger. Public opinion was divided ; Marcel and his party, who policed the city in parti-coloured cloaks of red and blue, felt that their own cause was in need of justification and took measures accordingly. The breach between the municipal party and the dauphin widened, and the situation came to a head when, after the murder of the dauphin's treasurer by a creditor in the open street, the murderer was dragged from sanctuary by the marshal of Normandy and executed. A few weeks later, on February 22, Marcel, at the head of the craft guilds of Paris and a large armed force, made his way into



LANDMARKS OF PARIS IN THE DAYS OF ETIENNE MARCEL

The Louvre and what is now the Palais de Justice were features of the Paris of Etienne Marcel, but not in their present form. In the palace of the early Capetian kings (left), as painted in a miniature of the 'Très Riches Heures' of the duc de Berry, one can recognize a few of the cone-capped towers that still survive in the modern Palais de Justice, while the Sainte Chapelle (see page 2878) is prominent ; but the Louvre of Philip Augustus (right) has been entirely rebuilt.

Photos, Giraudon



MARCEL'S MURDER OF THE MARSHALS

At the beginning of 1358 it seemed as though the power of Etienne Marcel were waning, when on February 22 he broke into the dauphin's palace and his followers murdered Robert de Clermont and Jean de Conflans before the dauphin's eyes. The incident is thus shown in a Froissart manuscript.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 2813

the palace, where his followers murdered the marshals of Normandy and Champagne in the presence of the prince.

This act of violence placed the dauphin in the power of Marcel for the time being. Marcel, however, needed further support. The States-General had already shown signs, while re-affirming the provisions of the Grande Ordonnance, of a desire to conciliate the dauphin by special grants; and the Parisians were alarmed at the blockade of their city by the forces of Navarre. At the urgent request of Marcel, Charles the Bad returned to Paris four days after the murder of the marshals. Hitherto the dauphin had been acting merely as his father's lieutenant. Marcel and Charles now compelled him to take the title of regent, and so to assume the king's responsibilities.

His patience, however, was at an end, and, in spite of attempts to prevent his departure, he left Paris to preside over an assembly of the nobles of Picardy, Artois and Lower Normandy at Senlis. Here on March 27 he obtained a subsidy. The tide turned in his favour. At Provins and Vertus the Estates of Champagne voted an aid and showed their indignation at the lawless proceedings in Paris. While the Navarrese still occupied the south and west of Paris, the dauphin threatened it on the north and east, with his head-

quarters in the fortified market-place of Meaux, upon an island in the Marne, and turned a deaf ear to Marcel's appeal to him to come back to Paris.

At this juncture Marcel had gone too far upon the path of rebellion to retreat. He placed Paris in a state of siege, repaired the fortifications, levied contributions of men and arms, seized the royal artillery and closed the passage of the Seine by barriers of chains. He himself took possession of the Louvre, the royal castle on the west side of the city; his partisans put to death persons suspected of sympathy with the dauphin. The popular movement for political reform was thus

turned into an armed revolt with self-preservation as its sole object.

Meanwhile, a new element had entered into the situation. On May 28, at Saint-Leu-d'Esserent, some thirty-two miles north of Paris, a mixed multitude of peasants and members of the poorer class, exasperated by hunger and oppression, attacked the garrison which occupied the priory, and killed four knights and five esquires. This was the beginning of the short and sharp insurrection known as the Jacquerie from the part taken in it by the Jacques or villeins, who were probably so called because of the 'jacque' or coat which was their ordinary wear.

Rising of
the Jacques

The Jacquerie was a despairing effort which brought no relief to those concerned in it. It was confined to the northern provinces, with its chief storm-centre in the Beauvaisis, where it was organized under a leader, Guillaume Karle. Sporadic risings took place over the whole district: châteaux were plundered and destroyed, and acts of violence were committed of which Froissart and other chroniclers have given fearful details. The number of cases of bloodshed, however, after the first massacre at Saint-Leu, seems to have been small, and the fury of the Jacques was expended mainly upon the dwellings and goods of the nobles, against whom it was

directed. They were joined by many who shared their want and suffering, even by small proprietors; and in this respect the *Jacquerie* has a feature in common with the later Peasants' Revolt in England, as well as in the profession of loyalty which Guillaume Karle and his followers made to the royal power, the only source from which the ultimate redress of their grievances could be expected.

But the chief importance of the insurrection lies in its effect upon the situation in Paris. Etienne Marcel, ready at the crisis of his fortunes to catch at any straw, took advantage of it to send lieutenants to destroy the property of nobles in the neighbourhood of the capital, and, approached by Guillaume Karle for aid,

furnished him with a small body of troops. Jacques and Parisians in company sacked the château of Ermenonville, which belonged to one of the most unpopular of the dauphin's ministers; but here their ways parted.

Under the leadership of Pierre Gilles and Jean Vaillant, the Parisians marched upon the regent's fortress at Meaux. The citizens of Meaux were on their side, and joined with them in attacking the island market with good hope of success. The chance arrival of Gaston de Foix and the Captal de Buch, with a small body of knights, on their way homeward from crusading with the Teutonic Order in Prussia, saved the regent and his court. The assailants were driven back across



DEFEAT OF THE PARISIAN'S BENEATH THE ISLAND FORTRESS OF MEAUX

A further incident in the drama of Etienne Marcel is illustrated in a manuscript of Froissart. Madened by the desperate condition to which the 'free companies,' especially, had reduced the countryside, the peasantry rose in the revolt known as the *Jacquerie*. Etienne tried to turn the situation to his advantage and sent a party to co-operate in harrying baronial estates near Paris. It was on the point of capturing Meaux when Gaston de Foix and the Captal de Buch arrived and dispersed it.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; MS. 2645; from Johnes, 'Froissart's Chronicles'



TREACHERY AND DEATH OF ETIENNE MARCEL

According to Froissart's account, Etienne Marcel was discovered by a party under a certain Jean Maillard shortly after midnight at the Porte St. Antoine, holding the keys. Accused of wishing to betray Paris to the English and the king of Navarre, he tried to flee; a fight ensued, and he was killed.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 2643; from De Witt, 'Froissart'

the Marne with slaughter, and Meaux and its neighbourhood were pillaged.

The Jacques in the meantime had concentrated themselves at Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, and here, on June 10, barely a fortnight after the affair of Saint-Leu, they were crushed by Charles the Bad. The king of Navarre, though waiting in the neighbourhood of Paris, had taken no part in its defence, and saw no advantage in lending assistance to the insurgents against his own order. After inviting Karle to an interview, he detained him under arrest. Without their leader, the undisciplined mob were incapable of resistance. Charles entered Clermont, Karle was beheaded, and within the next fortnight twenty thousand insurgents were executed over the whole area of the rising.

The attempt of Marcel to use the Jacquerie for his own ends was thus frustrated by the king of Navarre. The regent was preparing to take vengeance

upon Paris, and Marcel's only hope lay in his dangerous ally, whose troops were closing in upon the city with equal menace. In his extremity he appealed for aid to Flanders, with bitter complaints against the nobles, but in vain. For the time being, Charles the Bad was master of Paris. He was appointed captain-general of the city, and his bands of Navarrese and English were admitted within the walls, while the forces of the regent laid siege to it.

The populace, however, was disaffected towards its nominal defenders, and resented the introduction of English soldiers, demanding their expulsion and coming to open war with them. By this time Marcel had lost the confidence of the people. He was no longer the popular tribune, but an object of suspicion as the ally of a power which was hostile to the freedom of the citizens, and was merely waiting for an opportunity of seizing the crown and bringing it into vassalage

to the English king. A reaction in favour of the regent took place.

Charles meanwhile had exercised his office of captain-general in an ineffectual demonstration north of Paris, and had returned to the neighbourhood of the city at St. Denis, where he waited until he could enter safely with the help of the party which remained true to Marcel. On July 31 an attempt of Marcel to deliver the keys of the Porte St. Antoine to a member of the king of Navarre's household was the excuse for a riot in which Marcel, driven to bay, lost his life. Three days later the regent entered Paris, to find Marcel's party crushed and its leaders who had supported his intrigues with Navarre executed. With the amnesty which followed, the movement which had begun in the interests of reform, and had ended in open rebellion, came to an end.

The insurrections which occurred at Paris, Rouen and other places in 1380,

after the accession of Charles VI, and disturbed the whole kingdom, were the consequence of heavy taxation, and were finally suppressed in 1382, when the French chivalry had made an example of the Flemings at Roosebeke. They found no leader of the type of Marcel, who stands out conspicuously as the champion of popular freedom in fourteenth-century France. The end of his career was disastrous, and its circumstances have clouded the general estimate of his character and aims. There can be little doubt that he began honestly, using the weight of his office at a critical moment in the national history to enforce necessary measures of reform, and that to the end he hoped that he could command the situation so as to uphold the principles embodied in the Grande Ordonnance; but the need of making political combinations to secure his ends led him in the first place to set himself in opposition to the power which, in spite of weakness and corruption, was strong in its hold upon the affections of the people, and in the second place to

identify himself with allies whose objects had nothing in common with his own, and whom he was unable to control.

In England the course of events was more peaceful, and in the constitutional struggles of the reigns of Edward II and Richard II the strife between feudal and civic interests was much less apparent than in Flanders and France. The nobles who were foremost in their opposition to the absolute power of the crown could count upon popular support; and the ultimate result of their action was the increased importance of the commons in public business. The liberties for which they strove, with whatever motives, were identified with the general advantage of all classes. In the towns the municipal government fell largely into the hands of the craft guilds. As abroad, the greater



AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN THE ENGLAND OF WAT TYLER'S DAY

Whether intentionally or not, the artist of the Luttrell Psalter seems to have given to the features and attitudes of his figures representing agriculture (stooking sheaves, flailing and grinding in a windmill) something of the despondency responsible for the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in England. For, as in Switzerland, it was the rural population that was affected; though the movement was for the remedying of vaguely understood economic ills rather than for the removal of feudal control.

After 'Valusia Monumenta'

guilds tended to monopolise office, and civil strife was occasionally the result.

In London the experiment of government through the guilds was temporary. It began in 1376, when the proceedings of the Good Parliament had shed some light upon the corrupt practices of civic leaders.

Its harmony, however, was broken by the opposition of interests between the guilds which were hostile to freedom of imports and those which, engaged in export trade, welcomed free communication with traders of other countries. The strong protectionist feeling of the victuallers, headed by the Fishmongers, was met by the active enmity of the Drapers, the chief representatives of free trade.

The victuallers, led by men of wealth and influence who were not without patriotic zeal, were able to keep the opposite party out of office in 1377; but in 1381 John of Northampton, the leader of the Drapers, came into power as the ringleader of a party of liberty and progress, and for two years endeavoured to curb the Fishmongers by a repressive policy. Northampton's ascendancy was lost when his foes returned to power, and a fruitless attempt to raise the city against them ended in his imprisonment and the reversal of measures which he had tried to enforce with much severity.

The action of the Londoners, rent by these political feuds, was of much importance in deciding the crises of the reign of Richard II. Loyal to the crown as a whole, they were bitterly opposed to any encroachment upon popular liberty. The courtiers who, during the later years of Edward III, had been responsible for much extravagance and were regarded as the authors of national failure in the French war, were specially obnoxious to them; and John of Gaunt, who rightly or wrongly was reckoned to be the evil genius of the government at this date, was the chief object of the fury of the Londoners during the riots which followed the abortive trial of Wycliffe in S. Paul's in 1377.

It is difficult to disentangle the cross-currents of popular feeling at this period, and Chaucer's condemnation of the 'stormy people, un-sad and ever untrue' was at no time more applicable to a mob

which was swayed by no fixed conviction. With the hatred of John of Gaunt was mingled, among the lower orders, a mere desire for lawless tumult; yet the true opposition to him came from the strongly conservative party in the city, which mistrusted his efforts to court the support of unsound political and religious opinion. The contradictory forces by which the minds of the Londoners were moved came into special prominence in connexion with the popular outbreak in 1381 which is known as the Peasants' Revolt.

The Peasants' Revolt has certain points in common with the Jacquerie, and shared with it the characteristic that it was by no means confined to the peasants or villeins. While the movement came from those classes of society whose place in the social organization was insecure, and while its most audible demand was the removal of the civil disabilities of the unfree, it arose from a variety of causes which pressed as hardly upon the freeman as the villein, and the most formidable element in the rising belonged to a county in which villein tenure was conspicuous by its absence. The Peasants' Revolt failed by its very violence and by the absence of efficient leadership; but it was not, like the Jacquerie, an insurrection of helpless victims of invasion and freebooting, at their wits' end for the means of livelihood. Its immediate occasion was the poll-tax which had been levied, as a last resort, to meet the expenses of a mismanaged war; but other causes contributed.

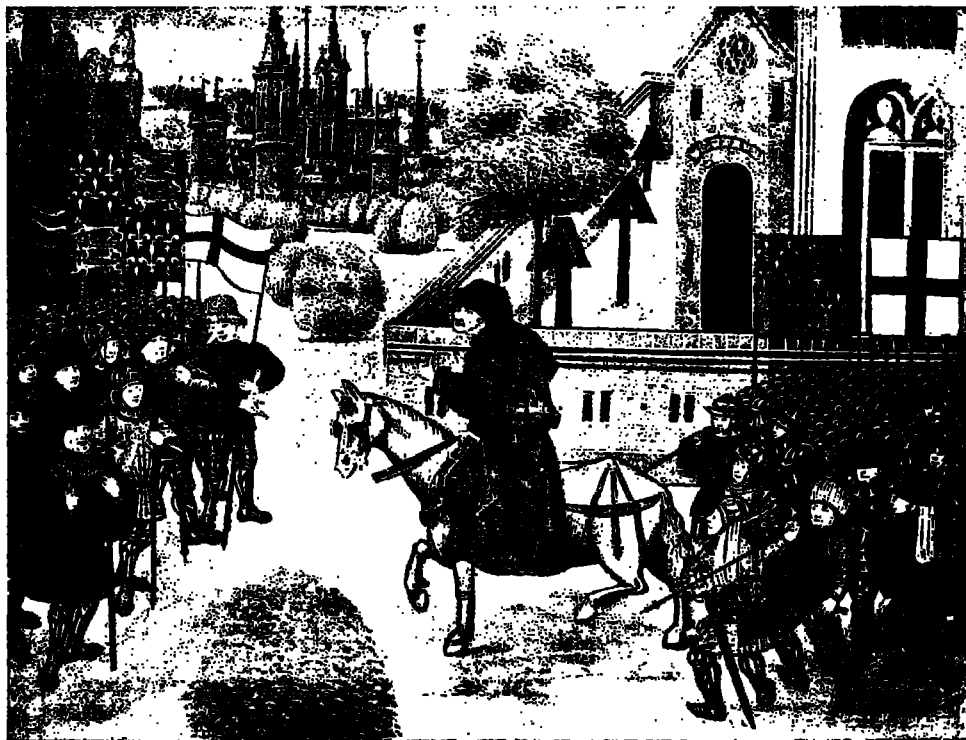
Social unrest was general. The villein who was still bound to the soil as the chattel of his lord wished to complete the process which had long been in progress, by which the obligatory payment of customary services was commuted for rent. The statutes of labourers by which parliament, after the great pestilence of 1348, had attempted to check the rise in wages and to confine the workman to his old service at the old rate (see page 3109) were resented. The desultory prosecution of the war, varied by half-hearted attempts at concluding a truce, and the extravagance of the king and nobility, were natural causes of dissatisfaction.

Moreover, political opinions were stirring which threatened the subversion of the existing order, with vague promises of welfare and of a universal communism, attractive to the ignorant and unruly. High theories such as those which Wycliffe, who without reason has been accused of stimulating the revolt, had formulated in his treatises upon divine and civil dominion, had their popular counterpart in the preaching of vagrant agitators like John Ball, who promised a millennium in which all men should be equal. Such causes, acting with varying strength upon minds of varying types, produced the sudden rising which began in Essex in the summer of 1381 and broke out simultaneously in several parts of England.

The story of the revolt is by no means so dramatic as that of the political tangle

of which the Jacquerie formed an incident. Its history resolves itself into a series of efforts without organic unity. The districts chiefly affected were East Anglia, Essex, Kent and the east Midlands; risings in outlying places, as at Scarborough and Beverley, and at Bridgwater and other places in Somerset, though symptomatic of the general unrest, were largely due to purely local causes, and the full force of the movement was concentrated in the east. So far as there was any correspondence between the insurgents, they looked to the result of the march of the men of Essex and Kent on London.

The ostensible object of this proceeding was to obtain redress of grievances from the king himself and to remove at all costs the influences which placed a barrier between himself and his humblest subjects.



JOHN BALL'S SERMON TO WAT TYLER AND THE REBELS

John Ball was a priest with social ideas that in a later age might have led him to political honours instead of the scaffold. At the outbreak in Kent of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, which his teaching had largely brought about, he was in prison at Maidstone, whither he had been committed by the archbishop of Canterbury; released by Wat Tyler and the rebels, he accompanied them to London, and is shown in this Froissart illumination haranguing them at Blackheath.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 4379



WHERE RICHARD HID WHILE THE INSURGENTS CROSSED LONDON BRIDGE

Charles, duke of Orléans, captured at Agincourt, spent some thirty years unransomed in England and composed much of his verse in the Tower. The French scribe who in about 1480 did this illumination for a manuscript of it, showing him at work, must have been familiar with London, for it is an easily recognized rendering of the White Tower and Traitor's Gate; and may be accepted as a good picture of the old London Bridge over which Wat Tyler had marched just a century earlier.

British Museum, Royal MS. 16 F.ii

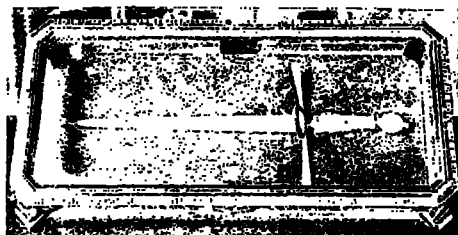
On June 12 the Kentishmen, led by Walter, the tiler of Maidstone, and spurred on by the preaching of John Ball, occupied the south side of the Thames and pitched their camp on Blackheath; while the contingent from Essex took up its

position at Mile End. Opinion in London itself was divided; hatred of John of Gaunt and his associates caused a wide sympathy with the rebels, and it is notable that the municipal worthies who, on the following day, treacherously opened

London Bridge to them, belonged to the party in the city which was in ordinary civic affairs singularly tenacious of its own privileges, and opposed to popular liberties.

With the approach of the insurgents the young king took refuge in the Tower. His action, though an obvious measure of precaution, went far to compromise the officials who were the principal objects of their vengeance, the chancellor, Archbishop Sudbury, and the treasurer, Sir Robert Hales, prior of the Knights Hospitallers. On June 13 Wat Tyler and his followers entered London; the Savoy, John of Gaunt's palace, was destroyed, together with Temple Bar, where the title-deeds of the Hospitallers were kept. Mob law reigned in the city, and the refugees who had accompanied Richard to the Tower were paralysed by the incursion.

The next morning Richard, turning his back upon imminent danger within the city, rode out to Mile End and granted all that the assembly there demanded, promising wholesale manumission to serfs, limiting the rents of landlords to a fixed amount, and engaging himself to a complete amnesty. Meanwhile the Tower, left practically unguarded, was entered by the crowd; and Sudbury and Hales were dragged out to execution.



HOW WAT TYLER MET HIS END AND THE DAGGER THAT SLEW HIM

Having disposed of the Essex insurgents at Mile End by a show of promises, Richard II rode out to meet the Kentishmen at Smithfield. Wat Tyler's attitude, however, was so threatening that William Walworth, the Mayor of London, struck him down with a dagger, and John Sandwich, a squire of the king, despatched him as he lay on the ground. The scene appears in a Froissart manuscript; and the dagger that saved the king (top) is preserved by the Company of Fishmongers.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 2644; from Johnes, 'Froissart's Chronicles'

Other murders followed; but while the Kentishmen were spreading anarchy through London the forces of the revolt at Mile End, satisfied by the king's complete submission, were melting away homewards.

The movement reached its height on June 14, when Wat Tyler carried all before him. But on the following day the whole position was altered. The king, whose promises had removed danger from one side of the city, determined to meet the rebels in Smithfield. The interview might well have ended in his capture, as no show of confidence in his people would have prevented them from taking him prisoner and using his presence among them as their authority for further violence; but the presumption of Wat Tyler was met by the spirited conduct of William Walworth, the mayor of London, who, seeing him ready to seize hold of the king, slew him on the spot. The mob, left without a leader and threatened with reprisals by the loyalists, who the day before had been panic-stricken, broke up in face of the forces of law and order.

Though London remained in a state of defence, the short and bloody rebellion was at an end, so far as the capital was concerned. In the rural

Collapse of the Rebellion centres it was some time before it was entirely quelled.

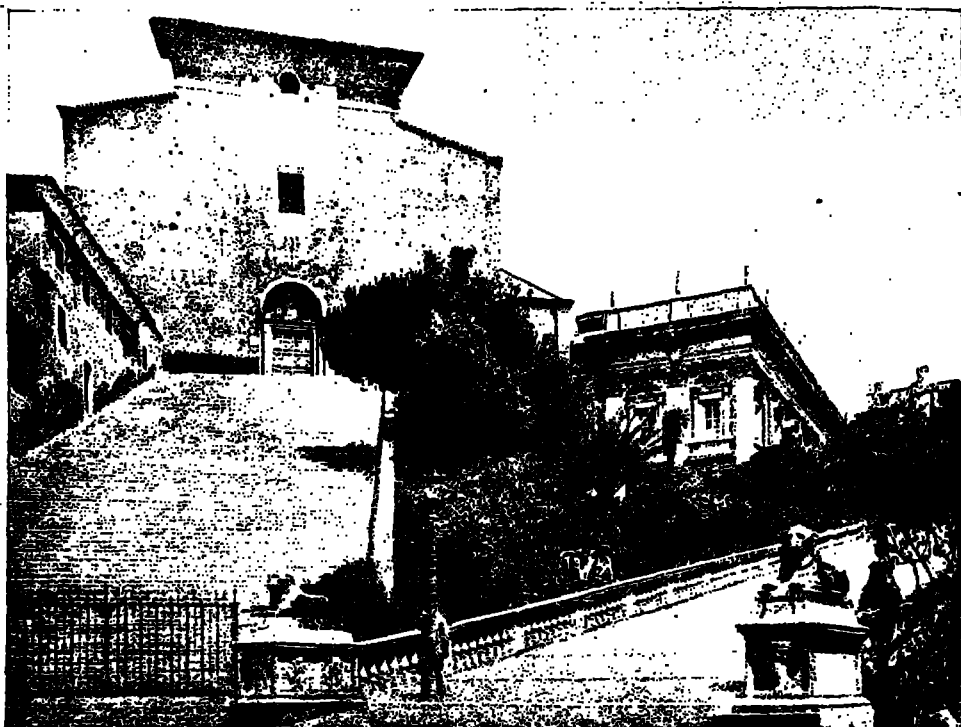
At St. Albans and Bury St. Edmunds, where the tenants of two powerful monasteries had risen en masse, it lingered on until the coming of the king's justices, aided by the principal people of the neighbourhood, put the leaders within the power of the law. In Norfolk the insurgents, under the command of Geoffrey Lytster, made their despairing stand at North Walsham, where their improvised defences were attacked and broken down by Henry Spenser the bishop of Norwich.

This was the final act in the revolt. The vengeance which followed it, although involving executions, was less terrible than the wholesale massacres which succeeded the Jacquerie; but the reaction triumphed completely. The king, indignant at the risks to which he had been exposed, recalled his promises and cancelled the charters of manumission which he had felt himself compelled to grant.

From the pardons which were issued, on the petition of the commons, at the next parliament, a number of persons at the chief centres of disaffection were excepted.

During the years which followed, in spite of the opposition to Richard's absolutism and the events which led to his ultimate fall, the aid of popular insurrection was carefully avoided by both parties in the state, and the legislation of the short period during which the king was controlled by the duke of Gloucester and his adherents in 1388 and 1389 was almost entirely directed to the re-enactment of the statutes of labourers and to similar reactionary measures. The inquiry into the titles and constitution of guilds which was instituted at this time, and has left valuable records behind it, was prompted, not merely by the existence of unauthorised associations which sought to obtain revenues for religious purposes by evading the regulations of the statute of mortmain, but by the fear that such associations, among the more humble class, might be a cloak for seditious conspiracies.

In general, the movements which have been described, with the exception of the struggle for Swiss independence, which owed its perseverance and success to special geographical circumstances, ended in failure. Shaken though it was, the old social organization was unbroken, and asserted its solidarity against violent attempts to disturb it. At the same time, that organization was undergoing change. The externals of feudalism remained, but its substance was a mere shadow of its ancient reality. Its forms were invaded by the wealthy class which had risen to power by its control of money; and with the growth of that class in importance came the force of individual energy, breaking up the close corporate life of the earlier age which merged the individual in the system. The discontent of the smaller freemen and the peasants, if it effected nothing but momentary apprehension, was a sign of the times and a forecast of a day, as yet long distant, when every class of the population should have the power of individual self-assertion and a voice in the government which already was no longer the prerogative of the nobility.



TANGIBLE MEMORIAL OF THE BLACK DEATH IN THE HEART OF ROME

Scientific remedies being unknown, the favourite medieval method of combating plague was to organize intercessory processions that paraded the streets bearing banners such as that in page 3104. When the Black Death reached Rome in 1348 Giovanni de Colonna despoiled an ancient temple to build this flight of marble steps leading to the church of Ara Coeli on the Capitoline Hill; up it the citizens were to climb in the garb of penitents to intercede for protection with the Virgin Mary.

Photo, Anderson

This story of the swine is not true, and does not accord with what we know of the course and character of plague infection. But the very rumour of it was no less deadly than the plague itself, for Boccaccio tells us that

this accident, and other the like, begat divers feares and imaginations in them that beheld them, all tending to a most inhumane and uncharitable end; namely, to flee from the sicke, not touching any thing of theirs. By which means they thought their health should be safely warranted.

Boccaccio then draws a picture of the circumstances of the symposium which constitute his book the Decameron. These circumstances, fanciful in themselves, were yet in substance often repeated elsewhere by the wealthier classes:

Some there were who considered with themselves, that living soberly, with abstinence from all superfluity, it would be sufficient resistance against all hurtfull acci-

dents. So, combining themselves in a sociable manner, they lived as separatists from all other company, being shut up in such houses, where no sicke body should be neere them. And there, for their more security, they used delicate viands and excellent wines, avoiding luxurie and refusing speech to one another, not looking forth at the windowes, to heare no cries of dying people, or see any coarses carried to buriall; but, having musicall instruments, lived there in all possible pleasure.

Another course commended itself to others who

avouched, that there was no other physicke more certaine for a disease so desperate than to drinke hard, be merry among themselves, singing continually, walking everywhere, and satisfying their appetites with whatever they desired, laughing and mocking at every mournful accident. Now they would go to one Taverne, then to another, living without any rule or measure; which they might very easily doe, because every one of them (as if he were to live no longer in this World) had even forsaken al-

things that hee had. By meanes whereof, the most part of the houses were become common, and all strangers might do the like (if they pleased to adventure it) even as boldly as the Lord or owner, without any let or contradiction.

Yet in all this their beastly behaviour, they were wise enough to shun (so much as they might) the weake and sickly. In misery and affliction of our City, the venerable authority of the Lawes, as well divine as humane, was even destroyed, as it were through want of lawfull Ministers of them. For they being all dead, or lying sicke with the rest, or else lived so solitary, in such great necessity of servants and attendants, as they could not execute any office, whereby it was lawfull for every one to do as he listed.

Between these two rehearsed extremities of life, there were other of a more moderate temper, not being so daintily dieted as the first, nor drinking so dissolutely as the second; but used all things sufficient for their appetites, and without shutting up themselves walked abroad, some carrying sweete nose-gayes of flowers in their hands; others odoriferous herbes, and others divers kinds of spicerics, holding them to their noses, and thinking them most comfortable, because the ayre seemed to be much infected by the noysome smell of dead carcases. Some other there were also of more inhumane mind saying that there was no better physicke against the pestilence as to flie away from it, and very many, both men and women, forsooke the City, their owne houses, their Parents, Kindred, Friends, and Goods, flying to other men's dwellings elsewhere. As if the wrath of God, in punishing the sinnes of men with the plague, would fall heavily upon none, but such as were enclosed within the City wals.

Great store there were, that died in the streetes by day or night, and many more died in their houses; yet first they made it knowne to their neighbours, that their lives perished, rather by the noysome smell of dead and putrefied bodies, than by any violence of the disease. So that of these and the rest, dying in this manner every where, the neighbours observed one course of behaviour, that themselves when they could, or being assisted by some bearers of coarses when they were able to procure them, would hale the bodies out of their houses, laying them before their doores,

where such as passed by might see them lying.

Hallowed ground could not now suffice, for the great multitude of dead bodies which were daily brought to every Church in the City, and every houre in the day; neither could the bodies have proper place of buriall according to our ancient custome; wherefore, after that the Churches and Churchyards were filled, they were constrained to make use of great deepe ditches, wherein they were buried by hundreds at once, ranking dead bodies along in graves, as Merchandizes are laide along in ships, covering each after other with a small quantity of earth, and so they filled at last up the whole ditch to the brim.



AFTER THE BLACK DEATH

This miniature showing a farmer and his wife working their own small holding, done in the fourteenth century after the Black Death, probably reflects its economic results in England.

British Museum; Royal MS. I. E.10

Now I tell you that extremities, running on in such manner as you have heard, little lesse spare was made in the Villages round about; wherein (setting aside enclosed Castles which were now filled like to small Cities) poore Labourers and Husbandmen, with their whole Families, dyed most miserably in out-houses, yea in the open fields also; without any assistance of physicke, or helpe of servants; and likewise in the highwayes, or their ploughed landes, by day or night indifferently, yet not as men, but like brute beasts.

By means whereof, they became lazie and slothfull in their dayly endeavours, even like to our Citizens; not minding or meddling with their wonted affaires, but as a waiting for death every houre, employed all their paines, not in caring any way for themselves, their cattle, or gathering the fruits of the earth, or any of their accustomed labours; but rather wasted and consumed even such as were for their instant sustenance. Whereupon it fell so out, that their Oxen, Asses, Sheepe and Goates, their Swine, Pullen, yea their verie Dogges, the truest and faithfulllest servants to men, being beaten and banished from their houses, went wildly wandering abroad the fields, where the corne grew still in the ground without gathering. Many of the aforesaid beasts (as endued with reason) after they had pastured themselves in the day time would returne full fed at night home to their houses, without any Government of Heardsmen or any other.

. Such were the scenes in Florence and in the Tuscan country round. They

were paralleled in every other country in Europe, and with agriculture paralysed, so that the harvests were rotting in the fields, scarcity and famine inevitably followed, and the shortage of labour caused by the destruction of so large a proportion of the population had economic results of far-reaching importance. Of England this is particularly true. Formerly the manor was cultivated almost entirely by unfree labour; but gradually a custom grew up by which the servile tenants commuted such payments in service for their holdings by payments in money, and by the time of the Black Death this commutation of service had become very general, the villeins thus enfranchised being known as 'copyholders,' while a class of agricultural labourers who could be hired had also come into being (see also Chap. 135).

As a result of the scarcity following the Black Death prices rose sharply, with the next immediate result that the wages formerly paid no longer

Economic results of Black Death constituted a living wage. Those landlords, therefore, who had accepted commutation of service found themselves faced by the fact that the money paid by their tenants in lieu of service was no longer adequate to engage the outside service they required to cultivate their own land, since a rise in wages logically accompanied a rise in prices. As a first measure to deal with this situation successive 'statutes of labourers' were passed prohibiting both increase in prices and increase in wages.

Despite rigorous action to enforce the statutes these proved quite ineffectual, and in order to escape from an almost impossible situation the landlords began to let their lands to tenants, providing them with stock and seed, for which the tenants returned an equivalent at the end of their tenancy. In these 'stock and land leases' is to be found the beginning of the modern farmer, the landlord, tenant-farmer and labourer now occupying the position

formerly held only by the landlord and labourer.

For many succeeding years, no doubt, the misery, including food shortage arising from the great pestilence, far outbalanced any advantage of higher pay; but the shortage of labour following on the Black Death was a factor in the ultimate greatly improved conditions of life for the labouring class.

The years which followed the Black Death of 1348 saw a vast output of writings on the subject of the pest. This literature took the form mainly of short tractates, a few folios only in length, for the general conduct of life in time of plague and advice for the treatment of the stricken. Most of the tractates contain also a certain amount of theoretical material on the nature and origin of the outbreaks. The medical classics of Greek and Arabian origin were held to be inadequate, and the tractates represent current medical opinion.

A careful preventive regimen is usually enjoined in these tractates, moderation being enjoined not only in food and drink and sleep, but in the dangerous practice of 'baths, which will open the pores.' Careful rules are given for purifying the air. In cold or misty weather the windows should be shut and fires of juniper branches should be lit, so that the heat and smoke may pervade the room.



PLAGUE IN THE FARMER'S HOME

A woodcut by Hans Weiditz, which incidentally brings forcefully home the horrors of plague, also illustrates the current belief, endorsed by Boccaccio, that animals were subject to infection. Whether this was so cannot definitely be proved, but modern experience suggests that it is an exaggeration.

From Nohl, *The Black Death*



USE OF THE POMUM AMBRE

In the *Fasciculus Medicinae* (Venice, 1493) is a work by Maestro Piero Tassinano upon the plague, preceded by a woodcut showing a dying patient. Beside the bed stands the physician feeling his pulse at arm's length and smelling a 'pomum ambre' (pomander). On either side stand two torch-bearers.

From Singer, *'Fasciculus Medicinae'*, in *'Monumenta Medica'*

But disinfection of the air was not enough. The pores of the skin were regarded by most medieval writers as the main channel of entry of the pestilential poison. It was therefore necessary to take internal disinfectants to destroy any virulent vapours that had penetrated into the body and were now, perhaps, circulating in the 'humours.' For this purpose aromatic remedies were recommended to be taken internally, while in the hand was carried a 'pomum ambre'—that is, a mass of aromatic drugs made up with resin or amber, which as a 'pomander'

was in use until the nineteenth century.

The social results of the Black Death were widespread and terrible. Families were broken up, children were left defenceless, and, as in all such times of cataclysm, there was a loosing of all the traditions which moulded men's life and behaviour. Moreover, terrific waves of hysteria passed over Europe with manifestations sometimes tragic, sometimes comic and always unedifying.

The populace, overwhelmed with panic at the terrific mortality, in many cases seized on unhappy individuals or whole communities and declared that they were carrying medicaments in order to spread the plague. It is appalling to read of the immense number of poor victims who were thus seized and tortured until at last they confessed to guilt—confessions which they often recanted when the agony abated. But, confession or not, the terror of the populace was expressed in the most ghastly tortures followed by the murder of their unhappy victims. The Jews especially were the victims of these popular outbreaks of panic.

Many writers emphasise the importance of a cheerful spirit in combating the plague infection. In Germany public dances were held to distract the people's thoughts, and these were in part the origin of the extraordinary epidemics of 'dancing mania,' one of the most curious secondary results of the Black Death. The earliest of these arose in Germany in the fourteenth century, very soon after the Black Death. Men and women assembled together, wildly dancing, screaming and foaming at the mouth. Many were taken with insane aversions, as from the colour red, and in some cases, we are told, from the newly introduced shoes with pointed

toes. We may measure the consternation caused by these wandering bands when we hear that an ordinance was actually promulgated forbidding the manufacture of any but square-toed shoes lest the maniacs should be provoked.

In 1374 the terrible mental disorder spread to Belgium—German roving bands having wandered to Aix-la-Chapelle. It was called the disease of S. John or S. Vitus, and fortunately was mitigated by the invocation of these saints. The maniacs were regarded as possessed, and many cures were effected by priestly exorcism. Happily the disease gradually died out—its extinction has been attributed partly to the wars and tribulations of the seventeenth century in Germany. In Italy the dance mania arose rather later under the name of 'tarantella.' Here, however, the dance was regarded as the cure rather than as the disease. It was supposed that the victim was infected by the bite of the tarantula spider and was thereupon seized with a deep melancholy. His cure would only be effected through hours of violent dancing stimulated by a special tune. Bands of musicians wan-

dered through Italy in the summer ready with their wild music to relieve victims, and many of the pious devoted considerable sums to the support of these health-bringing musicians. As in the S. John's or S. Vitus's dance, the victims of the tarantella developed strange colour antipathies—in other cases also colour preferences, when they would wildly caress any cloth or kerchief of the desired colour. The cure of these mad dances was undertaken on a large scale by whole towns and villages; women especially used to go out as to a festivity to reward the musicians, and this season was called the 'women's little carnival.'

Although plague is the most dramatic of the diseases that have devastated Europe, there are others which have left as deep a mark upon its social structure. Among these is leprosy. This disease is known to have existed throughout the Middle Ages. It must not, however, be confused with the conditions mentioned in the Bible, the Hebrew word for which has been translated by the now familiar term. It is reasonably certain that no

The scourge
of Leprosy



SELF-SCOURGING FANATICS DOING PENANCE TO AVERT THE PLAGUE

Hysteria in various forms was one of the secondary phenomena of a plague outbreak. The flagellants were bands of penitents who marched barefooted and barebacked scourging themselves in the belief that their self-dedicatory fervour would appease the wrath of God. They appeared first in the Netherlands during the Black Death; and Aegidius Li Muisis thus depicts their arrival at Doornik from Bruges in 1349. The cross on their hats gained them the name of Brothers of the Cross.

Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS. 13076-77



HYSTERICAL VICTIMS OF THE DANCING MANIA

More definitely pathological than the flagellants were those who succumbed to the 'dancing mania,' which arose in Germany after the Black Death, possibly as a result of the public dances held to distract men's minds, and did not die out until the sixteenth century. Pieter Brueghel so depicts an outbreak.

From Hollander, 'Die Medizin in Klassischen Malerei'

Biblical passage refers to leprosy as we know it to-day.

During the early centuries of the Christian era leprosy, which until then had been confined to the East, crept along the Mediterranean littoral and thence through Europe. The disease was from the first regarded as contagious, and attempts were made to isolate and separate the unfortunate sufferers. The medieval treatment of lepers is one of the dark incidents of man's inhumanity to man. The leper was banished from human society and declared legally dead. A special religious ritual was prepared for his separation from the rest of mankind. He was excluded from the church, or at best allowed only to attend in special seats. Leper inspection, the regular examination of all suspects, became an elaborate business. It was

entrusted to a special branch of the civil service, and gradually freed from ecclesiastical control. Rigorous segregation in lazarettos was ultimately effective, and by the end of the fifteenth century leprosy had almost completely disappeared from Europe.

This mode of combating a disease which, as we now know, has a very low infectivity had certain important results. The meticulous system of warding off the contagion so occupied the attention of physicians that they came to see allied conditions in the same light. Thus became current the general conception of contagion as an element in the passage of disease—a conception almost absent in antiquity. Besides leprosy—and in addition to plague, which occupies a special position—a number of diseases came gradually to be recognized as infectious. City authorities enforced regulations controlling patients suffering from such diseases, and the Black Death thus introduced something in the nature of a public

health service (see further in Chap. 190). In the later Middle Ages there were, in fact, instances in which the plague was successfully combated by these means. At Milan and Venice, for example, between the years 1370 and 1374, when the plague was advancing through Europe, drastic regulations were put in force well in advance of the disease, which was thereby arrested, so far as these cities were concerned.

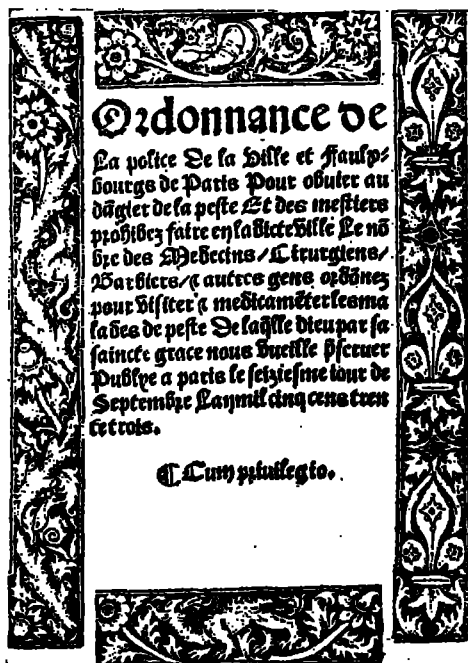
On a later occasion the republic of Ragusa, on the eastern side of the Adriatic, adopted and extended the regulations that had worked so well at Venice. A landing-stage was established far from the city, where incoming suspects were compelled to spend thirty days in open air and sunshine, utterly isolated. The period of thirty days was spoken of as the 'trentina.'

Later it was lengthened to forty days, the 'quarantina,' whence we have the word quarantine. The elaboration of quarantine measures is among the few medical advances with which we may credit the Middle Ages. That we can now dispense with quarantine must not blind us to its value in conditions other than our own.

In the year 1533 plague broke out in Paris. The Parlement or Chamber—that is, the executive of the city—issued a printed ordinance of police regulations, several copies of which have survived. An extract from this ordinance gives a good idea of the general attitude of the time towards the plague and also an insight into the nature of medieval hygiene:

... All tenants of houses in which there have been cases of plague shall place in the window a wooden cross, and a second cross on the front door, that everyone may abstain from entry. All who have suffered from this disease, and all members of households where there have been patients sick of plague, must carry in their hands a white rod.

The Chamber forbids anyone to carry to this town from a house where there has been a death from or risk of plague to other houses any bed-coverings or woollen, serge, linen or similar goods capable of harbouring the plague, whether such goods belong to them by succession or otherwise. Such goods



PLAGUE SANITATION IN PARIS

'Ordinance of the police of the town and districts of Paris to avert the danger of plague'—so begins this printed notice issued at the order of the Parlement of Paris during the outbreak of 1533, containing sanitary regulations.

From Singer, 'Early References to Tropical Diseases'



LEPER WARNING HIS FELLOW CREATURES TO AVOID CONTAGION

Leprosy cannot be dissociated from a consideration of plagues in medieval times, though it was not epidemic but a disease that slowly spread from its introduction into Europe during the Dark Ages and as slowly waned owing to the radical if barbarous methods of coping with it. The sufferer was cut off from all intercourse with his fellows and had to carry a clapper to give warning of his approach, as seen in this miniature from the Miroir Historial of Vincent de Beauvais.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS. 5080; photo, Giraudon



FORERUNNER OF PASTEUR

Girolamo Fracastoro of Verona, a physician who lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, foreshadowed the modern germ theory of disease by teaching that contagion consisted in the transmission of minute self-multiplying bodies.

From Capparani, 'Profili di medici celebri italiani'

must be left where the death or danger from plague has occurred—on pain of confiscation of liberty and goods.

Similarly, the Chamber forbids any person to visit any public bathing establishment until after next Christmas day, on pain of corporal punishment.

The Chamber forbids all surgeons and barbers to throw blood of patients suffering from any malady whatsoever into the River Seine in its course through Paris, but they are enjoined to send or carry it outside the town, on penalty of imprisonment and summary fine. All who have bled patients suffering from the plague are forbidden to practise their art on healthy persons until after the lapse of the period enacted by law, on pain of the halter.

Furthermore, when horses are bled, the use merely of lime or earth is forbidden; but the blood is to be caught in a vessel and carried to the sewers outside the town.

The Chamber commands all persons that they pave and repair broken roadway in front of their houses. They shall ensure the cleanliness of the roadway by throwing down water, morning and evening, each in front of his own door. And they shall see that the gutters have an unimpeded course past their houses, so that no filth may accumulate.

Further, the Chamber forbids all butchers, cooks and bakers, hucksters, dealers in game and poultry, taverners, labourers, traders,

and their like, to keep in this town any hogs, sows, fowls, geese or pigeons. If any persons possess such livestock, they shall convey it beyond the town, under penalty of imprisonment, severe punishment and confiscation of the stock.

All proprietors of houses with middens or cesspools shall with all speed wall them up, on pain of the rent of such houses being seized and applied to the walling up of the said cesspools or middens. And it is forbidden in future to any cleaner of cesspools to empty or clean them out without express permission of the magistrate.

The two churchwardens of each parish shall depute persons in every parish to remove plague-stricken corpses from the houses, to bury them, to remove their furniture to the appointed place, to cleanse the houses, to set open the windows and apertures of these houses, to shut the doors and to attach crosses to them.

All tanners of hides are forbidden to carry on their trades in the city. They are to keep at a distance of over two bowshots, on pain of banishment from the realm and confiscation of property. Tanners are forbidden to sell their merchandise within the town, even though the hides are free from bad odour.

All undertakers are forbidden to spread in the churches or houses cloths used in mortuaries, on pain of loss of rights and confiscation of goods.

Lastly, the Chamber enjoins on all sojourners and inhabitants that if there be found any suspicion of plague they shall reveal it immediately to the local heads of police without respect of persons or exception for husband, wife, child, servant, master or mistress; so that the commissary may be informed and that he may at once take steps as enjoined by the Chamber.

During the course of the sixteenth century certain important additions were made to the theory of contagion. The Veronese physician Girolamo Fracastoro (1483-1553) regarded infection as due to the passage of minute bodies from the infector to the infected. These hypothetical minute bodies had the power of self-multiplication. Fracastoro's theory thus bore a superficial resemblance to the modern germ theory of disease. The French physician Guillaume de Baillou (1538-1616) reintroduced the old Hippocratic idea of 'epidemic constitution,' by which is meant that particular seasons and particular years are of their nature subject to particular diseases. This idea was extended and developed by the English physician Thomas Sydenham

Fracastoro's germ theory of plague

(1624-89), and it still has its value. Sydenham, perhaps the greatest independent medical thinker of his time, devoted himself to the study of the natural history of disease, and may be regarded as the founder of modern clinical medicine and of scientific control over outbreaks of epidemic disease.

In connexion with their epidemiological work these three men, Fracastoro, De Baillou and Sydenham, made significant additions to the knowledge of particular infectious conditions. Thus, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there arose an exact body of teaching concerning acute infectious diseases which was the necessary prelude to the introduction of effective preventive measures at a later date. To one infectious disease we may refer more particularly.

During the Middle Ages there had smouldered in various districts an obscure disease known under various names, and perhaps most frequently distinguished as 'lepra.' Towards the end of the fifteenth century this disease broke out in epidemic and virulent form all over Europe, causing great destruction of life and developing everywhere as a problem of national importance. It received

various titles, such as 'the pox,' 'the French disease,' 'the Spanish disorder.' A series of misunderstandings fastened its origin on the American Indians, and for long it was claimed that the sailors of Columbus brought it to Europe. Only tardily did it come to be recognized that the disease was usually of venereal origin. Not till 1530, on the suggestion of Fracastoro, did it receive its modern name 'syphilis.' From the time of its first recognition as a separate disease, syphilis has been the subject of an enormous mass of literature, the mere sifting and verification of which is a formidable task. Alarm, misunderstanding, religious feeling, false modesty, wilful misrepresentation and change in type of the disease itself have all contributed their quota of obscurantism and fable to a naturally difficult subject. Fracastoro did something to bring order out of the confusion. To him also we owe the first good scientific descriptions of

several other destructive epidemic diseases, among which typhus or gaol fever, now known to be conveyed by lice, takes a prominent place.

Some idea of the change wrought even by the first breath of science in the course of the seventeenth century on men's ideas about epidemics may be gained by contrasting the attitude of the citizens of Milan to an outbreak of the plague in 1630, and that of the Londoners in 1665.

When the plague broke out at Milan in 1630 the medieval view was still in force. The following account is

abridged from *A Tragedy Panaticism in of the Great Plague of Milan, stricken Milan* by Robert Fletcher. Early

in the morning of June 21 a woman of the lower classes saw from the balcony of her house a man going down the street writing on a piece of paper. He stopped to wipe his fingers on the wall, to get rid of some ink-stains, but the woman's fears at once conjured up the image of a deadly ointment smeared on the walls to spread the plague. On her information he was arrested. He turned out to be a petty official employed to report cases of the plague. Charged with spreading the disease by malignantly smearing his terrible ointment on the wall, the poor fellow stoutly denied the offence under two applications of torture, but later, in his cell, broken with suffering, and fearing a renewal of torture, he yielded to the suggestions of those around him and confessed guilt. He declared that he had obtained the ointment—the very possession of which was purely imaginary—from a certain barber.

This wretched barber was then arrested, and not only asserted his innocence, but vowed that he had never seen the previous accused. Under torture he, too, gave way, and vied with his unhappy accuser in concocting falsehoods incriminating many others, among them high officials. Like most barbers of the day, he dabbled in medicine. Medical vessels were found in his shop. These, he asserted, contained preservatives against the plague. It then appeared that the first man had, in fact, occasionally visited the barber's shop, and, further, that the barber had undertaken to prepare a bottle of his preservative for him. On this innocent transaction

was built up a charge of wholesale murder. The one was induced by torture to admit that the other had supplied him with foam from the mouths of plague victims to mix with his ointment. Both these men perished in circumstances too horrible to relate, and their alleged confessions gave rise to a fury of insane suspicions.

In London in 1665, despite much agitation and religious fanaticism, the outbreak was met in a different spirit. The best picture of the times is given by Defoe in his *Journal of the Plague Year*. He was, it is true, too young to write from first-hand knowledge, for he was only a few years old in 1665 and his book was not written until 1702. Nevertheless, those who read this very interesting and balanced work, written after much study and faithfully reflecting the spirit of the time, will perceive in it a mental attitude very different from that of Milan only

thirty-five years earlier. Natural causes are assigned for the disease, and among them we observe with interest the suggestion that it is due to the multiplication of minute organisms, an hypothesis not verified for two hundred years.

During the eighteenth century the scientific spirit which had thus asserted itself became applied to the systematic exclusion of infection not merely from individual towns, but on a much larger scale. The ports were guarded against the introduction of epidemic diseases, and especially against plague. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was plague in the Near East, extending at times to various parts of Europe. It was epidemic in Russia in 1709 and some 150,000 died of it. In 1719 it spread to eastern central Europe. The historic outbreak at Marseilles and Toulon in 1720 cost 90,000 lives, but



IGNORANT FURY WREAKED ON THE SUPPOSED 'ANOINTERS' OF MILAN

An old undated, but probably contemporary, engraving by Horatio Colombo (freely copied, as above, in the 'Processo originale degli Untori nella peste del 1630' of 1839) shows the barbarous deaths inflicted on the scrivener Guglielmo Piazza and the barber Giangiacomo Mora of Milan. These two were accused of being 'untori' (anointers)—i.e. men who maliciously disseminated plague by mysterious unctions; their successive tortures are given as though simultaneous in separate scenes.

From Crawford, 'Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art'

quarantine, drastically enforced, had the effect of keeping the disease within bounds. Incidentally, it led to the foundation of many plague hospitals or lazarettos, of the conduct of some of which the great humanitarian John Howard speaks well.

If England was subject to alarms from occasional incursions of the plague, smallpox was never absent from the country, and from time to time became epidemic. In 1774 there was an epidemic of smallpox at Chester. Next year an investigation was made of the degree to which the population had suffered. It was then found that before the outbreak there were in Chester only 15 per cent. who had not already had the disease. The incidence on those unprotected by a previous attack was 53 per cent., with a death-rate of about 17 per cent. of those actually infected and of about 9 per cent. of the entire unprotected population.

Outbreaks of smallpox varied greatly in virulence, and, in view of the virtual certainty of contracting the disease, men sought a way of getting it in a mild form, since thereby they would secure protection from a graver one. In the East a method of direct inoculation of the disease from a patient suffering from a slight attack had been in use from an early date. The practice attracted little attention in Europe until Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) studied it at Constantinople. It was then soon taken up in England, and became recognized on the Continent and on the other side of the Atlantic. In England Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754), an eminent and far-seeing physician who exercised very great influence on the medical world in his day, supported the practice of inoculation



LONDON SCENES DURING THE GREAT PLAGUE

The hectic flight, the coffin preceded by a bell, and the dead buried in trenches by cartloads are graphically shown in a contemporary print of the Great Plague of 1665, now in the Pepysian Collection; but, if we may judge from Defoe, London met the calamity in different spirit from Milan. Old St. Paul's appears in the first two scenes, Covent Garden in the third.

Permission of Cambridge University Press

with all the weight of his authority, and during the next fifty years it spread widely, and finally, at the end of the century, the investigations and experiments of Edward Jenner (1749-1823) with vaccinia or cowpox established the validity of vaccination as a prevention of smallpox (see further in Chap. 190).

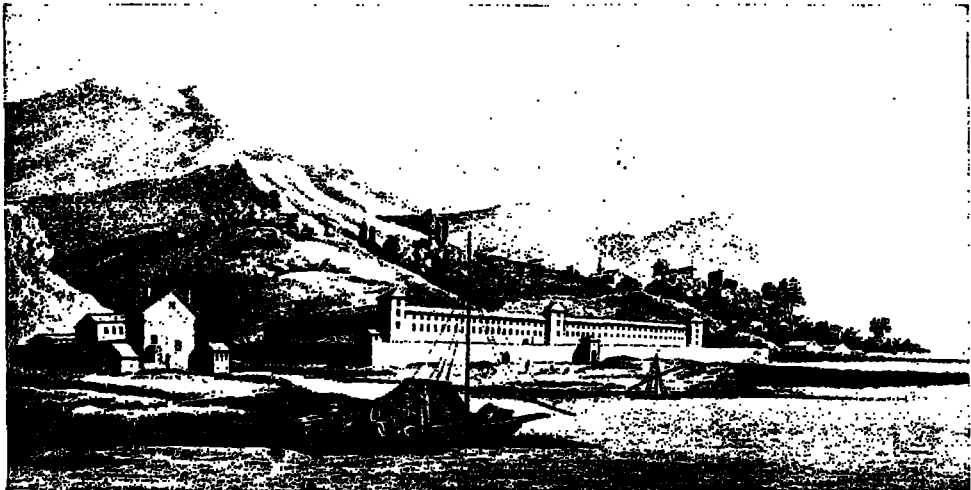
The mid-eighteenth century marks, for western Europe, the end of the 'Middle Ages' of hygiene. But with the

advent of the modern period the fall in the death-rate in European countries has not been the only change in the public health. Even more significant is a change in the causes of death. Certain diseases have gradually receded from the more civilized and settled temperate countries, and are now almost unknown there. Thus malaria, plague, typhus and leprosy, once of world-wide distribution, have come to be regarded as more or less distinctively 'tropical' diseases. These diseases are, however, 'tropical' only in the sense that it is in the Tropics that the general conditions most favourable to their development are still found.

There are, however, diseases that are tropical in the different sense that they have seldom or never visited the shores of temperate countries, or at least have obtained no lasting foothold there, even when the conditions have been favourable to them. Among such diseases is yellow fever, which will serve here as the type of these truly 'tropical' diseases. It must be said, however, to avoid misunderstanding, that the 'Tropics' in the medical sense are a region considerably wider and far less well defined than the geographical Tropics.

Outbreaks of yellow fever have struck the public imagination and have given rise to folk tales and inspired poets. The legend of the Flying Dutchman, a spectre ship stricken with yellow fever that haunts the seas around the Cape of Good Hope, and so bodes ill for those who see it, is one example; Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* is another. An historic case of *Tragedies of Yellow Fever* may be quoted. In 1837 a barque named *Huskisson* was lading at Sierra Leone when yellow fever broke out among the crew. All but two or three died. Yellow fever broke out in the colony but gradually died down. The *Huskisson*, in the meantime, remained in harbour without hands for three months. At last hands were obtained, but again the yellow fever broke out among them and again nearly all died. They were bitten by infected mosquitoes which remained in the ship. Many cases no less dramatic are on record.

An attack of yellow fever, we now know, confers immunity. In children it usually assumes a mild form, and therefore, in countries where the disease is endemic, the population consists largely of the survivors of attacks. On this account



WHERE PLAGUE PATIENTS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GENOA WERE TENDED

Plague had been recognized as contagious from the earliest times, but it was regarded as something apart from ordinary diseases. Apparently it was the example of leprosy which led to the principle of isolation being extended. Quarantine measures were first adopted in Venice in 1370 against the plague, and the quarters for those in quarantine developed into the lazarettos (from Lazarus, the diseased beggar) of the eighteenth century. This print dated 1787 shows the lazaretto at Genoa.

From John Howard, 'Lazarettos of Europe'

the worst outbreaks are always either on immigrant ships or in places which have remained long unvisited by the disease ; in other words, such outbreaks are under conditions in which immunes are few.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth and even the early nineteenth centuries there were repeated outbreaks of yellow fever far beyond the region to which it is now confined. Along the eastern shores of North America it has at times extended as far north as New York,

and there have been destructive outbreaks in Baltimore, Philadelphia and even Boston. The disease has been found along most of the littoral of South America. In the Old World it has visited chiefly West Africa, where it was introduced very early by the slave trade. It has visited at times Spain, Portugal and Italy with devastating epidemics, and has even occasionally made a call in France and once in England. The last considerable outbreak in Europe was at Madrid in 1878.

England has always had important interests, military and commercial, in the West Indies. There are historic occasions on which the British forces in the West Indies lost almost incredible numbers from yellow fever, garrisons being practically wiped out. In Jamaica the mean annual mortality in the garrison was for many years 185 per 1,000 ; in Bermuda it was about 80 per 1,000 ; and one should remember that soldiers are picked men in the prime of life, and that these mortality rates were in places now regarded as health resorts. A hundred years ago Jamaica had the highest death rate in the Empire, with the exception of West Africa, where the mean annual mortality at Sierra Leone was 362 per 1,000. Conditions in the West Indies began to improve from about 1850 onwards, and to-day, except in the ill-organized states of Central and South America, yellow fever is now under control.

Malaria was, till recent times, a disease of temperate as well as of tropical countries. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries epidemic after epidemic of 'ague,' which is the old name for the disease, swept over England as over other European countries. An historic instance

is the terrible mortality that fell upon the British army on the island of Walcheren in 1809. These epidemics spread from their endemic centres, the low-lying, ill-drained, swampy districts, where the malaria mosquito could breed freely in the slowly flowing water. Of such places the principal in England were the Fens of Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire and the surrounding counties, and the marshes on either side of the estuary of the Thames in Kent and Essex. There malaria was never absent, though it differed greatly in prevalence and severity in different years. Ague remained prevalent in London as late as 1859.

In London the rise in the value of land led to the erection of the Embankment, which effectually reclaimed the land around the river. Extensive works of drainage were at the same time being undertaken in other infested districts. These soon had their now well known effects. In 1864 malaria was found to be rapidly diminishing everywhere in the neighbourhood of the Thames, and to have left many of its old haunts completely. It is now very seldom encountered and it may be safely predicted that native malaria will never again be anything but a rare disease in any temperate country with an efficient sanitary service.

With the discovery in the last third of the nineteenth century that infectious diseases are due to micro-organisms, preventive measures became more exact and more easy to enforce. But how serious and how important epidemics may still be in moulding history, especially when the causative organism is unknown, may be gathered from the great influenza outbreak of 1918. In that year the disease killed in four weeks more than twice as many as the warring armies had destroyed in four years. Put in another way, the daily deaths from influenza during the great outbreak were over a hundred times as many as the average daily number of deaths from bullets, bombs, gas and the like. Disease has always been and still remains the greatest enemy of civilization, and indeed of mankind.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXII

- 1396 Turks defeat Sigismund at Nicopolis.
- 1397 Union of Kalmar combines Scandinavian crowns.
- 1398 Tamerlane invades India and sacks Delhi.
- 1399 Ladislas secures crown of Naples.
Henry IV (Lancaster) deposes Richard II.
- 1400 Rupert III elected rival k. of Romans to Wenzel.
- 1402 Gian Galeazzo d. Gian Maria in Milan.
- Tamerlane overthrows Bajazet at battle of Angora.
- 1404 John the Fearless becomes duke of Burgundy.
Innocent VII pope.
- 1405 Tamerlane d. on his way to conquer China. Break up of his empire.
- 1406 Henry III of Castile d.; acc. John II.
- 1407 Louis of Orléans assassinated by John of Burgundy.
- 1408 Council of Pisa; demands resignation of both popes and elects a third, Alexander V.
Sicily reverts to Martin I of Aragon.
- 1410 Civil war of Burgundians and Armagnacs in France.
Alexander V d.; John XXIII elected pope.
Rupert III d.; Wenzel sole king of the Romans.
- 1411 Sigismund elected joint king of the Romans.
- 1412 Filippo Maria Visconti acc. in Milan.
Ferdinand I acc. in Aragon and Sicily.
Mohammed I restores Ottoman power in Asia Minor.
- 1414 Ladislas of Naples d.; acc. Joanna II.
Council of Constance meets.
- 1415 Martyrdom of John Huss in spite of Sigismund's safe-conduct. Deposition of John XXIII.
Frederick of Hohenzollern receives Brandenburg.
Henry V renews Hundred Years' War; capture of Harfleur and battle of Agincourt.
- 1416 Alfonso V acc. in Aragon and Sicily.
- 1417 Martin V elected pope at Constance; Councils to be held at intervals. End of Great Schism.
Henry V again invades Normandy.
- 1418 Council of Constance dissolved.
Strife of Burgundians and Armagnacs prevents relief of Rouen, besieged by Henry V.
- 1419 John of Burgundy assassinated. His son Philip 'the Good' allies with Henry.
Wenzel d.; Sigismund emperor, but Bohemia rejects him as the betrayer of Huss.
- 1420 Hussite wars begin; Ziska the Hussite general.
Treaty of Troyes; Henry V to succeed Charles VI.
Dauphin Charles and Armagnacs reject it.
- 1421 Mohammed I d.; Murad II acc.
- 1422 Henry V and Charles VI d.; Bedford French regent for Henry VI; Charles VII recognized in south of France, Henry VI in north.
- 1424 Ziska d.; succeeded by Prokop.
- 1425 Greek emperor Manuel II d.; acc. John VI.
- 1427 Continued successes of Hussites.
- 1429 Joan of Arc relieves Orléans; Charles VII crowned at Reims.
- 1430 Prince Henry the Navigator organizes exploration.
- 1431 Council of Basel meets. Eugenius IV pope.
Joan of Arc tried and burnt at Rouen.
- 1432 Basel Council and Eugenius quarrel.
- 1433 John II acc. in Portugal; supports Prince Henry.
Basel Council comes to agreement with Hussites.
Cosimo de' Medici exiled from Florence.
- 1434 Conflict of Calixtines and Taborites in Bohemia.
Defeat of Taborites and death of Prokop.
- 1435 Philip of Burgundy reconciled with Charles VII;
English lose ground continuously after this.
Naples; Joanna II d.; succession disputed between Alfonso V of Aragon and René of Provence.
- 1436 Sigismund accepted and crowned king of Bohemia.
- 1437 Sigismund d.; Albert of Austria acc.
- 1438 Albert II elected king of the Romans. From this time Hapsburgs are continuously elected.
Council of Ferrara and Florence.
- 1439 Beginning of a royal army in France.
- 1440 Albert II d. His son Ladislas Postumus acknowledged in Hungary; Bohemia elects Ladislas III of Poland. Frederick III of Styria k. of Romans.
- 1441 Portuguese round Cape Blanco.
- 1442 Naples: Alfonso secures the crown.
- 1443 Printing press (approximate date).
Scanderbeg heads Albanian defiance of Turks.
- 1444 Ladislas III killed in great defeat by Turks at Varna. The child Ladislas Postumus k. of Bohemia and Hungary. Regencies under George Podiebrad and Janos Hunyadi.
- 1445 Portuguese round Cape Verde.
- 1447 Nicholas V pope.
Filippo Maria Visconti d.; Milanese republic.
- 1448 John VI d.; Constantine Ist Greek emperor.
Sweden under Karl Knaudsen separates from Denmark.
- 1449 Council of Basel dissolved.
- 1450 Francesco Sforza at Milan.
Jack Cade's insurrection in England.
India: rise of Lodi dynasty at Delhi.
- 1451 Murad II d.; acc. Mohammed II the Conqueror.
- 1452 Frederick III crowned emperor in Rome.
- 1453 Fall of Constantinople; end of the old Empire.
Hundred Years' War ends; English expelled from France except Calais and Calais Pale.
- 1454 Mohammed grants terms to Venice.
- 1455 Calixtus III pope.
Wars of the Roses begin in England.
- 1456 Siege of Belgrade raised by Janos Hunyadi, who dies the same year.
- 1457 Christian I of Denmark again unites the three Scandinavian crowns.
Ladislas Postumus d.; Austria goes to Hapsburgs.
- 1458 Hungary elects Matthias Corvinus, son of Hunyadi; Bohemia elects George Podiebrad.
Alfonso V d. His brother John II succeeds him in Aragon and Sicily, his son Ferrante in Naples.
Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius) pope.
- 1460 Pius issues bull Execrabilis, denouncing appeals to councils; end of conciliar movement.
Henry the Navigator d.
- 1461 Louis XI acc.
- 1462 Turco-Venetian war begins.
- 1463 Paul II pope. Cosimo de' Medici d.
- 1464 War of the Public Weal in France.
- 1465 Francesco Sforza d.
- 1466 Treaty of Thorn; Teutonic Knights retain East Prussia only, as fief of Poland.
- 1467 Scanderbeg d. Albanian resistance breaks up.
Philip of Burgundy d.; acc. Charles the Rash.
- 1468 Lorenzo de' Medici rules Florence.
Isabella, sister of Henry IV of Castile, m. Ferdinand, crown prince of Aragon.
- 1470 War of Louis XI and Charles the Rash.
- 1471 Edward IV crushes Lancastrians at Tewkesbury.
George Podiebrad d.; acc. Ladislas IV (Jagellon).
Sixtus IV pope.
- 1472 Charles the Rash begins Swiss War.
Henry IV of Castile d.; acc. Isabella.
- 1473 Charles defeated at Granson and Morat.
India: Bahol Lodi annexes Jaunpur (Oudh).
- 1474 Charles defeated and killed at Nancy.
Louis XI seizes Burgundy and Artois.
Mary, dr. of Charles, m. Maximilian, son of emperor.
- 1475 John II of Aragon d.; acc. Ferdinand. Union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon.
Turco-Venetian war ends.
- 1476 Turks invade Italy and take Otranto.
René of Anjou d.; leaves Provence to Louis XI.
Bahmani sultanate of Deccan begins to break up.
Anjou and Maine revert to French crown.
Mohammed II d.; acc. Bajazet II. Turks evacuate Otranto. Turkish advance suspended.
- 1477 The infant Archduke Philip succeeds in Burgundy, to exclusion of his father Maximilian.
- 1478 Edward IV d.; acc. Richard III.
- 1479 Louis XI d.; acc. Charles VIII. Regency of Anne of Beaujeu.
Italian league against Venice.
- 1480 Innocent VIII pope.
- 1481 War of Matthias Corvinus and Frederick III.
England: Henry VII establishes Tudor dynasty.
Naples: Nobles revolt against Ferrante.
- 1482 Bartholomew Diaz rounds Cape of Good Hope.
Frederick III procures election of his son Maximilian as king of the Romans.
- 1483 Matthias Corvinus d.; Ladislas IV. of Bohemia elected king of Hungary.
- 1484 Maximilian recovers territories lost to Matthias.
Charles VIII m. Anne of Brittany, which becomes part of the French royal domain.
Savonarola preaches in Florence.
- 1485 Conquest of Moorish kingdom of Granada.
Alexander VI pope.
- 1486 Lorenzo de' Medici d. * Piero de' Medici acc.
Christopher Columbus discovers the New World.

Chronicle XXII

THE BIRTH OF THE RENAISSANCE: 1396-1492

THE key-note of the fourteenth century was the persistent disintegration of the old order. Before the close of the fifteenth, the bases of a new order have emerged; but, until more than half of it has passed, disintegration remains the obvious feature; in the political world the new forces are working, so to speak, still under cover; it is only towards the end that they come suddenly into the open. The chronicler is still in the stage of entanglements, apparently isolated happenings, with a story which seems to have no plot. At the very outset we are faced with a volcanic eruption, wholly destructive, the shattering career of Tamerlane.

Tamerlane's Conquest of Central Asia

THE great Mongol empire created by Jenghiz Khan had ceased to exist a century after the mighty conqueror's death; in the west the sway of the ilkhans dwindled; in the far east the power of the Yuan dynasty, founded and built up by Mangu and Kublai in China, collapsed; all central Asia was given up to the feuds and rivalries of Turk or Tatar tribal chiefs, when in 1369 Timur or Tamerlane established himself as king of Samarkand. For five and twenty years he waged war perpetually, first with the eastern Chipchac Tatars, then with their western kinsfolk called the Golden Horde. His supremacy was not established indisputably till 1395, when his age was little less than sixty. The Chipchacs, however, were only the most active and vigorous of the enemies whom Tamerlane chastised (merely as a moral duty or in self-defence, though the chastisement was apt to be somewhat drastic). In fact, he had extended his conquests over Persia and Georgia, wiping out the remnant of the ilkhan monarchy.

In various respects Tamerlane differed from the Mongol conquerors. Both as a matter of course massacred without discrimination all who ventured to resist them.

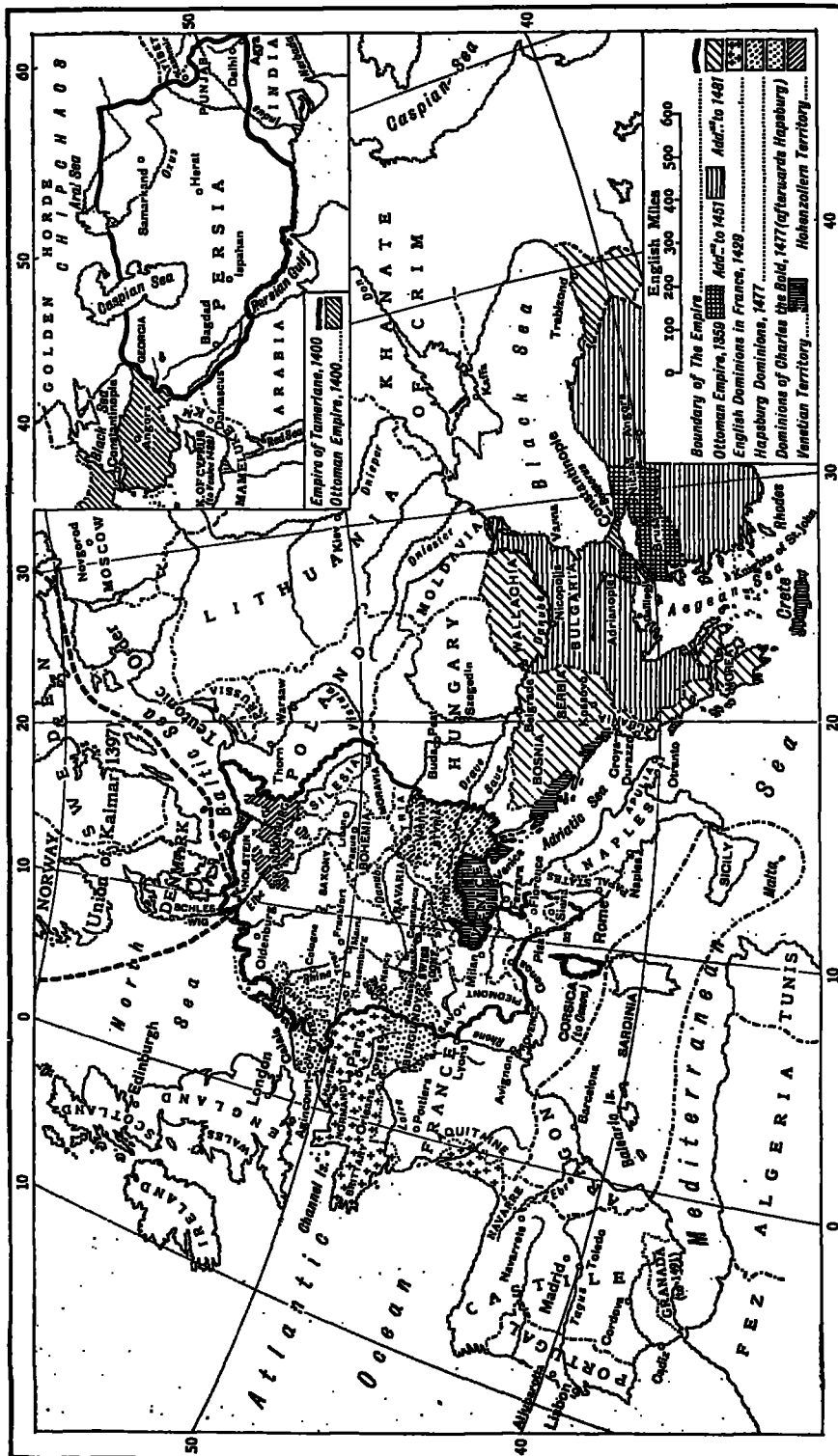
Both professed to spare those who made prompt and humble submission. But the practice of the Mongols was in general accord with their profession, whereas Tamerlane was habitually the victim of circumstances which prevented him from giving effect to his magnanimous intentions. Jenghiz Khan had destroyed; Tamerlane obliterated. At Ispahan he raised a pyramid of 70,000 skulls.

A second point of difference is that the pagan Mongols were entirely careless of their subjects' religion; whereas Tamerlane was not only a zealous Mahomedan, but a declared partisan of the Ali succession in the Khalifate, therein departing from the common Sunni fanaticism of the Turks, but deriving from it justification for smiting heretics as well as infidels.

Western Asia in Tamerlane's hands

BEFORE completing the conquest of western Asia, Tamerlane turned aside to the conquest of India, where he stormed irresistibly through the Punjab, put to utter rout the armies which endeavoured to oppose him, and, having entered Delhi with the promise that it should be spared, gave it over to a five days' sack and massacre (1398), shortly after which he retired. Before trying conclusions with the Ottomans in Asia Minor, he took Syria in hand; when he had done with Syria and laid Damascus in ruins, it was the turn of Bajazet, who, since Nicopolis, had been continuing his Danubian conquests, but now found it necessary to concentrate all his energies on meeting the invader.

The decisive battle was fought at Angora (1402), where the Ottoman army was shattered and the Ottoman sultan taken prisoner—to die shortly after, still in captivity. The fall of Constantinople was postponed for fifty years. However, Tamerlane elected to make China his next objective instead of Europe, and died on his way thither in 1405, at the age of seventy.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE BEGINNING OF THE RENAISSANCE

Maps in pages 2818 and 2819 show the distribution of the Christian powers in Europe and of the Mongol empires in Asia in the period 1216-1303 covered by Chronicle XX. The broad changes effected in the years between then and the end of the period covered in our present Chronicle are shown above. The notable points in Europe are the growing power of Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns in the Empire, the fluctuation of the English dominions in France, the restriction of the Saracen power in Spain, the development of the Ottoman Empire and the extension of the Venetian territories. In the East the most notable fact was the destructive though short-lived career of Tamerlane.

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As a destroyer Tamerlane has no peer ; even Jenghiz, who perhaps had hitherto held the record, lags behind him, besides having to his credit so much at least of reconstructive work that it was only in the fourth generation that the empire he created began to break up. Tamerlane's empire vanished with his own death, having nothing whatever to hold it together. His descendants reigned in Samarkand or elsewhere, but as little more than minor chiefs, though one of them was the founder, a hundred years later, of the Mogul dynasty in India. Tamerlane's own deeds were written in the oceans of blood that he spilt, and the blood that he spilt is his sole monument.

China escaped the visitation, thanks to the death of the destroyer. The Ming dynasty had been securely established on the throne by its able founder Chu Yüanchang or Hung Wu, who died in 1399 ; but with the exception of Yung Lo (1403-25), an efficient administrator, his successors were undistinguished alike in peace and in the wars with which the north was harassed by the Tatars or Mongols on its borders. One of the emperors, Cheng Tung, was captured in 1449 and held prisoner by these foes for eight years. Otherwise he is chiefly remarkable for abolishing the practice introduced by the first Mings of sacrificing slaves at the imperial funeral.

Wreck of the Mahomedan Delhi Empire

INDIA, however, as we have seen, did not escape. Tamerlane's devastating incursion, the sacking of Delhi and the terrific slaughter by which it was accompanied, wrecked the little that was left of the Mahomedan Delhi empire, which was reduced to the position of a minor principality till the crown was seized in 1450 by an Afghan noble, Bahlol Lodi, under whom, and his successors, the lost power began to be revived.

Still, Tamerlane's devastation hardly extended east or south of Delhi and Agra. In the fifteenth century Bengal was already established as an independent kingdom ; Jaunpur, roughly corresponding to Oudh, was virtually independent till its recovery by the Lodis ; so were Kashmir on the north-west and Malwa, between the rivers

Chambal and Nerbada ; and since the middle of the fourteenth century no part of the Deccan had paid any sort of allegiance to Delhi. Throughout the fifteenth it was divided mainly between the two great kingdoms, that of the Bahmani dynasty and the Hindu dynasty of Vijayanagar, all but the last of the kingdoms named being under Mahomedan rule. Their annals, chiefly of wars which had no particular consequences, do not demand attention ; but it is to be noted that at the close of our era the Bahmani kingdom was rapidly dissolving into five separate sultanates.

Recovery of the Ottoman Power

FROM the Chinese marches to the Mediterranean all the khanates, kingdoms and sultanates of Asia were laid in ruins by Tamerlane's irruption. The Ottoman power was the first to recover. Within twelve years of the great overthrow at Angora, one of Bajazet's sons, Mohammed I, established his ascendancy over the rest. Manuel II at Constantinople made prompt submission, and Mohammed was engaged till his death in 1321 in bringing into subjection the various princelings of Asia Minor who indulged vain hopes of escaping from the Ottoman supremacy. Manuel rashly challenged his successor Murad (Amurath) II by encouraging a rival. Murad slew the rival and laid siege to Constantinople, where he was repulsed and had to retire in order to deal with another rival ; but on his return in 1424 Manuel again made submission, renewing and increasing the tribute which Bajazet had extorted from his father.

Next year John VI (1425-48) succeeded Manuel. John's contribution to the defence of Europe was a treaty with the Western ecclesiastical council of Ferrara (1439) for the union of the Greek and Latin churches which he was quite unable to impose on his own subjects. Throughout his reign Murad simply ignored Constantinople, having more serious antagonists than the feeble John to deal with—the Slavonic peoples on both sides of the Danube, in conjunction with Hungary and from 1440 with Poland. How the crowns of Poland and Hungary

came at this time to be united we shall see in a different connexion.

Serbia, Bosnia and Wallachia had all been made tributary by Bajazet; they combined to defy Murad, and purchased the aid of Sigismund (who had suffered the disastrous defeat by the Turk at Nicopolis in 1396—see page 3008) by ceding to him the great fortress of Belgrade. Until 1440 the war went constantly in favour of Murad. In that year Ladislas III of Poland accepted the Hungarian crown; and during the next three years the allies were constantly led to victory by the great Hungarian captain Janos Hunyadi (whose actual nationality is doubtful). In 1444 they forced upon Murad the peace of Szegedin, by which he surrendered his claims on the three Slavonic states. But before the year was out Ladislas broke the treaty, crossed the Danube and marched on Varna, where he met with a shattering defeat and was himself slain. Hunyadi, who had been made regent of Hungary, attempting to



MOHAMMED II THE CONQUEROR

Apart from his military activities which terrorised all Christendom Mohammed II (1430-81) organized the Ottoman system of administration and was an enlightened patron of learning. This portrait was painted by Gentile Bellini.

National Gallery, London



SCANDERBEG'S HELMET

Albania's national hero is George Castriot (1403-1467), universally known as Scanderbeg, in complimentary reference to Alexander the Great. For twenty-five years this 'Dragon of Albania' resisted Turkish aggression.

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

renew the war in 1448, was again defeated at Kossovo. The coalition was broken up.

Since Varna the Turkish forces and the sultan's son Mohammed had been dealing very unsuccessfully with a new and indomitable foe, the Albanian George Castriot, better known as Scanderbeg (Iskander, i.e. Alexander, Bey), who preferred the rôle of patriot to that of a commander in the sultan's service. Carried off by the Turks as a child, he had been brought up as a Mahomedan, attracted the notice of Murad, and won high distinction as an officer. But in 1443 he deserted with a chosen company of Albanian soldiers, seized the fortress of Croya by a stratagem, discarded Islam for the Christianity of his early childhood, and proclaimed defiance of the Turk.

The Albanians rose to his call; in the passes his troops cut to pieces Turkish forces of thrice their numbers. After Kossovo, Murad advanced against him in person in 1449, but his army, laying siege to Croya, was so roughly handled that he raised the siege and retired in disgust. For some twenty years, till his death in 1467, Scanderbeg broke in pieces every expedition that was sent against

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him, only once suffering defeat, fighting his battle unsupported from without ; and the immediate collapse of Albania when he died testifies to the genius with which he had carried on the struggle.

But when Murad died in 1451, Scanderbeg did not deflect his successor Mohammed II the Conqueror from his larger projects. At once he set about his preparations for the grand attack on Constantinople. John was dead ; the emperor now was his brother Constantine XI. As a last despairing effort to procure aid from western Europe, he again proclaimed the union of the Eastern and Western churches. The only effect was the alienation of his own subjects, who were at best lethargic before. The Slavs were broken ; succession troubles paralysed Hungary ; the West generally was exhausted, and absorbed by internal dissensions ; from no quarter was aid forthcoming, except the Venetians,

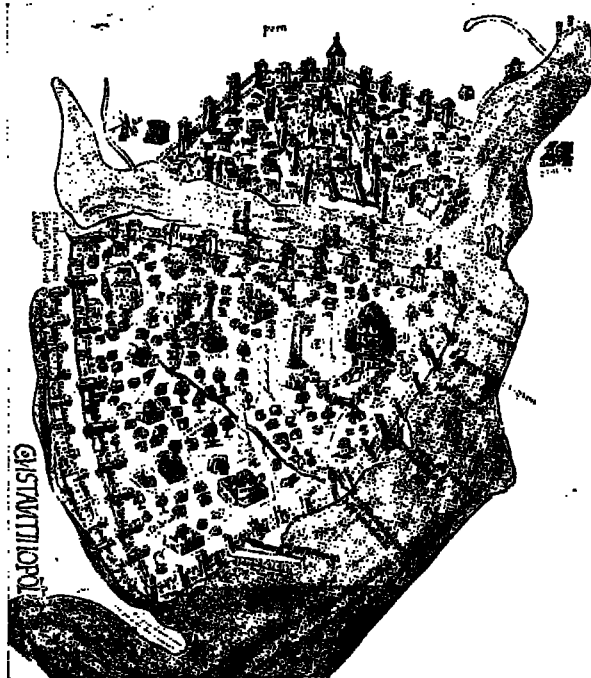
Genoese and Catalans, to whose commerce the fall of Constantinople would be a menace or worse ; and it was to these allies that Constantine was compelled to entrust not merely maritime defence but the actual garrisoning of the hitherto impregnable fortress on the Bosphorus.

In 1452 Mohammed completed his preparations unhindered. Early next year the siege began. A Genoese squadron carrying supplies forced its way into the harbour, and an attack in force on the walls was stoutly repulsed ; but the scanty defenders of the vast fortifications girdled by a huge enemy host could have had little enough hope of maintaining their resistance for any length of time. No hint of help came. By advice of his astrologers, Mohammed waited for the fortunate day (May 29, 1453), when the grand assault was delivered on all sides simultaneously, by sea and by land.

The small garrison offered a desperate resistance to the swarming foe, but when once a footing was gained on the ramparts they were overwhelmed, fighting heroically to the last, led by Constantine in person. Buried among the heaps of slain, the body of the last of the Greek emperors was never recovered. There was no general massacre, but the great city was very thoroughly sacked, its literary treasures were dispersed or destroyed, and 60,000 of the population were sold into slavery.

IN that same year, 1453, the so-called Hundred Years' War between France and England came to its inglorious end with the total expulsion of the English from French soil, except that of Calais and the Calais Pale, which they had held for a hundred years and were to hold for a hundred more.

At the close of the fourteenth century the fighting in France had become so desultory that a thirty years' truce was struck, leaving England in



CONSTANTINOPLE BEFORE ITS FALL

This plan of Constantinople was drawn for a work entitled *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, published in Florence in 1422, thirty years before it fell to the Turks, and is the oldest in existence. The top left legend indicates the weakest spot where the Turks usually delivered their fiercest attacks.



possession of little more than Guienne and Calais. Both countries were, in fact, too much absorbed with domestic dissensions for the pursuit of an energetic foreign policy. In England the young king Richard II, long held in resentful tutelage by his uncles, was aiming at breaking the power of his kinsmen and their allies among the greater nobles, and establishing his own autocratic supremacy. In 1399 his cousin Henry of Lancaster returned from exile, headed a successful revolt, compelled Richard to abdicate, and usurped the



A KING'S TRAGEDY AND A KING'S ACHIEVEMENT

In 1399 Henry of Lancaster, taking advantage of Richard II's absence in Ireland, landed in England and made a bid for the crown. On August 19 Richard surrendered to Henry at Flint and was taken to London by his rival (top). On September 30 he signed a deed of abdication, whereupon Parliament deposed him (bottom) and installed Henry—shown here wearing a high cap—on the throne.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 1319



ENTRY OF ISABEL OF BAVARIA INTO PARIS AS BRIDE OF CHARLES VI

Charles VI of France married Isabel, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, in 1385, and the arrival of the bride in Paris is thus depicted in an illuminated manuscript of Froissart's Chronicle. Notwithstanding the feebleness of intellect of the king, which culminated in actual insanity, she bore him a numerous progeny before separating from him in 1404. Queen Isabel several times acted as regent of France, and in the vexed politics of the time generally favoured the Burgundian party.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

crown, which the parliament pronounced to be his by right of lawful succession, ignoring the prior claim of a very youthful cousin, the great-grandson of his father's elder brother (whose legitimate title thereto passed ultimately to his sister and her son, Richard of York).

Henry's own title, won by armed rebellion, sanctioned by the authority of

peers and commons in parliament, and confirmed by the murder of the fallen king, rested so palpably and so precariously on popular support that his reign (1399-1413) was troubled by repeated rebellions, and his parliaments were able to exercise an amount of authority which was both premature and unprecedented.

Somewhat differently, but not less



HENRY OF MONMOUTH

By his successful conduct of a popular war, of which the victory of Agincourt was the crowning triumph, by his manly character and strong personality, Henry V (1387-1422) established his reputation as one of England's national heroes.

National Portrait Gallery, London

seriously, France, too, was now suffering from the power and the rivalries of the nobles of the blood royal. Charles VI was feeble-minded when not actually insane. His mighty uncle Philip of Burgundy was ruler of dukedoms and counties not only in France but also outside the French king's sovereignty. He virtually controlled the crown in despite of the king's younger brother Louis of Orléans and his partisans, among whom was presently numbered Charles's wife, Isabel of Bavaria. When Philip died, the rivalry continued between his son John the Fearless and Louis till John assassinated Louis in 1407. The anti-Burgundian or Orleanist party were then headed by Bernard of Armagnac, and became known as the Armagnacs; and between them France was torn in pieces, while both sides intrigued to purchase the support of the king of England, whose alliance might prove particularly valuable to the Burgundian overlord of more than half the Netherlands.

In these dissensions Henry V (1413-22), the ambitious son of Henry IV, found his opportunity for reviving the English claim to the French crown, a claim very much weaker than his great-grandfather's, which had been weak enough. For his father's title by birth to the English throne could be maintained only by repudiating female succession, reversing the theory on which Edward had rested such claim as he had to the French throne. The temptation, however, was more than Henry could resist, his conscience being salved by the solid support of the clergy, while policy pointed to military glory as the most effective antidote to domestic disaffection.

The policy was popular in England, which plumed itself upon the martial exploits of Edward III and the Black Prince, and thirsted to avenge the ignominious failures in the second stage of the war, without troubling to weigh the right and wrong of the quarrel. Henry could have obtained immense concessions from either or both of the French parties without striking a blow, but concessions merely whetted his appetite.

In the summer of 1415 the English expedition was ready. Even at the moment of sailing, the weakness in the domestic position, which was one of the motives of the war, was manifested by the discovery of a plot, foreshadowing the War of the Roses, against the king's life in favour of the cousin, Edmund Mortimer, whose claim had been brushed aside on the accession of Henry IV, and was to be re-asserted forty years later by his nephew.

Henry's immediate aim was to establish in Normandy a strategic base more effective than Calais. After a sharp siege he captured Harfleur, while Burgundians and Armagnacs failed to reconcile their differences sufficiently to send a relieving force. There the campaign should have ended; but Henry elected to risk with some six thousand men, for the most part archers, what ought to have been a quite impossible march from Harfleur to Calais; on which, instead of being annihilated, he repeated at Agincourt Edward III's triumph at Crécy—thanks to the infinite incapacity of the French commanders.

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The strategic results were nil, but the moral effect was enormous.

The second campaign was postponed for two years. This time Henry aimed at and achieved nothing less than the conquest of Normandy, the serious business of reducing one by one every fortress in the duchy. In the first campaign John of Burgundy had held aloof; in the second he could not help making a show of patriotism; but the actual result was his assassination, at a conference for conciliation, by Charles, the third of the king's sons to inherit the title of dauphin and the leadership of the Armagnacs.

The murder drove into Henry's arms John's son Philip, now duke of Burgundy, and all the Burgundians, who were for other reasons joined by the queen (who detested her youngest son). The crazy king was in their hands; and so in 1420 the treaty of Troyes was struck with Henry, recognizing him as heir to Charles on his death and regent during his life. The treaty was of course repudiated by the Armagnacs and the disinherited dauphin, while it was upheld by Bur-

gundy, who for the next fifteen years remained the ally of England.

Broadly, the north and east of the country was dominated by the English and Burgundians, the south, centre and west by the Armagnacs. The occupation of Paris did not mean the possession of France. For England, annexation would entail the piecemeal conquest of the whole country with garrisons established from end to end of it, for which her resources were totally inadequate. In 1422 Henry V died, leaving his brothers to carry on the war on behalf of his infant son Henry VI, who was proclaimed king of France on the death of Charles VI some weeks later, while the crown was of course claimed by the dauphin as Charles VII.

The English arms continued to make slow progress under the duke of Bedford, who was constantly embarrassed by the strife of factions in England, and had much ado in preserving amicable relations with Philip of Burgundy, whose good will was absolutely essential. But in fact the coolness between England and her Burgundian ally grew till Bedford's



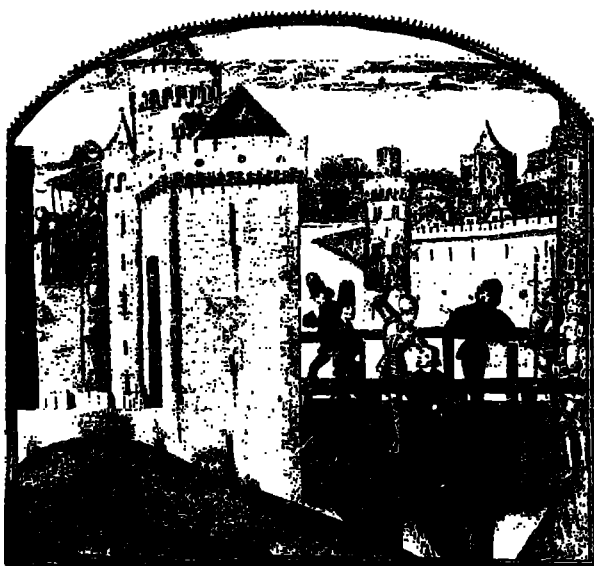
FAMOUS SIEGES DURING ENGLAND'S OCCUPATION OF NORTH FRANCE

The French war of 1415-53 was largely a war of sieges, two of which are thus depicted in the fifteenth-century *Life of the Earl of Warwick* by John Rouse. On the left Henry V is seen conducting the siege of Rouen, which succumbed on January 19, 1419, after a heroic resistance. On the right is a scene at the siege of Calais by Philip duke of Burgundy (after his alliance with England was at an end) in 1436, when the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Warwick and Stafford routed the besiegers.

British Museum, Cotton MSS., Julius E.10

death in 1435 put an end to the alliance ; England became the prey of party factions, and from that time ground in France was continuously lost, though it was not till 1453 that the last foothold in the south finally disappeared, and Calais alone was left.

To the years 1429-31 belong one of the most amazing episodes that history records, the glorious tragedy of S. Joan, infinitely noble, infinitely pitiful, infinitely shameful. A farmer's daughter from Picardy, she persuaded persons in high authority that she was acting under divine direction. She was given the command of a



A TREACHEROUS MURDER

At a meeting held on the Bridge of Montreuil, September 10, 1419, to effect reconciliation with the dauphin, John the Fearless was felled with an axe by Tanneguy du Chastel, one of Charles's escort, as seen in this Froissart miniature.

Bibliothèque Nationale ; from Larousse, ' Histoire de France '



JOHN THE FEARLESS

John, duke of Burgundy (1371-1419), won his surname 'the Fearless' in battle against the Turks at Nicopolis in 1396. This early 15th century portrait by an unknown Flemish artist is one of the treasures of the Antwerp collection.

Musée des Beaux Arts, Antwerp

troop of soldiers, relieved Orléans, which the English were besieging, raised the siege, escorted the dauphin through hostile country to Reims, where he was at last crowned, and would then have retired, her 'mission' accomplished, but was not allowed to do so.

Such miracles, according to the accepted beliefs of all classes, from archbishops to peasants, could have been wrought only by either divine or infernal agency ; and the enemy, whose knees became as water when her presence in the field was known, had no doubt that her inspiration was of the Devil. Also its manifestations were in very unorthodox form. She went on winning miraculous victories till she was taken prisoner by a band of Burgundians, delivered for trial to a court of French and Burgundian ecclesiastics, condemned by them for heresy and witchcraft and handed over to the secular arm—the English authorities, who burnt her in the marketplace of Rouen. More than five and a half centuries later she was canonised by the church which then condemned her.

The whole episode, however, demands our closer attention, because it sheds a

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flood of light on the medieval attitude of mind. The whole world believed not vaguely but intensely in the perpetual intervention of supernatural powers in mundane affairs; Joan declared that she herself held converse with actual God-sent beings whom she was bound to obey. To the other side, either she was simply a lying impostor or the beings who misled her were not God-sent but Devil-sent. Her examination made the first theory incredible; therefore the second must be true. If it was true, there was no escape from the logical conclusion that she must die as a heretic who held traffic with the arch-enemy of mankind.

The judges for the most part were high-minded men who were convinced that they had no alternative. Bedford, not a judge but the executioner, stands out among his contemporaries as a man of conspicuously fine character; yet in this matter he had no qualms. That is the unspeakably pitiful side of the story. The glory and the beauty of the Maid need no words. The indelible shame is for those who, unheeding or incredulous of her inspiration, whether of God or the Devil, either sought her destruction because she stood in their way, or raised no finger on her behalf when she could no longer be of use to them.

The war, carried on always upon foreign soil, had singularly little effect on the prosperity of England; the Burgundian alliance kept her trade with the Netherlands open, and even when that alliance was dissolved Philip did not bring his possessions outside France into the war. The recovery in the numbers of the rural population, depleted by the Black Death, restored the economic tendency, checked by that great visitation, towards the substitution of rent and paid labour for forced labour; so that rural serfdom practically disappeared, and was not the

cause but merely one of the pretexts for Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450, which was in fact a popular protest against general misgovernment or failure of government due to factions in high places.

England, moreover, was developing rapidly a cloth-making industry which competed profitably in foreign markets with that of the Flemings; and it was growing up not so much in the old boroughs as in rising towns where there was no trade-guild control. The problem of a surplus labouring population was at hand, but had not yet arrived. Even the mismanagement of the government was felt mainly as mismanagement of the war. It did not develop into the faction War of the Roses till the French war was ended.

In France, on the other hand, it is not impossible to understand how such a man as Henry V could actually persuade



CHARLES VII 'THE WELL-SERVED'

Crowned king of France in 1429 as a result of the efforts of Joan of Arc, Charles VII (1403-61) was a mental and physical weakling who contributed little to the deliverance of France from the English. Nervousness and melancholy characterise this portrait of him by Jean Fouquet, painted about 1444.

The Louvre

himself that it was for France's sake that he resolved to conquer her. A mad king, a wicked queen and a nobility who were so devoid of patriotism that even when the foreign foe was within their gates they fought by choice not against him but with each other—under such conditions government went to pieces altogether. But Charles VII, despite his despicable failure to defend the Maid, not so much from the English as from his own partisans, actually did much towards a reorganization after his reconciliation with Philip of Burgundy, who was more intent upon consolidating his own dominion than on controlling the government of France.

Charles found able ministers; the main credit for what was effected is doubtless



'THE ROYAL SAINT'

Gentle, studious and pious, Henry VI (1421-71) was the hapless victim of the party strife that culminated in the Wars of the Roses and his own imprisonment and death. Eton and King's College, Cambridge, are his abiding monuments.

National Portrait Gallery, London



BEDFORD PRAYING TO S. GEORGE
John, duke of Bedford (1389-1435), acted as regent and English commander in France after the death of his brother Henry V. This picture, from the Bedford Missal written for him about 1430, is an obvious portrait of the man.

British Museum; Additional MS. 18,860

due not to the king, but to the men who counselled and served him. But this, at least, belongs to him: that he took their counsel and allowed them to serve him and the state. The nobles were no more disposed than of yore to lose any of their privileges, yet in spite of them an ordinance in 1439 created a standing army wholly under royal control, maintained by an unlimited tax leviable by the royal authority, called the 'taille,' in lieu of the taxes hitherto levied by the nobles themselves nominally or actually for the maintenance of troops under their own control. The 'free companies' which had varied their fighting services by unrestrained plundering of the population were either suppressed or absorbed into the new army which was kept under strict discipline.

England had more or less solved the problem of strengthening the central government without creating an absolute monarchy by vesting the power of the purse in the parliament and mainly in the Commons; lacking a parliament, France could achieve the strengthening of the

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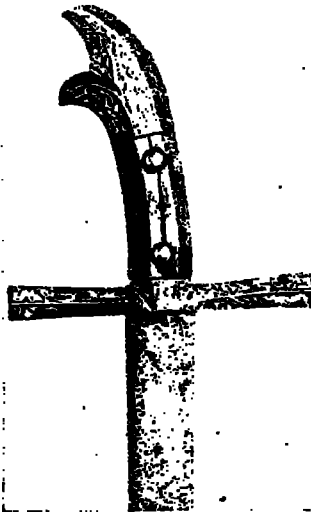
central government only by making the crown absolute. In neither country was the disintegrating force of feudalism broken without a further struggle; but the lines of the development into parliament's supremacy in England and the crown's supremacy in France were already laid down.

THE history of Castile during this period is that of the brief but beneficial reign of Henry III (1390-1406) and the long but inefficient one of John II (1406-54), which has no features of general interest. Nor is it necessary to follow in detail the story of Aragon, beyond observing that in 1409 the crown of Sicily, held for a century by the younger branch of the house of Aragon, reverted to the Spanish branch, and that Alfonso V (1416-58) also acquired the crown of Naples, as the adopted heir of the last ruler of the old Neapolitan house of Anjou, Joanna II, who died in 1435. The crowns, however, were again separated on his death without legitimate issue in 1458, when

Aragon and Sicily went to his brother John, but Naples to the illegitimate son Ferrante or Ferdinand, whom he had nominated as his heir. The definitive union of the 'Two Sicilies' and Aragon was left to be accomplished by another Ferdinand in 1504.

Portugal, near the close of the fourteenth century, was saved from absorption by her big neighbour Castile by winning the crushing victory of Aljubarotta over her in 1485. The reign of John I (1385-1433), though consistently peaceful save for Moorish wars after her independence was securely established, is one of those which can fairly be called 'epoch-making,' because in the course of it began the activities of his younger son—whom the world knows as Henry the Navigator—which owed not a little to the far-sighted sympathy of John himself.

From about 1418 till his death in 1460 Henry devoted himself to equipping the



THE MAID OF ORLEANS BEFORE THE DAUPHIN AT CHINON

As early as 1424 Joan of Arc (1411-31) first heard the angelic voices calling her to free France from the English. Not until 1429, however, did she secure the audience with the dauphin at Chinon illustrated in this fifteenth-century Flemish manuscript, in which she persuaded him of her divine commission. Then armed with a falchion—what is supposed to be the identical weapon (left) was found at Domrémy and is now at Nice—she led her army forth on her victorious campaign. See also page 3255.

Right, British Museum, Royal MS. 20 D.viii

ships, training the mariners and organizing the expeditions which gradually crept along the hitherto unexplored West African coasts and seas, rounded Cape Verde in 1446, and reached Sierra Leone before he died. What were his motives, and what his achievement, not for Portugal only but for the world, the reader will find more fully set forth in Chapter 137. But here we may say very emphatically that it was this little state that, out of her own resources, more than half a century before any of her more powerful neighbours, led the way in the oceanic exploration which opened out the entire globe to the European peoples who had hitherto been accustomed to regard less than one-eighth part of it as the whole. Portugal was too small to hold for long the lead she took in the fourteenth century, but the fact rather increases than detracts from the honour due to her and to Prince Henry.

Union of the Scandinavian Kingdoms

THE three Scandinavian kingdoms, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, stood outside the Empire, but in close relation, for commercial reasons, with the commercial cities that were largely or mainly concerned with the Baltic trade. Their story therefore was in the fourteenth century closely bound up with that of the Hanseatic League (see Chap. 119). In 1397 the three crowns, but not the constitutions, were joined together under a very able queen, Margaret, by the Union of Kalmar. Unfortunately, when heirs failed, the three kingdoms persistently elected different successors to the joint crown, which became a sort of shuttlecock—disputed successions were the rule rather than the exception all over Europe throughout the fifteenth century—but in 1457 all the three countries were induced or compelled to acknowledge Christian I, of Oldenberg, as their common sovereign, while he also held within the Empire the duchies of Schleswig (Slesvig) and Holstein. Sweden nevertheless remained practically independent under the rule of the noble house of Sture. And in Denmark Christian's accession had been conditioned by terms which greatly re-

stricted the power of the crown as against the nobility.

No less turmoil, confusion and diversity mark the history of the Empire, of Italy and of the Church. In the last years of the fourteenth century Wenzel was actual king of Bohemia and nominal king of the Romans, since he had not been crowned emperor. His brother Sigismund was king but not as yet master of Hungary, and their cousin Jobst of Moravia was scheming to acquire the imperial crown for himself. Rival popes, Benedict XIII and Boniface IX, were anathematising each other from Avignon and Rome with very dubious support from their respective patrons, the kings of France and of the Romans; of whom one was crazed and the other a drunkard. The despot Gian Galeazzo Visconti had been formally recognized as duke of Milan by Wenzel (see page 3009) and was mastering all Lombardy, while Genoa had sought security from him by submitting herself to the protection of France. Ladislas, the son of Charles of Durazzo, had secured the crown of Naples against the rival claim of Louis of Anjou who remained in possession of Provence; and he was now ambitious of gaining the effective if not the formal domination of Italy.

Two Kings of the Romans and three Popes

SUCH was the position in the year 1400. In that year the three ecclesiastical electors joined the elector palatine, Rupert, in declaring the deposition of Wenzel and the election of Rupert himself. Had Rupert been a commander of even moderate ability he would doubtless have crushed his incompetent rival; but the actual result of the brief and desultory civil war which followed was that after 1402 the two 'kings of the Romans' tacitly left each other alone, Rupert exercising the sovereignty, such as it was, in the west and Wenzel in the east, till Rupert's death in 1410.

The main features of the papal problem are dealt with in Chapter 120. The schism was destroying all respect for the papal authority, and men's minds were inclining to the doctrine that the ultimate authority rested not in the pope but in

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the councils of the Church Catholic ; with the logical corollary that it was within the capacity of councils to depose or appoint popes as a last resort. The only possible way out of the existing dilemma was the simultaneous resignation or deposition of both popes and the unanimous election of another. Benedict remained at Avignon ; Boniface was succeeded at Rome by Innocent VII and Innocent by Gregory XII ; but throughout the changes it was obvious that whatever professions or overtures might be made on one side or the other, neither really meant to give way. At last cardinals on both sides united to summon, on their own responsibility, a council at Pisa in 1409 which proceeded to depose both Gregory and Benedict, and to elect Alexander V. Neither of the deposed popes would admit the authority of the council which had deposed them. So there were three popes at once. Alexander died within a year, and the council could find to replace him no better candidate than a notorious man of war whom they elected as John XXIII (1410).

At this moment the death of Rupert revived the question of the imperial crown. The only possible candidates were the three princes of the house of Luxemburg, Wenzel, Sigismund and Jobst of Moravia. Wenzel had never admitted the legality of his own deposition, and he had all the time been more or less in possession though his incompetence was palpable. Sigismund by his rule in Hungary had of recent years acquired a reputation which on the merits made him the most desirable choice. Jobst was a thoroughly unprincipled but crafty and skilful politician who preferred the future security of a judicious bargain with Wenzel to precipitate action in the present. Reckoning that it would pay him better to wait, he gave his support to Wenzel, who was to be recognized as emperor while Jobst was to be the king of the Romans and, of course, Wenzel's successor. Sigismund claimed to be *de jure* and Jobst to be *de facto* elector of Brandenburg, and thus each was elected by different groups of electors at different times.



THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

Already king of Hungary, Sigismund (1368-1437) was elected German king and Roman emperor in 1411. He succeeded to the throne of Bohemia in 1419, but owing to Hussite resistance did not secure effective power there until 1436.

Painting by Albrecht Dürer, German Museum, Nuremberg

So there were three kings of the Romans as well as three popes, when Jobst happily died in 1411. A new bargain between the brothers on practically the same lines as Wenzel's previous bargain with Jobst provided a comparatively simple adjustment. Wenzel was content to keep Bohemia with Moravia and the imperial title, while for all practical purposes Sigismund became emperor. Before long the difficulties in which John XXIII

found himself involved with the ambitious king Ladislas of Naples led him to appeal to Sigismund for support, which he would give only on condition that John should summon a general council to meet on German soil. John was obliged reluctantly to yield, and the council met at Constance—three months after the unexpected death of Ladislas—at the end of 1414.

The proceedings of that momentous council need only to be summarised here. It had two main problems to deal with. The scandal of the schism must be terminated and the unity of Christendom restored; but to this recent events had added, as of pressing importance, the reformation of the Church itself. The council dealt with the first, which successfully claimed priority; with the second it failed.

It deposed the three popes, Benedict, Gregory and John, and appointed in their place a man of ability, character and weight, Martin V, after providing for the summoning of a series of councils to deal with reforms; but Martin made haste to affirm uncompromisingly the unchallengeable authority of the pope himself.

And before the deposition of John XXIII it had brought to the bar on a charge of heresy the Bohemian doctor John Huss, whom it condemned to death in spite of

the protests of Sigismund, whose honour was pledged to the doctor's safety, and who would have gone beyond mere protest but for the persuasions of his ablest supporter and adviser, Frederick of Hohenzollern. Huss had acquired indirectly from the dead Englishman John Wycliffe doctrines which were enthusiastically adopted by his disciples at Prague and in Bohemia, but were subversive of established ecclesiastical authority, and traversed much of the Church's dogmatic teaching. At the

same time the form of procedure adopted by the council, of representation by 'nations,' substantially if unintentionally strengthened the growing conception of national churches with a separate individuality of their own. In 1418 the council was dissolved.

The Hussite wars were the immediate aftermath of the Council of Constance. During its proceedings Wenzel had remained torpid in Bohemia. His death without children in 1419 left Sigismund



COIN OF EUGENIUS IV

Eugenius IV was pope from 1431-47. His effective resistance to the conciliar movement did much to restore the Papacy to the position it had held before the Great Schism.

Coin Cabinet, State Museum, Berlin



INVESTITURE OF FREDERICK AS ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG

Frederick of Hohenzollern was appointed Sigismund's representative in Brandenburg in 1411 and was invested with the electorate by the emperor at Constance in April, 1417. The investiture is depicted in this wood engraving published at Augsburg by Anton Sorg in 1483. Frederick, holding the banner blazoned with the Red Eagle of Brandenburg with which he has just been presented, kneels before the emperor who sits with sword of state, while trumpets and trombones sound a fanfare.

British Museum

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sole king of the Romans and natural claimant to the Bohemian crown. But Bohemia, seething with wrath at his betrayal of Huss, refused to submit either to him or to the council's decrees against the reformer's heresies. For some fifteen years war raged over central Europe, the Hussites winning repeated victories under their brilliant captain John Ziska (see also page 2950), till his death in 1424, when his place was taken by the only less brilliant Prokop. The last 'crusade' dispatched against the heretics, with the blessing of Pope Martin, fled ignominiously on the Hussite leader's approach (1431).

At this moment a new council met at Basel, pope Martin died, and the council, eager for peace, invited the Hussites to send a delegation. A compromise was reached, sanctioning some but not all of the reformers' demands; it satisfied the moderates or Calixtines, but not the extremists or Taborites, who predominated in the Hussite armies. The result was a split between the council and the new pope, Eugenius IV, and between the Taborites and Calixtines who, united by no foreign foe, set about fighting each other.

The Calixtines had learnt the art of war from Ziska and Prokop himself; they crushed the Taborites and killed Prokop at the battle of Lipan (1434). Unlike the Taborites, the Calixtines were not unwilling to admit Sigismund provided that their religious liberties were secured, and in 1436 he entered the Bohemian capital as acknowledged king. Bohemia was formally pacified, and the extension of the war of religion to the rest of Europe was averted.

Sigismund's Failure as Emperor

SIGISMUND had procured the assembly of the Council of Constance as the champion of reform, with every prospect of gaining immense prestige as the leader of Europe who had restored the peace of the Church. He owed it to his own vacillation and lack of steady resolution that, in spite of his spasmodic energy, those hopes were disappointed. No one could place any confidence in him, or trust him to pursue to-morrow the scheme on which his heart was apparently set to-day. When he made



SEAL OF LADISLAS III

Ladislas III (1424-44), king of Poland and Hungary, covered himself with glory by his victorious campaign against the Turks in 1443. Violating the treaty of Szeged, he resumed the war and was killed at Varna, Nov. 10, 1444.

State Archives, Berlin

friends he could not keep them, and quarrelled quite unnecessarily with his most loyal supporters. He let his hold on the Council of Constance slip through his fingers. The ablest of the German statesmen, Frederick of Hohenzollern, aimed at concentrating power in the emperor's hands, but—after he had acquired from Sigismund the electorate of Brandenburg—abandoned the project in despair. Germany was no nearer to union at the end of his reign than at its beginning.

The male line of the house of Luxemburg ended with Sigismund's death in 1437. His heir, so far as he had an heir, was his son-in-law, the Hapsburg Albert of Austria, who actually succeeded him as king of the Romans, of Hungary and of Bohemia, but died in 1439, before the birth of his child Ladislas 'Postumus.' Bohemia accepted the infant; Hungary offered her crown to Ladislas of Poland, who accepted it; the German electors pitched upon another Hapsburg, the very incompetent Frederick (III) of Styria, for king of the Romans, to whose descendants the imperial crown remained—not indeed in form but in actual practice—hereditary till the Holy Roman Empire came to an end in the nineteenth century.

Ladislas of Poland was the still youthful son of that Duke Jagellon of Lithuania whose marriage to Sigismund's sister-in-law Hedwig had incorporated his duchy with the Polish kingdom. When Ladislas was killed in battle with the Turks at Varna in 1444, he was shortly succeeded in Poland by his brother Casimir, but Hungary acknowledged Ladislas Postumus, so that the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns were again temporarily united.

The Council of Basel was the second that had been summoned since the dissolution of the Council of Constance. It was vigorously anti-papal, that is, bent on curtailing the personal power and authority of the pope, as compared with that of councils. Antagonism between Eugenius and the council hardened year by year, and with it the tendency for the churchmen within the several European states to make their demands from a national and individual point of view.

The intrigues and intricacies of the contest which went on throughout the

life of Eugenius cannot be traced here. It was so acute that in 1438 Eugenius declared the council dissolved and called a counter-council at Ferrara; whereupon the Basel council deposed Eugenius and set up the duke of Savoy as antipope (Felix V). Mainly by the skilful but most unscrupulous diplomacy of Aeneas Sylvius—afterwards Pope Pius II—the lay rulers of Europe were drawn to the side of the pope, having hitherto preserved a general neutrality. The bargains were almost completed when Eugenius died in 1447, and were endorsed next year by his successor Nicholas V. In 1449 Felix resigned, and the Council of Basel, which could no longer hold its own, was dissolved. The Papacy entered on a new phase. It had successfully broken the 'conciliar' movement and scotched reform, and its success made the Reformation (see Chap. 131) inevitable.

Rivalry between Milan and Venice

IN North Italy the domination of the Visconti was for a time broken up by the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402. His elder son Gian Maria had all his father's vices in an exaggerated degree, with none of his ability. When Gian Maria was murdered in 1412, his younger brother Filippo Maria set about the recovery of what had been lost by employing the services of brilliant condottieri (captains of mercenaries) with much success; but Venice took advantage of the position first to strengthen herself, and then under the guidance of the Foscari to embark upon a career of aggrandisement on land, also by the employment of condottieri, in which she too achieved considerable success. Hence, by the middle of the century the rival powers of Milan and Venice shared the domination of the north.

The death of Filippo Maria in 1447 without male issue seemed to promise the establishment of a republic in place of the despotism at Milan, and a great opportunity for the extension of the power of Venice. But two events combined to remove that prospect. The condottiere Francesco Sforza, who had commanded Filippo Maria's armies and married his daughter, made himself master and duke



FRANCESCO SFORZA OF MILAN

By venal military genius and political acumen Francesco Sforza (1401-66) rose to be a dominant factor in medieval Italy. Established as duke of Milan in 1450, he was rivalled in splendour and power only by the Medici of Tuscany.

Relief by Romano in Florence Museum: photo, Anderson

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made him for many years very dependent on his parliaments; the first he remedied largely by the substitution of crushing fines and confiscations for the accustomed drastic penalties of treason (whereby incidentally he completed the fall of the great baronial families), and the second by marrying the representative of the rival house; while the diplomatic astuteness in which Ferdinand of Aragon was both his partner and rival restored England's lost position as a European power.

Charles VII of France died in 1461, Philip of Burgundy in 1467. Charles had created a machinery for the concentration of power in the hands of the crown, but his son Louis XI had a long struggle, in which there were failures as well as successes, before he achieved that decisive supremacy which was the aim of his life. As dauphin he had joined or headed the rebellion of the great nobles against the royal curtailments of their power; as king it was his policy to break their power. His instruments were drawn from the



LOUIS XI OF FRANCE

By subtlety, personal courage and administrative ability, Louis XI (1423-83) broke the power of the nobles, averted the menace of an English invasion, and thus was the consolidator of modern France. This portrait was painted by Jean Fouquet.

Bibliothèque Nationale, M.S. français 19,819



A 'PRINCE OF THE LILIES'

Hostility to France dominated Charles the Rash of Burgundy (1433-77). His extravagant ambitions being frustrated in France, he challenged the independence of the Swiss, by whom he was finally defeated, and slain, at Nancy, June 5, 1477.

Dillon Museum: photo. Neurdein

bourgeois class, or at best from the minor nobility; his most dangerous adversaries were the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon and Brittany. Intrigue and a profound capacity for gauging men's characters were his weapons, since soldiering was not his craft. He evaded direct collision with Philip, at whose court he had found asylum in his rebellious days; but the duke in his old age allowed his hot-headed and ambitious son Charles an increasingly free hand; and from 1465 to 1477 Louis was constantly engaged, openly or covertly, in a duel with Charles the Rash.

As a vassal of France, Charles desired to diminish the power of his suzerain; as an independent potentate, he meant to revive the old Middle Kingdom of Burgundy from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Rhône. But between the Burgundies and the Netherlands intervened Champagne and Lorraine, and southward it was not easy to establish a title to Switzerland and Provence. On the other hand, there was always promise of reviving effective alliance with England against Louis.



A ROYAL BETROTHAL

Maximilian, afterwards emperor, married Mary, daughter of Charles the Rash of Burgundy, in August, 1477, seven months after the death of her father. This contemporary drawing shows the young couple during their engagement.

German Museum, Nuremberg

In 1465 a combination of the 'princes of the lilies,' i.e. of the blood royal, called the 'League of the Public Weal,' was formed against the royal usurpations. Louis must have been altogether crushed but for the royal army created by his father. As it was, he was forced to make great concessions to the dukes; but the coalition was soon broken up by jealousies and rivalries among themselves, fostered and turned to his own account by the king, who so managed matters that Champagne, which Charles expected to pass under his own control, eventually fell into Louis' own hands. The duke, finding himself without trustworthy allies in France, set about the development of his ambitions on the other side of the Rhine, where Louis was comfortably satisfied to stir up enemies without taking an open part; and Charles finally met his death in a great defeat at Nancy, at the hands of the Switzers over whom he claimed sovereignty in virtue of a bargain with the Hapsburg Sigismund of Tyrol, whereby the Swiss Confederation secured final recognition of its independence.

Charles had been completely baulked of his extravagant ambitions. He left no son, and he had married his daughter Mary to Maximilian, not yet Roman king, in the vain hope of being rewarded with the title of king by the emperor Frederick. With the exception of the duchy of Burgundy, which Louis succeeded in annexing, all Charles' possessions went to Mary, including the trans-Rhenish county of Burgundy, so that the name of Burgundy still attached to the dominions generally. When Mary died they passed not to her husband but to their infant son, the 'archduke' Philip, whose son in the next generation became the head of the house of Hapsburg.

When Louis died in 1483, his supremacy in France was thoroughly established and the royal domains had been immensely extended. He left an infant heir, Charles VIII, with the regency in the capable hands of his elder daughter Anne of Beaujeu; and the young king's marriage to the heiress of Brittany in 1491 brought almost the last of the great duchies into the king's own control.

Union of Aragon and Castile

THE Spanish kingdoms, like France and England, were at last in process of consolidation through the marriage of the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon, Isabella and Ferdinand. In 1474 Isabella succeeded her half-brother Henry IV on the throne of Castile, in priority to his reputed daughter, of whom the world declined to believe that he was the real father. She secured her crown, not without difficulty, though her title to the succession had been formally recognized six years earlier, immediately before her marriage to the crown prince of Aragon, who succeeded his father, John II, on the throne in 1479. Ferdinand in Castile was only king-consort, and Isabella queen-consort in Aragon.

The two kingdoms remained separate with separate constitutions and institutions, like the Scandinavian kingdoms, or like England and Scotland in the seventeenth century. But the two very able monarchs worked always in perfect harmony, as though they had been one. In relation to foreign countries there was a

The Birth of the Renaissance

single Spanish kingdom. But in each kingdom there was the same need for establishing the supremacy of the central authority: Castilians and Aragonese were too jealous of each other to unite against the monarchs, who could call in the Castilians against their Aragonese subjects and vice versa in case of necessity; their measures were as a rule conspicuously to the general advantage however opposed to particular established interests; and thus under Ferdinand and Isabella Spain definitely emerged as a great power.

Half of their joint reign and two-thirds of Ferdinand's belong to the next Chronicle, but the first period has features of vital importance. The establishment of the



DISCOVERY OF NEW WORLD

This woodcut is an illustration to a pamphlet printed at Basel in 1494, describing 'the islands lately discovered in the Indian sea.' It depicts Columbus landing on the island of Hispaniola.

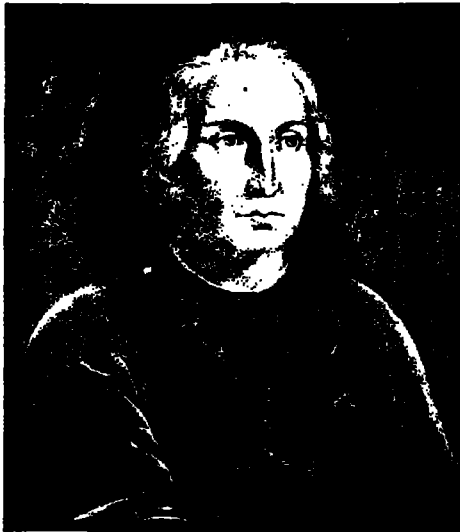
Inquisition with a power and latitude of action elsewhere unknown gave to Spain her peculiar character as the champion of religious persecution and intolerance in its most extreme form. The expulsion of the Jews exemplified the same spirit, and later brought its economic nemesis.

The conquest of the Moorish kingdom in the south (Nov., 1491), completed by the fall of Granada in the next year, ended the Mahomedan power which had maintained itself in Spain for nearly eight hundred years and rounded off the new Spanish kingdom, leaving Portugal the sole independent state in the Peninsula, since Navarre had practically

ceased to reckon as Spanish. And the fall of Granada left the monarchs free to dispatch a Genoese explorer on what was the most momentous voyage in the world's history, though the question had in fact come to be only—who should be the first to face the great adventure?

For the work of Henry the Navigator was on the point of attaining its full fruition. In 1486 the Portuguese Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, sailed on the waters of the Indian Ocean, and opened the new highway between the West and the immemorial East. It was an accident, the short-sightedness indeed of Henry VII of England, that gave the patronage of Christopher Columbus with all its tremendous consequences to the Spanish monarchs.

There were a hundred and twenty men, all told, on the three ships with which Columbus set sail on August 3, 1492, to seek the Indies by voyaging not east but west. Exactly ten weeks later land was sighted. Columbus had not reached the Indies, as he always believed; but he had found a New World.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Painted by the Venetian artist Lorenzo Lotto, this is reputed the best portrait of Christopher Columbus. It was on October 12, 1492, that Columbus set foot in the Bahamas and opened a new volume of world history.

Museo du Marine, Madrid; photo, Laurent



BARBARIC EQUIPMENT OF HUNGARIAN WARRIORS IN THE SERVICE OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I

Hungarian military costume is nowhere more clearly shown than in a wood block of the series known as *The Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian I*. The history of these engravings is as follows. The emperor caused a pageant of the events and triumphs of his reign to be painted in miniature on a hundred and nine sheets of parchment, and himself dictated the descriptions of the figures to his secretary Treitzsurwein in 1512. Between 1516 and 1519 he further caused Hans Burgkmair, a pupil of Dürer, to design a series of some 200 woodcuts based on the miniatures. The woodcut above shows five men with Hungarian iron maces and shields of the kind called 'pavols', invented by John Ziska.

TURK AND MAGYAR IN CONTRAST AND AFFINITY

How two kindred Races from Difference of Religion
became the hostile Champions of East and West

By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER

Author of the Story of India, etc.

THE adventures of two brother races, sprung from a common stock and nurtured in the bosom of the same family until by some strange destiny they were to meet as the chief antagonists in the great clash of the Cross and the Crescent on the banks of the Maritza and the Danube, could not fail to present much of human interest as well as varied material for deep reflection on the causes of feuds between the different races of mankind. Such will surely be the conclusion of those who study the evolution of Turk and Magyar.

Without penetrating too far back into the hazy periods of history, it may be stated that the Uighur Turks, the common ancestors of both these peoples, inhabited the border districts of Europe and Asia at the beginning of the Christian era. The probability is that the Uighurs had come originally from the Baikal region, whence they had been driven by some of the Chinese conquerors who had only halted in their triumphant progress on reaching the shores of the Caspian. But the Chinese withdrew, while all the Turk races or communities remained in their new-found places of shelter, secure from Chinese pursuit and standing on the threshold of a new world. They had turned their backs on Asia, and their faces were now set towards Europe.

One thing is clear about the Uighur Turks. They were certainly distinct from the races who had occupied Pannonia and Dacia at the time of the Roman conquest. It was the rumoured decline of the Roman Empire that impelled the tribes of the steppes on either side of the Ural to advance, lured onward by the prospect of

participating in the fall and spoliation of the realm of the Caesars. Confirmation of these rumours was brought by Turk envoys sent to Constantinople to spy out the land and then to exact rewards and tribute as the price of their uncertain military aid from the effete and cowardly representatives of European culture.

The Roman occupation lasted four centuries, and then, with the decay of imperial power and the growth of confusion in the state, the legions were withdrawn from the region beyond the Danube. Into this void came in the first place the Huns under Attila—a passing tempest—to be followed by the Avars, a race of pure Turks who held sway for over 300 years in that part of Europe which extends from Prussia to the Black Sea and from Poland to the Adriatic. More than once under their great chiefs or 'khakhans' they seemed to hold Constantinople within their grasp, and they were repelled more by its strong walls than by the stout hearts behind them.

By the time that Charlemagne had established the Empire of the West the Avars constituted a serious and sinister danger along the eastern borders of the Frank ruler. In the year of his coronation (800) Charlemagne began his operations to overthrow the barbarian Avars, who threatened the whole of Christendom. It took him eight years of hard fighting to vanquish them. It was a war of extermination. The country, now known as Hungary, was made an empty waste and the few Avars who survived fled into the mountains and forests of Transylvania. That was

Avar forerunners
of the Magyars



WHERE THE MAGYAR NATION AROSE

Maps to illustrate Turkish origins and the Ottoman Empire appear in pages 2780 and 3122. The Magyars, ethnically akin to the Ottoman Turks at least, first appeared in Europe in the latter half of the ninth century, flooding through the Carpathians, populating what is now Hungary, and subduing much besides.

the position when the Magyars on the Don listened to the call to seize a land which was temporarily left without owners. Half a century after Charlemagne's triumph the Magyars came through the passes of the Carpathians and looked down upon the land of promise which they then resolved to make their future home. Many conquerors had preceded them; they alone were to remain.

The early history of the Magyars reposes on popular legends which provide no sound basis for examination, but about the beginning of the Christian era they occupied the fertile steppe region to the north of the Caspian and Aral seas, which were then joined together. Two brothers called Hunyor and Magyar were their earliest known chiefs, and they were subsequently accorded descent from the mighty hunter Nimrod. Whether on account of food scarcity or impelled by the restless instinct of the nomad, Hunyor quitted this region to seek a new home in the south, and if he was only in a partial degree the founder of Hun

power he seems to be entitled to be regarded as the ancestor of Ertogrul, the first leader of the Ottoman Turks.

But Magyar did not stir, and it is impossible to fix the exact date at which his descendants moved from the Ural to the Volga. This region did not please them for any length of time; and they continued their quest for a new home until they reached the Don region, where, we know, they occupied in the fifth century a district named Dontumageria after them. From such evidence as exists, they appear to have avoided the troubles of their neighbours and were not involved in the great Hun incursion into Europe which closed on the field of Châlons.

But, however scanty may be the materials for their early history, there is other evidence to establish their

ethnological identity. They were not merely Asiatics but Turks of the Uighur branch or Magyar an family, the proof of which is Asiatic tongue afforded by their language.

This was and remains in its structure and phonetic sounds a strictly Asiatic tongue similar in its main features to all the dialects of the numerous Turko-Tatar races. What is specially noteworthy is that after more than a thousand years in Europe it remains a strictly Asiatic tongue closely resembling that of the Ottomans. Their common origin is thus as clearly revealed as if they had preserved their annals in unbroken continuity.

The Magyars began to cross the Carpathians towards the end of the ninth century, and their conquest of Hungary is computed to have occupied them for the ten years closing in the year 895. In this task they were joined by the surviving Avars, who recognized in them brother Turks. Between them they are said to have mustered a total fighting force of 150,000 warriors. They were all mounted

men, relying for success on rapid movements, their horses small and sturdy and their most formidable weapon the Tatar bow, which they could use with deadly effect from the saddle. Their military capacity as well as their mobility gave them a clear superiority over any other forces in the eastern half of Europe.

When the Magyars began to establish themselves in Hungary on a permanent footing, they found it a fair land rich in natural products, well watered and easy of defence. Even in those days it produced wheat in sufficient abundance for all their needs; its vast prairies, the famous lowland called *Alföld*, covering 35,000 square miles, provided grazing ground for their flocks and herds; and the vineyards planted by the Romans still bordered the great rivers. Great mountains like the Carpathians, broad rivers such as the Theiss and the Danube, the vast forests of Transylvania, all furnished excellent barriers for a race that asked for security to enable it to develop and multiply.

The newcomers were heathens, or deists following the primitive cult of shamanism.

They worshipped a supreme being whom they called *Isten*, and propitiated him with sacrifices of cattle and white horses. The chief merit of shamanism was that it left other races to follow their own religious beliefs undisturbed, and that it did not inculcate proselytism by force. Much of this tolerance in religion has characterised the Magyars at all periods of their history.

At the time of their intrusion into Hungary the Magyars were ruled by seven chiefs, each of whom bore the title of duke, but it was recognized that for a great enterprise a single leader is essential. They accordingly elected *Almos*, the eldest among them, to be their chief, and they took the tribal oath, by drinking their commingled blood out of a bowl, to the effect that the chiefship should be vested in his family. *Almos* did not long survive his nomination, but his authority passed to his son *Arpad*, who is regarded as the founder of the first Magyar dynasty. He consolidated the Magyar hold on Hungary by the capture of *Pressburg* (*Pozsony*, *Bratislava*) as a place of defence

towards Germany, but, unlike his immediate successors, he was content with what he possessed. The Magyars are described in the contemporary chronicles as a fierce race, and their incursions into central Europe as far as Bavaria on one side and Lombardy on the other were marked by atrocities which rivalled if they did not surpass those of the Huns.

The methods of the Magyars in war resembled those in general practice among all the Turk races. They trusted more for victory to the celerity of their movements than to the direct shock

in battle. Although they had adopted some of the lighter pieces of armour,

How the Magyars fought in battle

such as a helmet and breastplate for themselves and a frontlet for their horses, they rejected the heavier armour common among the Frankish and Teutonic races. By their rapidity in evolution, whether in advance or simulated retreat, they compensated for their deficiency in defensive armour, while they relied upon the volleys from their formidable bows to throw the ranks of their opponents into confusion. The terror of their name went before them. It is certain that they spared no man; it was said that they ate the raw flesh or drank the blood of those whom they butchered, and from one end of Christendom to the other went up a prayer, 'Save us from the Hungarians!'

The Hungarian terror fortunately proved brief. It was dispelled by the German princes in the great battles of *Merseberg* near *Leipzig* in 934 and *Lechfeld* in 955. After those severe lessons the Magyars rested content with the possession of Hungary. It might even be imagined that they had been taught at the same time their first lesson in civilization, for their methods of warfare seem afterwards to have lost something of their primitive savagery. At this period, too, some German colonies, composed of prisoners taken in the wars or of captives deported from occupied territory, were founded in Hungary, and introduced or at least extended the practice of agriculture which the Magyars had either neglected or scorned. The Magyars thus experienced the first influence of the new world into which they had intruded from the steppes of *Scythia*.



REPRESSOR OF THE MAGYARS

Otto the Great (see Chronicle XVII, pages 2500-02) is memorable in Hungarian history for his decisive victory over the Magyars at Lechfeld in 955. This ivory in Byzantine style shows him as emperor supported by subject princes.

Trivulza Collection, Milan; from Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst

Although they were ruthless in war, the Magyars had adopted some of the principles and practices of a regular society. They lived to a large extent by plunder, but among themselves the laws against theft were Draconian. Mutilation in its various degrees was the penalty, and this entailed the loss of the rights of the warrior, which was the only rank coveted by the tribesmen. Not less rigorous was the code for social and marital offences. The injured husband had the right of taking the life of the offender. The laws relating to property were equally simple and severe. Whether acquired in battle or by inheritance, fair and equal division was maintained. These customs, which were rigidly observed, related solely to the national community, and they served to exclude discord and to preserve a large measure of security.

If, however, they sufficed to maintain the entity and solidarity of the nation, there were no analogous obligations

towards outsiders. The Magyars, after all, were not much more cruel towards the defeated than their European neighbours, for extermination was the general practice everywhere. The most that can be said in extenuation is that there were no prisons to hold captives in confinement and no reserves of food to sustain them, and if this was true of the Christians, who had towns and castles, it was still more true of the Magyars, who had only camps.

But although the Magyars had been compelled to admit the superior power of the Germans under Otto the Great, they refused to submit to the emperor's claim to regard them as a vassal state, and the general situation in central and western Europe at that period forbade any attempt to resort to compulsion. The result of the preliminary struggle between Teuton and Magyar was that a heathen state had established itself like a wedge between the realms of the Western and Eastern churches of Christendom. How long would it resist the influences around it, and when it succumbed would it be to the West or the East that it would turn for its spiritual regeneration? That was the great problem in the east of Europe during the closing years of the tenth century.

At that time the paramount duke, Geyza, was married to Sarolta, daughter of the duke of Transylvania, who was a Christian. Her mother **Conversion to** was a Greek princess, and **Christianity** consequently it seemed extremely probable that if Geyza moved towards Christianity at all it would be towards the Greek church. Yet although Geyza revealed his sympathy in many ways he did not deem it prudent or politic for himself to adopt the new religion, but gave free permission for the dissemination of the new doctrines. This liberality was in complete accord with the principles of shamanism. It might have been thought that his wife's influence would have been exerted in favour of Constantinople, but the work of proselytism was begun from Germany, and it was carried on to completion without a break under the pope's direct instigation. The impetus was probably due to the example and influence of the German colonists who had settled in Hungary

under compulsion during the long wars. At least, the fact is vouched for that as early as the year 974 the bishop of Passau came from Bavaria to baptise the first five thousand Hungarians who adopted Christianity. In 993, towards the close of his rule, Duke Geyza took a more pronounced step. He sanctioned the baptism of his son Vayik by S. Adalbert, the bishop of Prague, under the Christian name of Stephen.

Four years later Stephen succeeded his father, and had immediately to cope with an insurrection led by the champions of the old religion, who called for the expulsion of the innovators and the suppression of the Christian propaganda.

This rising met with no success, the principal leader, named Kopan, paid the penalty of failure with his life, and the defeat of the pagans was naturally followed by a marked increase in the number of Christians. As a further proof of the change that was passing over the Magyars and converting them into champions of the Church, Stephen married a German princess, Griselda of Bavaria; but, notwithstanding the increasing intrusion of Germans into Hungary, the desire to exclude German control of its affairs and, above all, to prevent the state being merged in the Western Empire was as strong in these early times as it was in the days of the Dual Monarchy.

Stephen was the first to give this sentiment a definite form, and the opportunity he seized revealed his statesmanlike capacity. This was the period when pope and emperor were brought into sharp rivalry, and Stephen took advantage of their feud to send an imposing embassy to Rome with the assurance of his devotion to the pope, and of his intention to support the interests of the Church against its opponents. The pope, Sylvester II, equally pleased with the acquisition of a new convert and of a possibly powerful ally for secular purposes, sent him his blessing, and with it the title of Apostolic King. The embassy also brought back a jewelled crown and a double cross to show that Stephen was the pope's vicar over all Christians within his realm.

Thus equipped with a diadem which has been ever since preserved with religious care as symbolising the independent sovereignty of Hungary, Stephen caused himself to be crowned with Catholic rites in the church of Gran on August 15 in the year 1000. After his death Stephen was canonised, and he is still remembered as the founder of Hungarian independence.

The death of Hungary's first king was followed by a period of trouble, and one of the most striking incidents was an attempt to revive shamanism and to suppress the Christian religion. It was the latest phase of an Asiatic attempt to dispense with European culture and control. These iconoclasts obtained some success at first, but Christianity was by this time far too firmly established in the country for its followers to tremble at the threats of those who desired to revert to the primitive faith, and the movement in favour of shamanism soon died out.

Hungary, like all inland states, has always felt a desire to have an outlet to the sea. Some of the later rulers of the Arpad dynasty took the first steps towards gratifying it. One prince added Croatia to his kingdom and converted its people to Christianity. His successor followed up



THE CROWN OF S. STEPHEN

Stephen (977-1038), canonised after his death, received from Pope Sylvester II the lower part of the jewelled crown here seen. It is the famous Crown of Hungary that has been used in the coronation of fifty monarchs.

this victory with the addition of Dalmatia, which signified the acquisition of the ports of Zara and Spalato. Hungary thus appeared in the Adriatic as a rival to Venice at the beginning of the twelfth century.

This far-seeing ruler was named Coloman and he was the first Magyar prince to receive the appellation of 'the Learned.' He was, indeed, far ahead of his times, for he championed the administration of pure justice in an age when it was little known in principle and rarely practised. At that

time courts were not venal, but they were swayed by favouritism and privilege, the claims of the commonalty being completely disregarded. Coloman set his face against this partial form of justice. One of his official aphorisms, and it was very pertinent to the times in which he lived, ran as follows: 'Innocence is not to be condemned through hatred nor is crime to be palliated through favouritism.'

Coloman differed from all his contemporaries in regard to another very prevalent popular belief. From the earliest times witchcraft had been regarded as a substantial fact, and the penalties inflicted on its supposed adepts were never more severe in Europe generally, and in Germany particularly, than during the time when Coloman occupied the throne of Hungary. Coloman opposed the general belief, declaring his own conviction that no witches existed; yet within a hundred years of that declaration the pope decreed the extermination of a tribe in Friesland on the ground of their being witches, and five centuries later so sapient a prince as James I of England had an implicit faith in their existence.

Coloman was a staunch supporter of the Church and assimilated its regulations more rigidly to the orders of Rome. Up to his time many of the clergy, availing themselves of the licence of the Greek church, had married, but he enforced the pope's decree that celibacy must be compulsory. He also encouraged the adoption of Latin as the official and literary tongue, and for a long period this was the common language among all those who made any pretence to learning. It was not, indeed, until the middle of the fifteenth century

that the Magyar language began to reassert its claims as the national speech and to produce a literature of its own. This literary movement was no doubt greatly promoted by the adoption of Roman characters to displace the original Asiatic symbols of the Magyar tongue, due to the patient toil of two Pauline priests. Even down to the middle of the nineteenth century Latin was used in the Diet.

After Coloman's reign, which witnessed the passage of the first crusaders across Hungary under Godfrey of Bouillon (from whom the king took guarantees for the good behaviour of his followers), Hungary passed through a period of great internal trouble. The nobles or magnates of the kingdom acquired the upper hand, and this momentary triumph was

expressed in the extraction of the Golden Bull from one of Coloman's successors, Andrew II. This bull, although cited as the basis of the Hungarian constitution, does not appear to be entitled to this claim. Its chief purport was the exclusion of foreigners, and more especially of Germans who had been encouraged to come into the country by Andrew's wife Gertrude, a German princess. The magnates as a preliminary to their reforms murdered the queen, and then compelled her son to act as their leader.

The chief principle laid down in the Golden Bull was the exclusion of foreigners, in so far at least as they might acquire hereditary possessions. 'If foreigners come to the country they shall not be elevated to dignities without the consent of the Council of the Realm, and land shall not be given to any who are strangers in the kingdom.' That was a principle of true Asiatic exclusiveness, and it showed that the Magyars were still far from having entered the body of European nations.

While the Golden Bull aimed at enlarging the privileges of the magnates—among others they were declared immune from taxation—it did not diminish the king's prerogative, but he had to exercise it under the restraint of their supervision. The new law compelled the king to summon all the magnates to a diet once at least in each year. It bore some superficial resemblance, therefore, to the Magna

Carta which had been wrested from King John of England only a few years before.

Under the Arpads the Europeanising of the purely Turkish race of the Magyars had been subject at different periods to three different influences—German, Italian and Greek, or, more distinctively, Byzantine. It was now to receive an impetus from an entirely new quarter. In the year 1309, Charles Robert Valois ('Carobert'; see page 3004), grandson of the king of Naples and descended in the female line from the Arpads, was invested with the Crown of S. Stephen. He soon gave proof of his ability to govern.

He set himself in the first place to the task of curbing the power and pride of the great nobles, and he met with some success. He introduced the order and customs of chivalry, and instituted tournaments in the hope that they would reduce the frequency of assassinations, but above all that they would tend to diminish the

power and restlessness of the nobles. The Hungarians began to adopt not merely the garb but the practice of that chivalry which tempered the savagery of primitive warfare. Charles Robert was less successful as a leader of armies than as a knight. His expedition against the rebellious 'voivode' of Wallachia was badly managed and resulted in a disastrous retreat, which led to such a marked loss of popularity that he felt constrained for a time to retire to Naples. This self-imposed exile was brief; Charles returned to Buda, triumphed over his enemies and raised the court of Hungary to a high degree of splendour. Among his more substantial reforms he increased the public revenue and established a stable currency.

Charles Robert's work was continued and surpassed by his son and successor, Lewis the Great, who occupied the throne for forty years. He reigned during a critical period of European history, for



HUNGARIANS AND FRENCH IN COUNCIL BEFORE THE DEFEAT OF NICOPOLIS

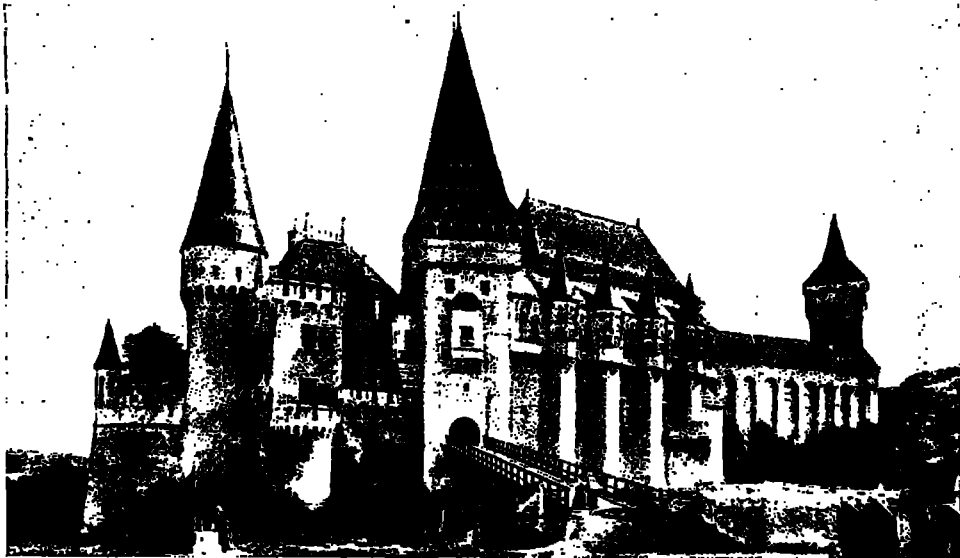
Sigismund the German, afterwards Roman emperor, acquired the throne of Hungary (1387-1437) through his wife Maria, daughter of Lewis the Great. He appealed to Charles VI of France for aid against the advancing Turks, and a Froissart miniature shows him in council with John of Burgundy, leader of the French crusade, and two other French captains; the three knights in bronze armour on the left are Hungarians. They were utterly defeated by Sultan Bajazet at Nicopolis in 1396.

British Museum; Harleian MS. 4380

during it the Turks under Murad I established themselves for the first time at Adrianople. This event occurred in 1360, when Lewis was at the height of his power and fame. The capture of Adrianople created a panic in Constantinople, and the emperor John Palaeologus came in person to Buda to sue for the support of the king of Hungary. He offered a tremendous bribe for such aid, promising to join the Western church, and thus to end the schism that had so long divided Christendom. The pope was fascinated by the prospect, and urged Lewis to employ all his power to bring it to realization. For the purposes of this expedition he called him 'the Banner Bearer of the Church.' But, notwithstanding that the Serbians and the Bulgars joined the Hungarians in this adventure, the result was disappointing if not disastrous. The confederated forces were defeated by Murad on the banks of the Maritza. There the two races of the Turks and Hungarians met for the first time in hostile array, probably without the slightest comprehension of their racial affinity, and thus a strife began that con-

tinued during many centuries with varying turns of fortune.

The long reign of Lewis came to an end in 1382. Reference has been made to his work as a warrior, but he is principally remembered for his civil administration and for his cultivation of the arts of peace. He gave laws and a new code of jurisprudence to the country, which ensured the permanence of her institutions and which continued in force for centuries. His father had reformed the currency. He encouraged trade and sent emissaries to France and Flanders to make Hungarian products known in the principal markets of the West. He brought order into the affairs of the Church as well as of the state. He was also the patron of learning as it was practised and understood in Italy, and he established the first Hungarian university at Pecs on the model of the University of Padua. He turned his court at Buda into one of the most brilliant in Europe, on the pattern of Naples and Venice, at that time the highest manifestations of regal splendour. On the whole his was a glorious reign well deserving of the popular description



EMBATTLED SEAT OF HUNGARY'S GREAT NATIONAL HERO

The career of Janos Corvinus Hunyadi was a magnificent one, for though he suffered defeat on the already memorable battlefield of Kossovo at the hands of the Turks in 1448, it was redeemed by the relief of Belgrade eight years later, and he died of plague in the year of victory. He was born in 1387, and, after covering himself with glory in Turkish wars, became regent of Hungary in 1445. His castle (Eisemarkt or Vajda-Hunyad) is at Hunia Doara in what is now Rumania.

Photo, E.N.A.

that it had proved 'a continuous blessing for the nation.' The seventy years' rule of the Valois family in Hungary established a record that has rarely been equalled and never surpassed elsewhere. It was said at the time that Hungary was the best governed state in Europe.

A new influence of a devastating and disastrous character now made itself felt in the fortunes and fate of the Magyars. The shadow of the Moslems had fallen over south-east Europe and Hungary lay within the range of their activities. About a century before the Valois period the descendants of Hunyor, the brother chief with Magyar of the Uighur Turks, appeared in Asia Minor under a hero named Ertogrul. They first helped

Magyars clash with the Turks the Seljuks in their expiring struggle with the Mongols, and then supplanted them as the Ottoman Turks in Anatolia. These nomads came from the Oxus and for a time occupied Armenia. They had adopted Mahomedanism in the seventh century, becoming the most fervent champions of Islam. The intrusion of the Turks into Europe was the Moslem challenge to the Christian world, and might be regarded as a reply to the Crusades which had been in progress for nearly three centuries.

We have seen how the opening episode occurred during the life of the second Valois. It had a more disastrous sequel in the successive Turkish triumphs at Nicopolis and Kossovo. The Turks had reached the Danube before the end of the fourteenth century, and it seemed almost certain that they would overrun Hungary, as the national forces were either destroyed or dispersed. An extraordinary occurrence averted this catastrophe. The great Asiatic conqueror, Timur or Tamerlane, had invaded Asia Minor after destroying Bagdad and conquering Syria. Bajazet, the victor of Nicopolis, had to quit Europe to defend his own homelands, and Hungary obtained a breathing space.

It was during this intermediate period that the great national hero, James Corvinus Hunyadi, rose to fame. His origin was dubious, but as the chronicler Philippe de Commines called him 'the White Knight of Wallachia' it does not appear that

he was a Magyar. He distinguished himself in many a border fray with the Turks, and successfully defended the southern frontier against them. He was the advocate of a defensive war, but the king was of an impetuous spirit and insisted on recourse to the offensive.

Accompanied by Hunyadi he advanced across Bulgaria until he reached Varna, where he found the Ottoman army in position **Turkish victory over Hunyadi**. Hunyadi made the most prudent dispositions and strictly enjoined the king not to leave his assigned position until he gave the signal. In the meantime Hunyadi began the action in his own way, and was making good progress. Unfortunately the king, believing that the issue was assured, and not wishing to be deprived of all credit for the victory, charged with the cavalry, who, as it was arranged, were only to throw themselves into the struggle at the last moment. The Turkish troops immediately in front of them gave way, and the horsemen impetuously charging onwards found themselves confronted by the serried lines of the formidable Janissaries. The Hungarians were then and there exterminated, and the unfortunate king fell with the others. The Turks cut off his head and fixed it on a pole, shouting to the Hungarians, 'Behold your king,' whereupon the remainder of the army were seized with panic and fled. Hunyadi was one of the few to escape from the field, but it was only after many hair-breadth escapes that he succeeded in regaining his country.

Notwithstanding this great defeat, for which the blame rested not on him but on the king, Hunyadi was entrusted by the public voice with full responsibility for the preservation of the state as 'governor of the country.' In the hope of retrieving the disaster of Varna, Hunyadi took the field in the year 1448, but fortune did not favour him. The Ottomans did not follow up their success on the field of Kossovo because they had a greater prize in view. In 1453 Mohammed II captured Constantinople, which had been their main object for the better part of a century. Thereafter it became clear,



SULTAN WHOM HUNYADI DEFEATED

It was Mohammed II, conqueror of Constantinople, who was besieging Belgrade in person when Hunyadi entered the town. This medal was struck by Bertoldo di Giovanni in 1481; compare also the portrait by Bellini in page 3124.
British Museum

even to Hunyadi, that all he could hope to do, without a general movement among Christian states to expel the Moslems, was to hold the line of the Danube against their assaults. South of that historic river Hungary retained possession of the great fortress of Belgrade. Hunyadi realized that the sultan would make a great effort to capture it, and therefore put it in a state of defence.

The sultan Mohammed II arrived before Belgrade with an immense force of 300,000 men and the most formidable artillery then to be found in Europe. The Hungarian garrison, although reinforced and encouraged by Hunyadi in person, appeared contemptibly small in comparison. The defence proved stubborn, and although the Ottoman guns made breaches, all the efforts to carry them by storm were repulsed. Having lost 40,000 men the sultan ordered a retreat, leaving 300 of his cannon behind him. Unfortunately Hunyadi, worn out by the strain of the defence, died suddenly, and as a warrior no one could replace him.



FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TURKISH WARRIORS

One of the earliest extant drawings of Turkish soldiers dates from the ineffectual dealings of the emperor Frederick III with the Turks between 1450 and 1490. Notice the bow of the warrior on the misdrawn camel in the foreground; it was largely their archery that made the Turks so formidable.

German Museum, Nuremberg; from Jäger, 'Weltgeschichte'

Europe after the French and the Janissaries themselves, was not very strong in numbers. It was a corps d'élite. Originally intended to serve against the Turks, it was employed principally in the wars with Austria and her confederates, which concluded with the Magyar capture of Vienna.

It is opportune to say something, at this moment, in the keen struggle maintained by the Magyars for their own independence against the Germans on one side and the Turks on the other, about their military system and its defects. After the first period of their European immigration, when they had ceased to be mere raiders and had settled down in their new home, the Magyars lost the military pre-eminence

which they owed to their lighter equipment over the heavily burdened men-at-arms of the Europeans. The fighting force of the nation consisted of the personal retainers and vassals of the great nobles. They were armed with inferior weapons and possessed no discipline. They were summoned to the field in haste and arrived on the spot at their leisure. With such an uncertain corps victory was never assured, and defeat was often inevitable.

In the next phase of the national evolution it was boasted that the Magyar only owed military service to the state for defensive purposes. The Honveds, as their name implied, were only liable for home service, but no state that relied on this limited form of protection has ever continued in existence. Matthias' Black Troop was the first serious attempt to react against this enervating system. A second attempt was made by Zrinyi at the beginning of the seventeenth century when he induced his nobles to provide one man out of twenty of their retainers to form the celebrated Hussar ('huszt'—twenty) regiments that became the ideal standard of light cavalry.

The Magyars were essentially a race of horsemen. If the nobles had their steeds, the shepherd or herdsman had his pony. Mounted on his small but sturdy beast, the shepherd or the herdsman could gratify the nomad instinct due to his Asiatic traditions as he drove his



THE GREAT MATTHIAS CORVINUS

Though Janos Hunyadi never converted his regency into kingship, his son Matthias Corvinus (1443-90) was elected king of Hungary in 1458. This portrait, now in Larenberg Castle, was painted shortly after his death.

From Franknoi, 'Matthias Corvinus'

flocks and herds over the vast plains of his new country. Slung over his back was the national guitar, or zither, with which he regaled himself and his flocks and whiled away the long hours of the day. At all times the Hungarians have been fond of music. No baron's castle was without its minstrel, the royal court was enlivened by the music of lute and guitar and the songs of the roving troubadours. There was a national recruiting ground for singers among the Zingani, or Gypsies, who were and still are exceptionally numerous, and ever abundantly reproductive in Hungary. The Zingani music, with its mixture of plaintive Oriental cadences and its spasmodic outbursts of musical frenzy, made special appeal to the ears and hearts of a race which had never ceased to be Asiatic.

Matthias Corvinus was known throughout Europe by the splendour of his embassies. In 1476 he sent an imposing embassy to Naples to arrange his marriage with Beatrice de Valois. But this ceremonial representation was completely eclipsed by the

special embassy he sent to Charles VIII of France in the year 1487. The most striking feature was the cortège of three hundred youths belonging to Magyar noble families dressed in purple velvet, with gold chains round their necks and the national head-dress ornamented with pearls. They were also mounted on horses of uniform colour. One of the consequences of this embassy was to lead Charles to undertake his unfortunate expedition to Naples for the purpose of reviving the claims he had inherited from the Valois kings.

Matthias, however, is not remembered for his military achievements. His work as the reorganizer of his country, as a lawgiver, as the promoter of knowledge and the patron of literature, constitutes his real claim to be remembered among the greatest rulers Europe has ever known. It was rare in his age for a sovereign to support the general body of the people against the noble or privileged classes. He made it his practice to disguise himself and to move about among the masses, so that he might hear what they were talking about and learn their real sentiments. He held open court and received

petitions with his own hands. When he was warned that he ran the risk of assassination and should adopt precautions, he responded: 'Let no king ruling justly and lawfully fear poison or the assassin's dagger from his subjects.'

In 1465, when he was still a young man, Matthias had founded the University of Pressburg, and at a later date he added to it an observatory.

He invited learned men from France, Italy and Germany to come and settle in his dominions, and he gave them appointments as professors, translators, artists and astronomers. He treated the learned as his friends and entertained them at his table, delighting in discussions with them on all kinds of interesting questions. He formed a magnificent library, and this was before the introduction of printing. Each volume was a work of art in calligraphy and ornamentation. The writing was traced on white vellum, the illustrations delicately painted and the binding embossed with precious stones. He maintained a permanent staff of thirty transcribers and book painters. As the result ten



ENCAMPMENT OF THE RACE THAT TAUGHT MUSIC TO THE MAGYARS

That people of mysterious but certainly Asiatic (probably North Indian) descent, the Gypsies, found a congenial home among the ultimately Asiatic Magyars. They seem to have entered Europe some time in the ninth century and occupied Wallachia in the thirteenth or fourteenth, spreading thence throughout the Balkans and Hungary, where their native music contributed to the typical 'Hungarian' airs. This engraving is by Jacques Callot of Lorraine (1592-1635), who joined a Gypsy band.

Dresden Cabinet of Engravings

thousand of these imposing volumes were brought together in a noble gallery in the Palace of Buda, from whose windows the broad sweep of the Danube might be followed. Matthias introduced printing, but at first the results seemed insignificant in comparison with these splendid tomes.

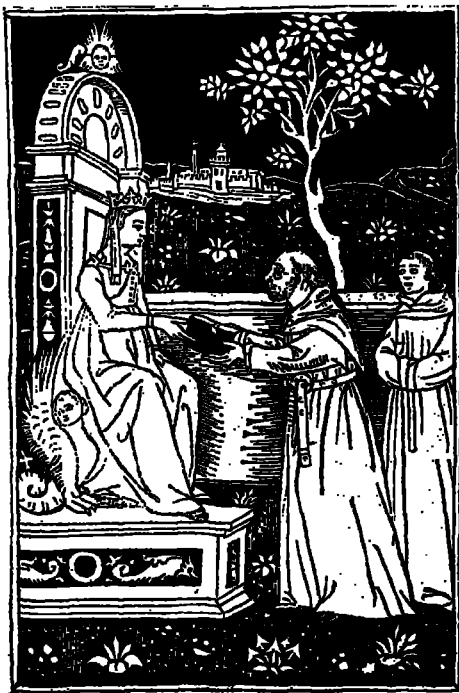
Everything in the Palace of Buda was on the same scale of magnificence, and Queen Beatrice, accustomed to the splendour and artistic perfection of Italian courts, seconded all his efforts to raise the standard of taste by appealing to the aesthetic side of human nature. At the court banquets gold plate was always used, and it is pertinent to remember that in that age Hungary was the principal source from which Europe obtained its precious metals. Buda was not the only royal seat. At Visegrad Matthias established a summer residence which was described as 'an earthly paradise.' In the midst of all this splendour Matthias died suddenly in 1490 after a reign of thirty-two years.

Under Matthias Hungary established her claim to be a participator in the reforms and progress effected in Europe during the period styled the Renaissance. Art, sculpture, illuminated books, the employment of precious

Splendour of
Matthias' Court display and personal
metals for household
adornment, every human

device for contributing to the enjoyment of the beautiful, rendered the Hungarian court in the time of Matthias Corvinus the most splendid in Europe. When the nation learnt of his decease the cry went up on all sides—'King Matthias is dead, Justice has fled!' The general sense of loss was great, but no one at the time could know that it was irreparable. Hungary had reached the zenith of her prosperity; the decline was to be rapid and the fall complete.

Hungary had owed her immunity from Turkish invasion during the fifteenth century to a succession of fortuitous circumstances. They were the appearance of Tamerlane as a relentless foe in the rear of the Ottomans, the necessity of capturing Constantinople and thus assuring communications with Asia before crossing the Danube, and finally, in the



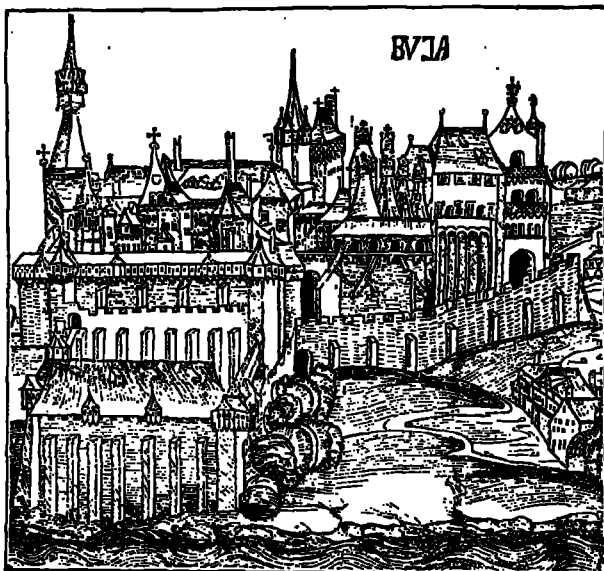
A BOOK FOR MATTHIAS' LIBRARY

For all his crowded life Matthias Corvinus was a great patron of learning. This woodcut (from the 1487 Ferrara edition) shows Philip of Bergamo presenting his work *De Claris Mulieribus* to Beatrice de Valois of Naples, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Matthias' third wife.

From Franknoi, 'Matthias Corvinus'

first quarter of the sixteenth century, the resolution to crush the Mamelukes in Egypt and to wrest from the last of the Abbasids the proud title of khalif. Then came the turn of Hungary, and on the field of Mohacs (1526) the distinctive sovereignty of Hungary terminated. This decisive battle opened the whole country to the invaders, as no means of defence were available. Buda was sacked and its inhabitants, regardless of sex, were massacred. Nothing was spared. Even the famous library of Matthias with all its beautiful treasures was destroyed.

For a hundred and sixty years the greater portion of Hungary, including the entire valley of the Danube, remained under the Turkish dominion. During that period the country was divided into two parts. In the region beyond the Ottoman garrisons the Austrian ruler, the emperor



MATTHIAS' PALACE AT BUDA

In his palace at Buda, where Matthias had collected a library of 10,000 books, a combination of aesthetic taste and royal splendour made up the most brilliant court in Europe. This woodcut is from the *Chronicon* of Hartmann-Schedel, 1493.

From Franknoi, 'Matthias Corvinus'

Ferdinand, was proclaimed king, but after some time a disposition became manifest in the subjected districts to accept Turkish rule and make the best of it. It is permissible to discover in this movement a curious manifestation of atavism, an instance of one race almost unconsciously gravitating through some occult influence to another of the same parent stock. There was close similarity in their language, and their characteristics were not antagonistic, and if only the Magyars had succumbed to the spell of Islam a reunion of formidable potentialities might have been effected. But that was the rock upon which the hopes of the Turks were shattered. The Magyars had become Christians, and, however tolerant in dogma, their faith never faltered.

The introduction of Christianity into Hungary has been described, and for four centuries the supremacy of the

church of Rome remained undisturbed. The first revolt in Europe against this church by the Albigenses in the thirteenth century was confined to France and did not reach central Europe. But it was otherwise with the movement which broke out in Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century under the leadership of John Huss (see Chap. 120). Huss was the direct precursor of the Reformation that came a century after his time. Being summoned to attend the Council of Constance, he was promptly condemned as a heretic and burnt at the stake. But the Hussite movement did not expire with his death. Indeed, it seemed for a moment as if it would become more formidable. His followers clamoured for vengeance, and as they

happened to find an able leader, Ziska, who defeated the imperial armies on several occasions, it looked as if they might establish a strong protesting state in the centre of Europe; but with Ziska's death the Hussites failed to remain united, and although a favourable peace was concluded at Iglau the movement lost its importance, and even the name of the Hussite faction passed out of use. Many of the Hussites from Moravia as



MOHACS FIELD RECORDED ON A MEDAL

This medal was struck some four or five years after the battle of Mohacs (1526) to commemorate the bravery and death of Lewis II; he was drowned in a morass after the defeat. The reverse (left) shows the battle, with the earliest representation of cannon on a medal; the obverse, his wife Maria.

British Museum

well as Bohemia withdrew after the fall of their great leader into Hungary, where they hoped to make converts and to found a new base for their power. As far as they were propagators of Church reforms the Magyars accorded them free scope, with their characteristic tolerance towards religion; but when their leading monks, Thomas and Valentine, set themselves to the task of criticising the social and political conditions of the people of Hungary, advancing extreme opinions in regard to the laws of property and the nobles' privileges, including immunity from taxation, then they brought down upon themselves the wrath of the authorities and an end was promptly put to their propaganda. The permanent influence of the Hussites in Hungary may be regarded as negligible, but at least their admission into the country encouraged the Lutherans in the next century to turn their steps in the same direction.

The Reformation directed in central Germany by the efforts of Martin Luther made rapid progress in Saxony, whence it filtered into Hungary through the German colonies planted in the northern and more particularly the mining districts. Lutheranism was as much a political as it was a religious movement. It preached the equality of man, the abolition of privilege, and the practice of religion by ordinary men and not by those privileged clergy who were isolated in the midst of the community by formal vows.

So far as Hungary was concerned, Lutheranism made its appearance at a specially favourable moment for successful propaganda. The Turks were in possession of the whole of the valley of the Danube, and the unfortunate inhabitants of the remoter districts saw themselves abandoned by the Catholic power which claimed the heritage of the Arpads. The Hapsburgs were unable, even if they were not unwilling, to do anything to accomplish their deliverance, and for a century there was an informal truce between the intruding Moslems and the titular sovereigns. While the representatives of the Catholic Church did nothing, the Lutheran prosely-



HUNGARY'S LAST INDEPENDENT KING

Lewis II (1506-1526) succeeded his father Ladislas as king of Hungary and Bohemia as a boy in 1521, and in spite of his dissolute inclinations perished not ingloriously on the field of Mohacs
From the painting by Bernhard Strigel at Vienna

tisers stimulated independence and a national sentiment. The next encroaching wave of Protestantism led by the Calvinists was even more successful in absorbing the scattered Magyars and consolidating them in a united political body. When the seventeenth century dawned it was declared that three-fourths of the Hungarian people had gone over to Calvinism.

This result chilled the desire of the Austrian court, dominated by papal influences, to liberate Hungary—for in its eyes Protestants were as bad as Moslems—and explains the long period of inaction between Mohacs and the recovery of Buda at an interval of a hundred and sixty years. When the Hapsburgs did move they were actuated as much by the desire to arrest the progress of Protestantism as by the wish to expel the Turks. They desired to take up the attitude that had been adopted in 1523 by Lewis II of Hungary, and his wife Maria the sister of the emperor Charles V, when an order was passed declaring the Lutherans to be the enemies of the Church, and punishing them with death and the confiscation of their goods. In 1525 Luther's books and public writings were solemnly burnt in

the square of Gran, and in anticipation of the Holy Inquisition and S. Bartholomew the extermination of all Protestants was ordered.

The defeat of Mohacs put an end to the scheme, but as the Austrian regime was restored the same views again came into favour, the same policy was revived. The successive risings under the two national heroes Nicholas Zrinyi and Francis Rakoczy were manifestations of the strong and undying national spirit which found its final development in the rebellion of 1848-9 and the 'Ausgleich' of 1867, when Hungary at last recovered her sovereign status as an independent kingdom attached to the House of Hapsburg by only personal ties.

At no period of their historical existence could the Hungarians be described as a commercial people. The Magyars

were not given even to agriculture, although it must be assumed that they undertook, either themselves or by their captives, some form of tillage. After they had settled in Hungary agriculture became indispensable for their existence, and colonies of Germans, Czechs and Slavs were established under different forms to till the ground. But the produce was reserved for home use, there was no export of grain, and the interchange of products from one country to another was unknown in central Europe. The immigrants, however, could not but have been struck with the natural richness of the soil and the variety of their new country's resources. The reports of Hungary being a land of promise must have spread far and wide.

We might never have known of the consequences of this dissemination of information but for the discovery by the



HUNGARY BENEATH THE TURKISH FLAIL : THE SIEGE OF SZIGETVAR

After the battle of Mohacs half the country was overrun by the Turks and, though a native Hungarian (such as John Zapolya) might be maintained as vassal king in their sphere of influence, the title of king of Hungary went to the Hapsburg archdukes of Austria. Unremitting hostilities between the Turks and the Christian half of Hungary continued for two centuries, one incident of which, the Turkish capture of Szigetvar in 1566, is thus shown in a contemporary woodcut.

Mongol invaders in the year 1241 on their capture of Gran, the most important city of the kingdom at that time, that a numerous foreign community had established itself there. This community was composed of different nationalities; Armenians, Lombards, Greeks and French are specially mentioned as engaged in commerce, some being described specifically as dealers in money. It is, therefore, clear that the position of Hungary as a source of raw material had been fully recognized at an early period of its national existence. It is also evident that the Hungarians had not the knowledge or the aptitude to turn the national wealth of their country to its best advantage, and that consequently they might be described as being exploited by the foreigners. The Mongols spared no one in their triumphant advance, and the alien community at Gran was wiped out with the rest.

But the reputation of Hungary as a rich but undeveloped land remained, and not long after the retreat of the Mongols other foreigners arrived to settle in the country and to assist in restoring its prosperity for their own advantage. Among these the Germans, led by the merchant princes of the Fugger family, were the most enterprising and successful. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they enjoyed a practical monopoly of the export trade of Hungary. The principal articles in which they trafficked were timber, hides and precious metals, and to deal with the last they established direct relations with some of the greater magnates on whose possessions the mines were to be found, paying them large sums on the amount sold.

Pressburg and Buda were the centres of Fugger activity, and it was from the resources they derived from their connexion with Hungary that these medieval capitalists were able to provide the emperors Maximilian and Charles V with the funds that enabled them to carry on their numerous foreign expeditions. The marriage of Charles's sister Maria to the king of Hungary was evidence of the German interest in Hungary and of their hold upon that country. An unexpected

end was put to this activity. Just as the Mongols had put an end to the commercial community of Gran, so did the Turks terminate the enterprise of the Germans three centuries later at Buda and in the valley of the Danube.

Whatever may be said against Austrian rule on the political and national side, it cannot be disputed that the commercial and industrial revival of Hungary was largely due to Austrian initiative and enterprise. Revival under One of the great needs of Austrian rule Hungary was improved means of internal communication. Richly endowed by nature with rivers, they were, with the exception of the Danube, unnavigable. On the other hand, they were broad and required bridging to prevent their being merely barriers to transit and locomotion. Good roads were lacking and had to be constructed. Railways had to be laid down from the Danube to the north and the east. The Vienna government did not neglect these matters, and it was only natural, after the autonomy ceded to Hungary in 1867, that these much needed national works should be prosecuted with renewed energy. Then for the first time was created a national industry which had ever been an absent feature in Magyar life. At first it confined its activity to supplying the needs of the home market, but soon it developed the forces necessary to make it a competitor in the markets of the world.

Although the last half century has witnessed an enormous development in the industrial life of Hungary, it is still true to say that her natural resources are only partially utilised and that especially in regard to her inexhaustible stores of water-power she stands in need of capital and scientific co-operation. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Hungary through the Great War has lost much that contributed to her former prosperity. She has retired once more into the position of a strictly inland country. Her hold on the sea has gone. She can only reach it by the Danube—a circuitous route passing through foreign states. The Hungarian has ever been imbued with patriotism. He has need to-day of all his patience.

INDIA AND ITS MOSLEM EMPIRES

Life and Culture in the Great Peninsula under the
Afghan Dynasties from the Ghaznavids to the Lodis

By **Lieut.-Col. Sir WOLSELEY HAIG K.C.I.E., etc.**

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Joint Editor of The Cambridge History of India

THE Moslem invasions of India introduced for the first time into that land of many peoples a permanently alien and irreconcilable element. Invasion by hordes from Transoxiana and the highlands of Asia was no new thing. In past ages Scythians, Parthians, Getae, Gurjaras, Huns and Kushans had poured into the country in successive waves ; but the religions professed by these intruders were vague and accommodating, and each horde of immigrants married Hindu women and was absorbed in a generation or two by the Hindu social system. The fanatically monotheistic Moslem, with his definite faith founded on a written revelation of known date, was a new problem. He could not be absorbed. Hinduism was in his eyes polytheism, idolatry and an abomination with which there could be no compromise.

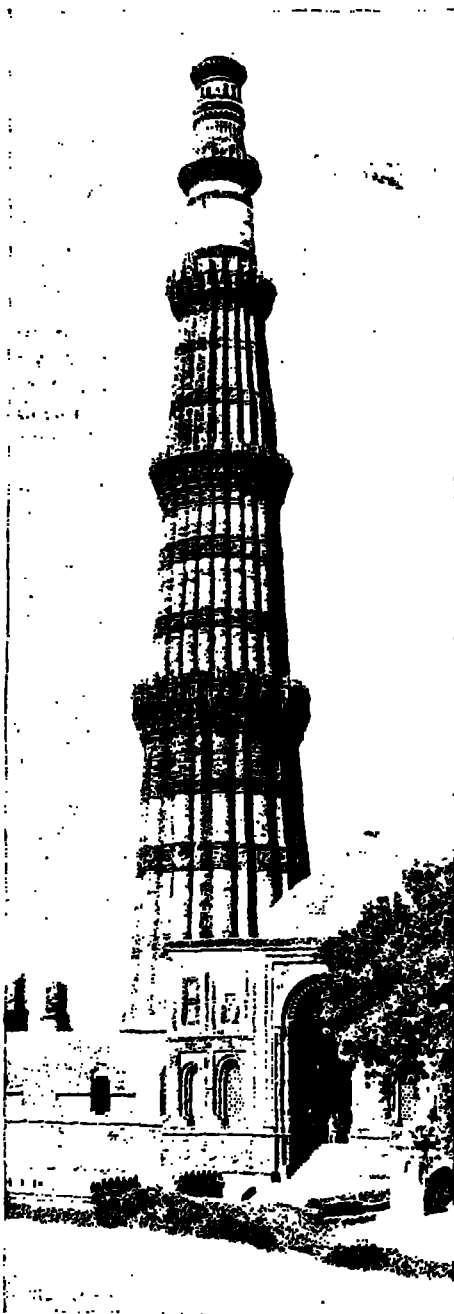
Nevertheless, contact with Hinduism was not without its effect on Islam. The sacred law, which, being a divine revelation, can neither be abrogated nor amended, was framed to meet the difficulties with which the Arabian prophet had to contend in his own land, where his bitterest foes had been they of his own household, and was explicit on the subject of the treatment of vanquished nations. 'People of the Book,' or those possessed of scriptures which Mahomet accepted as divinely inspired, received specially favourable treatment. They were, of course, to be invited and encouraged to accept Islam, but all that was demanded of them was submission to the conqueror and the regular payment of taxes, including the special poll-tax levied from them as non-Moslems ; and compliance with these conditions earned for Christians and Jews the privilege of living in peace and of

practising the rites of their religion without molestation. All other religions were beyond the bounds of toleration, and to their adherents was to be offered nothing but the choice between Islam and death.

This harsh rule was successfully enforced in Arabia, where the old idolatry was stamped out, and was applied with little discrimination to Persia, the first pagan land invaded by the Moslems, so that the old Zoroastrian religion was exterminated except among those who, preferring exile to apostasy, sought a refuge in India, and in two small communities in Persia which contrived to retain, in a Moslem land, the Moslem attitude religion of their ancestors. towards Hindus

But the application of the law had revolted the consciences of the best among the conquerors, and when the Arabs invaded Sindh early in the eighth century (see page 2356), its rigid enforcement was no longer possible. The fierce bigot Hajjaj, who had sent the expedition to Sindh, reproached its leader with doing the Lord's work negligently ; but the Hindus were stubborn, and even had it been possible to massacre a whole people for a religious scruple, the atrocity would have destroyed the fruits of conquest. Thus it was that few but such as resisted the invaders in arms suffered for their faith, and when the conquerors settled down to the government of the country the idolaters enjoyed, in practice, the immunity allowed by law only to People of the Book.

The Arabs proper never extended their conquests or their influence in India beyond the province of Sindh, and Mahmud of Ghazni (see pages 2514 and 2780) is usually regarded as the first Mahomedan conqueror ; but except for his annexation



THE SOARING KUTB MINAR

The Kutb Minar in Delhi, 238 feet high, was begun c. 1200 by Kutb ud-Din Aibak and finished by Altamsh. Such slender towers of victory (cf. page 2783) were a Moslem introduction to the architectural ideas of India.

Photo, F. Desvillie Walker

of the Punjab in the latter years of his reign he was a raider rather than a conqueror. He has been grossly misrepresented by zealous Moslem historians, who love to depict him as the champion of the faith, 'the warrior in the path of God,' and the conqueror of India.

He was none of these. Lust of plunder and of power, not zeal for the faith, was the motive of his warfare. He plundered and destroyed many Indian shrines, but it was their treasure rather than their idols that Mahmud of Ghazni's raids drew him as a magnet draws iron. He defeated many Hindu monarchs, and slew and enslaved many thousands of Hindus, but it was because they defended their land and its wealth, rather than because they were polytheists, that he attacked them. He took, but does not seem to have sought, opportunities for the propagation of his faith, which was presented to his victims in its most repellent and appalling aspect. His missionary zeal burned most fiercely against the heretical successors of the Arabs in Sindh and Multan, and the Hindu inhabitants of the Punjab, the only Indian province included in his vast empire, were usually left to practise the observances of their religion in peace. It is probable that the poll-tax was regularly levied; but this impost cannot have added appreciably to the burdens of the people, and the labourers, peasants, shopkeepers and lower and middle classes generally can hardly have been sensible of any great difference between the conditions of life under the Moslem conquerors and those under native Hindu rulers. Tilak, a Hindu, was one of the leading nobles of Mahmud's court, and commanded a large force of Hindu cavalry.

Nor were Mahmud's successors less tolerant. His son, Mas'ud, forbade Moslem officers to offend the susceptibilities of their Hindu comrades, and when employing Tilak and his troops in the suppression of a Moslem rebellion approved of their mutilating their prisoners. He issued a decree prohibiting familiarity between Moslem and Hindu officers in the Punjab; but the order was not directed against Hindus. It was a precaution against

conspiracy, and the necessity for it proves the existence of cordial relations between the adherents of the two religions.

The power of the Ghaznavids, broken by the Seljuks in the West, declined rapidly in India, and in 1186 Khusraw Malik, the last feeble scion of the line, was dethroned by Mohammed bin Sam or Shahab ud-Din of the house of Ghor (see page 2750.)

Mohammed was the first conqueror to attempt to found a Moslem empire in India. His house had risen on the ruins of that of Ghazni, and he and his elder brother had built up an empire as great as that of Mahmud, but even less enduring. Much of the task of subduing northern India was undertaken by Mohammed himself, but the greater part of it was performed by his slave, Kutb ud-Din Aibak, who took Delhi and made it his capital, and when his master was slain in 1206, leaving no heir capable of wielding his sceptre, became the first independent Moslem ruler of northern India, and the real founder of Moslem rule in the land.

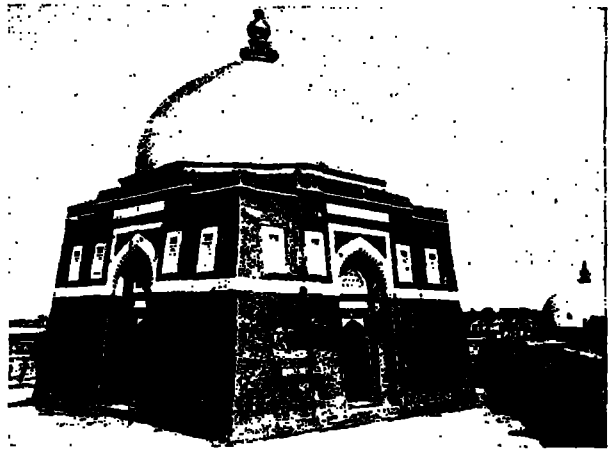
He founded a dynasty, that of the Slave kings, which endured for eighty years, and was followed by another—the

Khilji (Khalji) dynasty—

Dynasty of which ruled for thirty years
Slave Kings only. To them succeeded the

Tughlaks, to them the Sayyids, and to them the Lodis, the last of whom, Ibrahim Shah, was defeated and slain on the field of Panipat in 1526 by Babar, descendant of the great Tamerlane and founder of the dynasty commonly known to us as that of the Great 'Moguls,' though Babar was a Turk, and no Mongol.

It is the history of the peoples of India during this period of three centuries and a quarter that we propose to review, and the task is one of no slight difficulty, for if it be the reproach of European historians 'that they have too often turned history into a mere record of the butchery of men by their fellow men,' the charge may be laid with even more justice against the



TOMB OF THE FOUNDER OF THE TUGHLAK LINE

Ghiyas ud-Din Tughlak, or Tughlak Shah, who reigned 1320-1325 and founded the Tughlak line of sultans, built a new suburb to Delhi as his imperial residence and named it Tughlakabad. There he was buried in this small but exquisitely proportioned tomb of red sandstone with white marble courses.

From Glück and Diez, 'Die Kunst des Islam'

historians of the East, who concern themselves almost exclusively with 'wars and diplomacies, the personal adventures of kings and nobles, the pomp of courts, and the intrigues of favourites,' deeming the social life of nations to be beneath the dignity of history. We have, indeed, of literary histories not a few, but for information on social subjects and the condition of the people we are dependent on side-lights thrown by the casual remarks of chroniclers, and, more rarely, on records left by observant travellers. Our task is simplified, on the other hand, by the character of the peoples of whom we are treating, for though the 'unchanging East' may now be stirred by new social and political ideals, the people as they have been described by many observant European travellers and historians, and even as they were within the memory of many now living, were substantially the same as the people of the age which we are considering.

Northern India, at the period of the invasions which ended in the establishment of alien domination, was in its normal condition, and consisted of a number of independent states between which the sentiment of a common nationality and a common religion formed a bond which might temporarily unite them against a

common foe, but was never strong enough to resist for long the fissiparous tendency of tribal, sectarian and caste divisions. The cream of their armies, the Rajput chivalry, was composed of warriors personally valiant but imperfectly organized, and they were guided by obsolete traditions of strategy and tactics, based partly on an almost superstitious belief in the efficacy of elephants, which have always failed those who have relied on them when pitted against good cavalry and good archers, and partly on the moral effect of merely numerical superiority obtained by the employment of vast bodies of inferior infantry, which, before modern arms and modern methods had established the supremacy of that arm, were little more than food for the horseman's sword.

The invaders were inferior in numbers but, both individually and collectively, superior in all military qualities to the native armies. For hardy warriors from the cool highlands of Asia, accustomed to a flesh diet, free from galling restrictions of caste rules regarding food, and inspired by the conviction that the slaying of infidels was a service so pleasing to God as to earn Paradise for him who fell in the fray, and the consciousness that no retreat was open to them, the heterogeneous hosts collected from the enervating

plains of India were no match, and were speedily overcome.

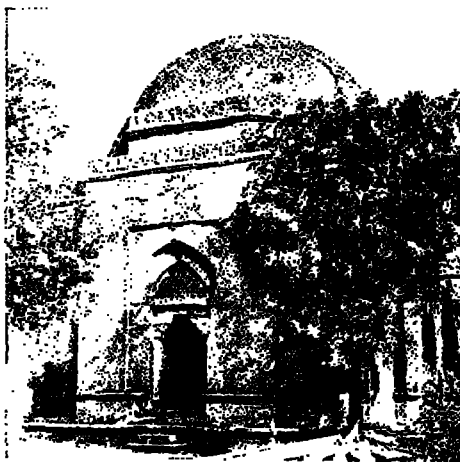
The invading army formed a military aristocracy, insignificant in numbers when compared with the vast Hindu population, but able, owing to its homogeneity and its superiority in organization and military qualities, to keep in subjection for centuries great multitudes of Hindus. The country occupied by the Moslems in the early days of their

rule, before the conquest of the Deccan by Ala ud-Din Khilji, The invaders an armed aristocracy

comprised the Punjab, the valleys of the Indus, the Jumna and the Ganges as far as Gaur, or Lakhnavati, and the fertile province of Oudh, with various strongholds, such as Ajmer, Biyana, Ranthambhor, Gwalior and Kalinjar, to the west. They did not penetrate the Himalayas, where Hindu princes ruled undisturbed, and a wide tract at the foot of the mountains, including the greater part of Katehar, the modern Rohilkhand and the submontane tracts of Oudh, was left unexplored.

Their government was in theory an autocracy, limited only by the sanctions of the Islamic law, but was modified in practice by the character and personality of the monarch, and by the measure of his respect for the law. Under a weak, debauched or indolent ruler power passed into the hands of a great noble or oligarchy of nobles, more rarely into those of some masterful spirit behind the veil, the king's mother, sister or wife. Some rulers respected the Islamic law so far as was possible, but most disregarded it, some framing codes of their own, but most basing their decisions on the whim of the moment. Departures from the penal law were nearly always in the direction of greater severity.

The earliest detailed account of Moslem administration in India which has come down to us dates from the reign of Firoz Tughlak (see page 2993), more than a century and a half after the first settlement of the invaders, but Firoz merely preserved, with a few reforms, the system which he found in being, and the historian's account may be accepted as a fairly accurate picture of Moslem administration from its earliest days.



WHERE FIROZ SHAH WAS ENTOMBED

Firoz Tughlak, though under him (1351-1388) the Moslem empire was declining, was in many ways the best of the Moslem emperors; and his tomb at Delhi with its arched and trabeate motives combined in the doorway symbolises the prosperity of his Hindu and Moslem subjects.

The new-comers found no reason to alter the political divisions which they found existing on their arrival. Hindu states became Moslem provinces, fiscal districts were retained, and the 'pargana,' the smallest administrative unit except the village or township, exists to-day, with hardly any alteration of boundaries, as it existed under Hindu rule and continued to exist through more than five centuries of Moslem domination.

Not only were political divisions left as they had been, but the subordinate machinery of the administration remained for the most part unchanged. The Moslems had neither the taste nor the aptitude for the drudgery of collecting and accounting for the revenue, and even had they possessed both there were too few of them to take the places of the Hindu officials, mostly hereditary, whose duty it was to collect the revenue in villages and parganas. Moslem governors were appointed to provinces and districts, and were held responsible for the maintenance of order and for seeing that the revenue was collected; but their part in the actual collection was ordinarily confined to the provision of such force as might be necessary.

Of the administration of justice we know little, except that the sultan was the supreme judge. 'Kazis' decided disputes

between Moslems and Moslems punished offences against Islamic law, and in each city order was maintained by the 'kotwal,' who was a magistrate, as well as chief of the police. The arrangements for the decision of suits to which Hindus were parties are nowhere described, but it was certainly possible for them to obtain justice, even against influential Moslems, for the historian Barani tells us that the Hindu moneylenders of Delhi were first enriched by the profusion and improvidence of the nobles of the court of Balban, whose reign was not remarkable for the display of any special tenderness towards the Hindus. As the usurers could not have been enriched unless they had been able in the last resort to recover their debts by legal process, it is evident that not even the courtiers were permitted to

withhold from the Hindus their just dues. The only details which we have of the administration of the criminal law are descriptions of the punishments inflicted by order of the sultan, which were often, and especially in the reigns of Ala ud-Din Khilji and Mohammed bin Tughlak, barbarous in the extreme, and sanctioned by no law, human or divine.

The earliest Moslem rulers of India were Turks from beyond the Oxus, and, as the name given to their dynasty indicates, had been slaves. In an absolute monarchy, in which all the great officers of state habitually described themselves as

Slaves rise
to power

the king's slaves, servitude implied no disgrace, and the personal service of the sovereign was the shortest and surest road to wealth, honour and high place. The leaders of Aibak's armies, Turks like himself, were his slaves, and in course of time these slaves, reinforced by later immigrants, became the great nobles of the kingdom, and formed themselves into a powerful confederacy, or college, known as 'the Forty.' They had their jealousies and quarrels, and their power was finally broken by one of their number who ascended the throne, but while it endured they regulated succession to the throne and directed the affairs of the kingdom.

It is convenient to describe the principal officers of state as nobles, rather than as 'emirs' or 'maliks,' but they differed in one important particular from the nobility of Europe, in that neither their honours nor their estates were hereditary. They held fiefs for the maintenance of the contingents with which they were bound, at their sovereign's command, to take the field, but they might be, and frequently were, deprived of these fiefs for misconduct, or transferred from one fief to another, either as a reward or as a punishment. They could leave neither their fiefs nor any other property, real or personal, to their heirs, for the sovereign was heir to the estates of all his servants, and the utmost that a fief-holder's sons could expect was honourable employment in consideration of their father's services. The acquisition by families of the power of ensuring the descent of an honour or estate from father to son was

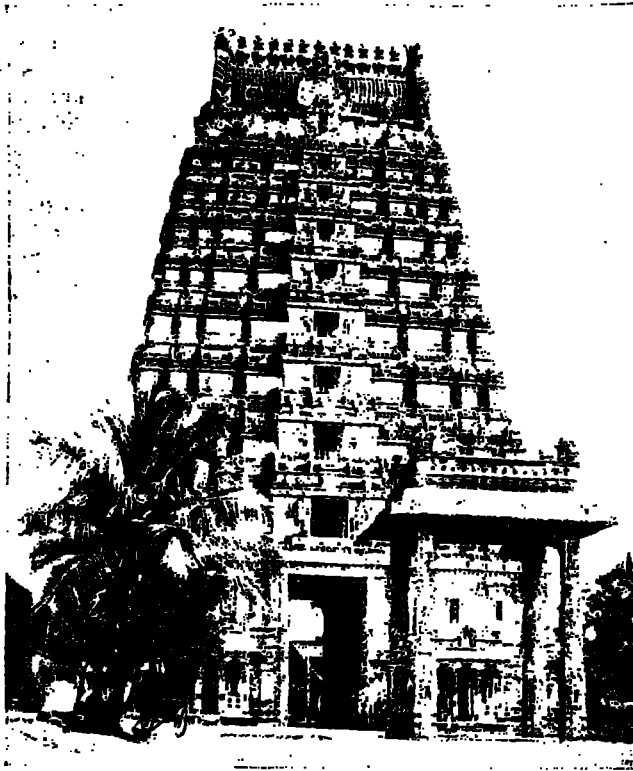
a sure sign that the central authority of the sultans was decaying.

The Mahomedan dominions were not a homogeneous empire, for the Moslems were too few to administer and control directly all the lands which their swords had won. In Katehar, in the eastern Doab, in parts of Oudh and on the fringe of their territory, especially in Bengal, many petty rajas and Hindu landowners were permitted to retain their hereditary estates as feudatories, but their allegiance was precarious and their remittances of tribute were not always regular. At the end of the thirteenth century Ala ud-Din Khilji invaded the Deccan, and during his reign (1296-1316) completed the conquest of that country, carried his arms almost to the southern-

most point of the peninsula, and subjugated Gujarat.

For nearly half a century the Moslem sultans of Delhi ruled all India, with the exception of Rajasthan, Gondwana, Orissa and Assam ; but in the reign of Mohammed bin Tughlak (1325-1351) the province of Madura, the kingdom of Bengal and the great kingdom of the Deccan were severed from the empire, and before the end of the fourteenth century the independent Moslem kingdoms of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat, Khandesh and Sindh had sprung into being. It was thus only for about fifty years, between the end of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries, that a Moslem empire of India can be said to have existed. Before that time the invaders were engaged in conquest and in the consolidation of their power, and after it their authority was divided between at least eight independent states. Jaunpur was recovered at the end of the fifteenth century, but it was not until the end of the seventeenth that the last of the other lost provinces was recovered.

The government of the Moslems was a military despotism. 'The army,' says one of their historians, 'is the source and means of government.' But it was the peasant who fed the army. 'The land revenue, or state share of the produce, which has always been the mainstay of Indian finance, may be regarded as rent rather than as taxation, on the assumption that the ultimate property in land is vested in the state.' The state's share, which was calculated on the gross produce, was by general admission one fourth. The great Akbar, who is justly regarded as the most humane and tolerant of the Moslem rulers of India,



HINDU ARCHITECTURE OF THE SOUTH

While the Hindus were suffering repression under the Moslems in the north, their states in the south continued little affected. Kanchipuram ('Conjeevaram') near Madras was included in Ala ud-Din Khilji's empire in 1310, but soon relapsed to the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar; this 'gopuram' or gateway of its great Siva temple shows an architectural style quite different from that of the north.

Photo, F. Deville Walker

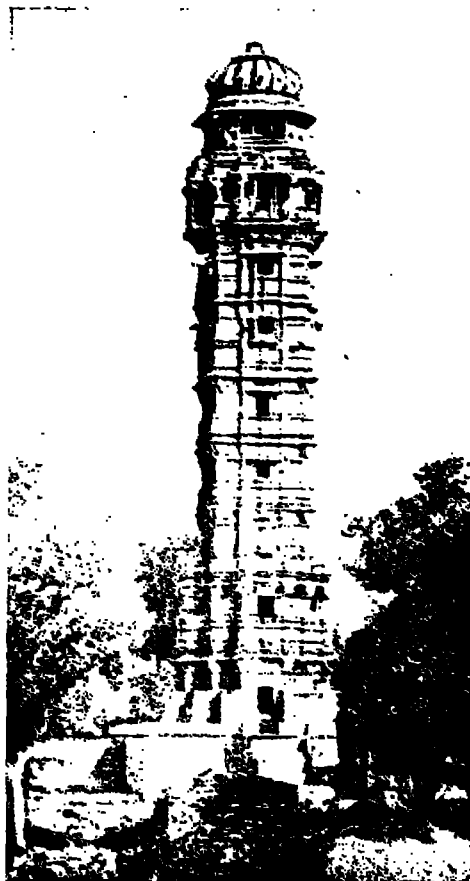
took at a later period one third, and some rulers exacted a half.

Under both Hindu and Mahomedan governments the peasant was ordinarily the slave of the state, charged with the duty of filling its coffers. 'The government's share, it is true,' said Dr. Vincent Smith, 'was always limited theoretically, but in practice the state usually took all it could extort.' And again, 'The nominal percentage of land revenue to the produce did not much matter, because the government usually made up for any deficiency by exacting a multitude of extra periodical cesses, not to speak of occasional forced contributions. The ordinary result was that the peasant might consider himself lucky if he was left enough to fill tolerably the stomachs of himself and family, and to provide seed.' His right to retain his land, so long as he paid all official demands, was respected, but his ill-defined right of occupancy, which was not protected by positive law, differed widely from ownership.

The cesses were most vexatious, and some idea of their number may be formed from Firoz Tughlak's boast that he abolished no fewer than

Peasants under Moslem rule They were levied on animals grazing, on barbers, sellers of rope and string, flowers, betel-nut, fish, butter, parched grain, soap and other commodities; on keepers of gambling-dens and wine-shops, for the maintenance of the police, the bazaar and other establishments, and as octroi. From the fact that other rulers found it necessary to abolish cesses it may be assumed that the orders abolishing them were often disregarded, and that the collectors sometimes continued to levy them for their own benefit.

The cultivator's lot was not invariably miserable. Some few rulers, actuated either by pity or by a politic desire for a prosperous and contented peasantry, left him more than a bare livelihood, for the bigot Ala ud-Din Khilji was much scandalised by the discovery that many Hindus could afford to purchase arms, to wear fine clothes and to ride horses. He set himself to remedy this anomaly, and of his code of regulations for the prevention



RAJPUT TOWER OF VICTORY

During the Tughlak decline many governors became independent, while the Hindus of Rajputana reasserted themselves. Mahmud of Malwa even laid siege to Delhi, but in 1440 was defeated by the Rajputs who raised this tower at Chitor.

Photo, Underground

of rebellion, applicable chiefly to his Moslem nobles, one, specially aimed at the Hindus, fixed the government's share of the gross produce of the land at one half, and added that all Hindus were to be so taxed as to leave them nothing but a bare livelihood. This edict is remarkable as one of the very few, except those imposing the 'jizya,' or poll-tax, directed against the Hindus as such. It was abrogated after the tyrant's death, but during his life there was no redress.

Some of the tyrant's predecessors, and among them the mild and benevolent uncle whom he had murdered in order to ascend the throne, had evidently shown

some consideration for the peasantry, and about half a century after his death the historian Barani writes that in the reign of Firoz Tughlak the peasants were rich and satisfied, that their houses were filled with grain, property, horses and furniture; that no woman was without her ornaments and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches, and that wealth abounded and comforts were general. Much of this was, of course, mere courtly hyperbole, but it is reasonable to assume that the peasantry was prosperous and contented in the reign of Firoz, who, apart from his bigotry, was a benevolent man.

This was, however, far from being the cultivator's normal condition, for the exactions of the state were

Peril of famine and pestilence not the only burdens which he had to bear. Artificial irrigation, for which he paid a high water-rate, was not unknown, and was much extended by Firoz, the peasant's benefactor in this as in other matters, but the proportion of irrigated to unirrigated area was very small, and the crops were almost entirely dependent on the seasonal rains. When these failed there was famine, to which the peasant succumbed, as he had no reserve stocks to enable him to combat it. To borrow the words of a brilliant writer, famine was the horizon of the Indian villager; insufficient food the foreground. The principle of state relief was admitted, and its application was facilitated by the custom of collecting the land revenue in kind and storing the produce in state granaries; but the organization was defective, and was largely in the hands of dishonest and unfeeling officials, and the mortality from hunger, and from pestilence, which was the invariable concomitant of famine, was enormous.

The most terrible famine recorded occurred in the reign of Mohammed bin Tughlak, and lasted for seven years. This ruler, with all his faults, and they were many, cannot be charged with insensibility to the sufferings of his sorely stricken people, and his measures of relief were more elaborate and more effectively administered than any others

during the period of Moslem rule. He distributed gratis both seed-grain and grants of money to enable the peasants to improve their holdings by sinking wells. The fertile province of Oudh escaped the fate of other tracts, and grain was plentiful there. Mohammed accordingly built on the western bank of the Ganges, near the site of the ancient city of Khor, 165 miles from Delhi, a huge camp, or temporary city of huts, to which he gave the name of Sargadwari, from the Sanskrit 'Swarga-dwara' ('gate of Paradise'), and for six years made it his headquarters. Hither he brought the people of Delhi, and fed them with the corn of Oudh. But nothing that he was able to do could avert the terrible effects of the prolonged drought, and the mortality in his empire was enormous.

Nor was the failure of the rains the only cause of famine, for many local famines were due to the ravages of civil war, or to invasions by hordes of foreign marauders. About a quarter of a century after the establishment of Moslem rule in India there occurred one of the greatest calamities which have befallen the human race—the invasion of Persia, Mesopotamia and eastern Europe by the Mongols, those 'hateful hordes of barbarians, who, in the space of a few years, swept the world from Japan to Germany.' As India in the eighth century had stood above the high-water mark of the tide of Arab conquest, so now she stood above that of the tide of Mongol conquest, and the Mongols, the force of whose impetus had been spent, never permanently occupied any part of the country; but for more than a century after the death of Altamsh hordes of them swept from time to time across the Punjab into the Doab, destroying or carrying off everything in their path and slaying every soul who encountered them.

The famine which ravaged the neighbourhood of Delhi in the early years of the fifteenth century was largely due to the civil wars which followed Timur's invasion. The historians draw terrible pictures of the misery of the people in this and other famines. During a famine which occurred in the short reign of Jalal

ud-Din Firoz Khilji men, women and children, herded together like cattle, thronged the city of Delhi and its environs, and the starving people destroyed themselves in bands, joining hands and leaping into the Jumna. Numbers even of the Moslems succumbed to the effects of hunger and unwholesome food. In all famines cannibalism was common, the hides of horses and cows, the seeds of the mimosa, the flesh of dogs and carrion of all sorts were used as food; the flour was mixed with the crushed bones of the dead, and men 'regarded the flesh of their children as sweeter than their love.'

Mohammed bin Tughlak, the ruler who had shown so much solicitude for his famine-stricken subjects, was a strange compound of arrogance and humility, piety and pride, lavish generosity and gross cruelty, showing paternal care for

and bitter hostility to his subjects. His Government of Mohammed Tughlak profusion, and his wild dreams of conquest, which entailed the maintenance of a great standing army, emptied the treasury, and it was partly to replenish it and partly to punish the turbulence of the Hindus of the Doab, whom his tyranny had provoked, that he enhanced the land revenue in that tract. The measure was not a financial success, for the peasants, no longer able to make a living from their holdings, abandoned them and took to brigandage, and the whole of the Doab was soon seething with rebellion.

The sultan declared war upon his people, and 'led forth his army to ravage Hindustan.' He laid waste a tract of country about a hundred miles long between the Ganges and the Jumna, in the lower Doab, 'and every person who fell into his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the sultan caused the jungles to be surrounded, and every soul that was captured was killed.' These atrocities merely exasperated the rebels, and prosperity was never restored to the Doab during Mohammed's reign. Disaffection spread to other provinces, and a state of war continued in the Doab.

Later in his reign Mohammed bin Tughlak adopted the pernicious practice

of selling the right of collecting the revenue in each district by auction to the highest bidder. Unprincipled adventurers, with no experience of what the land would produce or what burden the peasant could bear, bid extravagant sums, and having driven the people to rebellion in the attempt to recover the amount of their bids, themselves rose in rebellion, or, falling into the hands of the sultan, were put to death with the ingenious torments which it was the delight of the tyrant to devise.

Another exaction to which the peasants, with all other Hindus, were liable was the 'jizya' or poll-tax, leviable under the Islamic law from Incidence of all who were not Moslems. the Poll-tax The introduction of this tax has sometimes been wrongly attributed to Firoz Tughlak, but there is no doubt that it was levied from the earliest days of Moslem rule in India. What Firoz did was to assess it on different classes of the people at the rates prescribed by law. Before his time the Brahmans had usually contrived to evade payment of the tax, but he insisted that they should pay. The Brahmans of Delhi protested by congregating before his palace, and, according to their custom in such cases, fasting until they were at the point of death. The object of this practice, now forbidden by the Indian penal code, was to place the responsibility for any death from starvation on the person whose house was beset, and to persuade him that he would become the object of divine vengeance; but Firoz told the Brahmans that they were welcome to starve themselves, and eventually they had to pay the tax, but they usually succeeded in inducing members of other castes to bear their burden.

Two strange economic expedients adopted by two of the most powerful rulers of Delhi deserve notice. The first was a fixed tariff of prices enacted by Ala ud-Din Khilji, and the second was a fictitious currency issued by Mohammed bin Tughlak.

The quantity of spoil brought by Ala ud-Din from the Deccan, and the tribute exacted by him from that country, produced a glut of the precious metals, especially



EXPERIMENT IN TOKEN CURRENCY

When Mohammed bin Tughlak struck his copper tokens, of which this is a specimen, at Delhi in 1331, he failed to take adequate precautions against counterfeiting, and they all had to be redeemed at immense loss by the treasury.

British Museum

gold, and a consequent depreciation of money and a rise in prices at the capital. The sultan could not or would not reduce his army, and the pay of the troops, owing to the rise in prices, was no longer a living wage, and it could not be increased, for the people were already taxed to the limit of their capacity. The sultan hit on the device of so regulating prices as to bring the necessities of life, at least, within the reach of the private soldier, and issued a decree fixing the prices of grain, meat, vegetables, cloth, horses, slaves and all other commodities.

This measure, vicious in principle as it was, attained its object. It met at first with great opposition, as was only natural, and attempts at evasion were numerous; but the sultan maintained in the markets an army of spies, who reported infringements of the law, and his ruthless and barbarous punishments cowed the disobedient. The prices fixed by him remained almost stationary, even after the abrogation of the decree, and it seems that the inflation of prices had been local, temporary and artificial, and that the decree merely restored normal conditions.

The attempt of Mohammed bin Tughlak to establish a fictitious currency was less successful. He had probably heard of Kublai Khan's paper money in China, and of the fictitious currency which a Mongol ruler of Persia had attempted to foist on his subjects; and, with a view to amassing a reserve of specie in his treasury, he issued a currency of copper tokens, representing gold and silver tangas. How far he understood the functions and the limitations of a fictitious currency is

uncertain. He has been styled 'The Prince of Moneyers,' and some authorities believe that he had mastered all the intricacies of the currency question. Be this as it may, his scheme failed for lack of the simplest precautions against counterfeiting. The standard of the workmanship of the royal mint was not high, and the production of counterfeits indistinguishable from the copper tokens was not beyond the power of ordinary skilled workers in metal. The market was flooded with these counterfeits, and Mohammed was obliged to redeem the tokens at an enormous loss. Heaps of them rose up like mountains outside the treasury in the capital, and the remains of them 'of no more value than potsherds or stones,' were to be seen there nearly a



TIMUR THE DESTROYER

Timur, or Tamerlane ('Timur the Lame'), swept into India in 1398, sacked Delhi and returned to Samarkand after orgies of slaughter. This portrait of him, in 'Timurid' style, is dated 1380 and is therefore contemporary.

From Martin, 'Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey' (Quaritch)

century later. The only effect of his ill-considered attempt to fill his treasury was the enrichment of his people beyond their deserts.

During the reigns of the feeble rulers who followed Firoz Tughlak the disintegration of the empire which had begun in the reign of his predecessor was completed, and at the end of the fourteenth century the partisans of two puppets, who were wrangling for the possession of the few districts which were all that remained of an empire which had extended from Peshawar to Cape Comorin and from the Brahmaputra to Kathiawar, were astounded by the news that Timur, or Tamerlane, had crossed the Indus. This scourge of mankind had learned in distant Samarkand of the chaos which prevailed in the Moslem dominions in India, and, disregarding the opposition of his counsellors, resolved to imitate Mahmud of Ghazni. He seldom needed a pretext for attacking his neighbours, heathen or Moslem, but he found one in the toleration of polytheism and idolatry of which all Moslem rulers in India had been guilty.

His grandson, Pir Mohammed, crossed the Indus at the end of 1397, and early in 1398 captured Multan, near which town Tamerlane joined him later in the year, and swept through the Punjab at the head of 90,000 horse. The Hindus were now to learn what zeal for Islam meant. Bhatnair

India smitten by Tamerlane was captured and razed to the ground, and its inhabitants massacred to a man; 500 of the citizens of Dipalpur were put to death; the citizens of Ajudhan, now Pak Pattan, were enslaved; Siras and Fathabad were sacked and their inhabitants slaughtered; Aharwan was plundered and burnt; 2,000 Jats were slain at Tohana; and Tamerlane marched from Kaithal through a country left desolate by its inhabitants, who had fled to Delhi for refuge, to Loni, on the eastern bank of the Jumna. Here he put to death in cold blood 100,000 Hindu captives, who had been unable to conceal their hopes of a rescue when Mallu, the minister of Sultan Mahmud of Delhi, had ventured to attack a reconnoitring force sent out by the invader.



WARRIOR OF TIMUR

This coloured pen-and-ink drawing of one of the warriors who carried terror from India to Asia Minor was done shortly after Timur's death in 1405, and was probably one of a series intended to commemorate his victories.

From Martin, 'Miniature Painting'

Mahmud and his minister were defeated in the field and fled, and on December 18, 1398, Timur entered Delhi in triumph. A dispute between his troops and some citizens furnished a pretext for the sack of the city, on which the soldiery were let loose. The slaughter was terrible. Great pillars were raised of the skulls of the victims, 'and their bodies were given as food to the birds and beasts, and their souls sent to the depths of hell.' The desolation of Hindu Delhi was completed by the enslavement of those who had escaped the sword, and of Timur's great host 'there was none so humble but he had at least twenty slaves.' The invader's retreat by way of the submontane tract of the Himalayas was marked by

scenes of slaughter and devastation similar to those which had disgraced his advance.

Within fifteen years of Timur's retreat a new dynasty, that of the Sayyids, was established at Delhi. Their history 'consisted mainly in a perpetual struggle to maintain some sort of control of the small territory still attached to the kingdom of Delhi.' So restricted was their realm that almost yearly campaigns were necessary for the extortion of tribute from the rulers of Katehar, Mewat and Etawa. In 1451 the fourth and last of the line was dethroned by the Afghan, Bahlol Lodi, who recovered the kingdom of Jaunpur and restored some, at least, of the faded glories of Delhi. His grandson, Ibrahim, was defeated in 1526 on the field of Panipat by Timur's descendant, Babar, who founded the line known to us as that of the Great Moguls or Mughals.

The Turkish invaders of India, fanatical Moslems and ruthless soldiers as they were, were not mere barbarians. The Turks had assimilated much of the culture of Islam, with its Arabic and Persian literatures, and fostered it in India, where, however, it always remained an exotic. From the earliest days of their settlement in India the language commonly known to us as Hindustani, which has become the vernacular of the Moslems of India, began to take shape as a means of communication between the conquerors and the conquered. Its origin is indicated by its name, Urdu, meaning 'horde' or 'camp,' and its grammar and structure are Hindi; but its vocabulary is largely Persian, including Arabic words naturalised in Persian, and it is written in the Persian form of the Arabic script, with additional letters to represent sounds peculiar to the Indian vernaculars.

Centuries were to elapse before this composite language attained to the dignity of a literary vehicle, and so long as Islam was dominant in India Persian remained the language of polite literature and public business, but in a form peculiar to the country. The tongue which the Turkish conquerors had brought with them was not the purest idiom of Iran, and in India it was further corrupted, in both pronunciation and style. With

the exception of two poets of Delhi, Amir Khusraw and Khwaja Hasan, one certainly and the other probably of foreign origin, no Moslem writers of India have acquired any fame in Persia, and the authors most admired in India, the pedantic and bombastic Abu 'l-Fazl and his brother, the tedious versifier Faizi, are ridiculed by Persians. Persian as spoken to-day by educated Moslems of India is not intelligible in Persia.

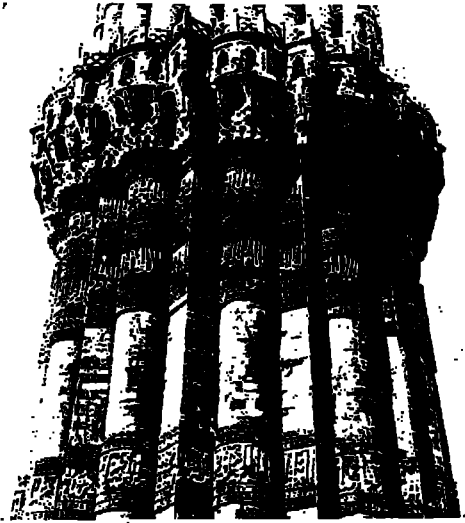
An art which the Moslems introduced into India was that of writing history, of which the Hindus seem to have had no notion. The absence of historical works in Sanskrit has been variously explained, but the fact remains that the only historical record in that language is the Rajatarangini, a history of Kashmir. The scientific study of history in the Islamic world originated with the Arab historians at the courts of the Abbasid khalifs and was further developed by the Persians, from whom the Indian writers drew their inspiration.

Judged by modern standards, the Moslem historians of India are disappointing, but they do not compare unfavourably with other historical writers of their own age. They understood chronology, and when they were in a position to express themselves freely they were, in the main, faithful chroniclers, if due allowance be made for their zeal for Islam and contempt for Hinduism. Some have displayed marked courage in recording facts and expressing views which could not have been palatable in high places, and those who have allowed themselves to be swayed by fear or self-interest often supply by comment or innuendo the information which they dare not give openly. They are studied, however, for their matter rather than their manner; for their works, though passably good history, are not Persian literature.

The Moslems and the Hindus had no common ground of literary or general culture. A few learned Moslems were from time to time moved by curiosity to investigate the language, the literature, the philosophy and the religion of the subject race. The great Persian scholar al-Biruni, who wrote in Arabic in the age

of Mahmud of Ghazni, not only studied Sanskrit literature, but translated many Indian books into Arabic, and even several Arabic translations from the Greek into Sanskrit. Firoz Tughlak, though a bigoted Moslem, displayed some interest in the sacred language and literature of the Brahmans, and caused some Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. Some of the Moslem kings of Bengal, notably Nusrat Shah and Husain Shah, in whose reigns translations of the Mahabharata from Sanskrit into Bengali were made, were patrons of Hindu literature, and were champions of the vernacular Bengali against the classical Sanskrit, which found favour at the courts of Hindu rajas. But these were honourable exceptions. The normal attitude of the Moslem to the literature of the Hindus was one of aloofness, and the common view of the books of the Brahmans was that they were repertoires of idolatry and infidelity, containing no profit for the true believer.

In art the Moslem was hampered by the rule of his faith, which, as a precaution against idolatry, forbade him to make the likeness of any living thing, and he consequently had nothing to teach the Hindu in the pictorial and plastic arts.



DECORATIVE USE OF ARABIC

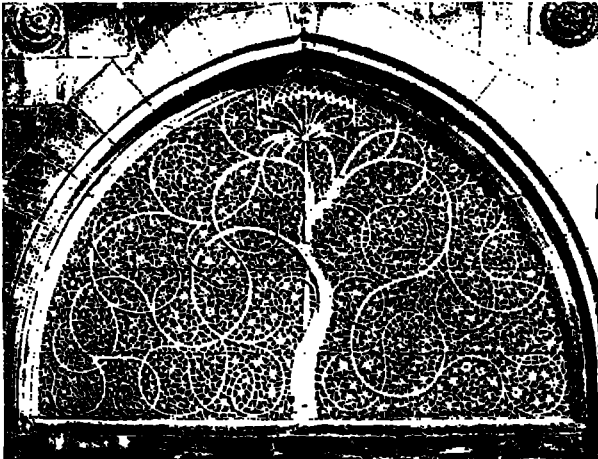
Besides arabesques there were available for Moslem artists the superbly decorative characters of their own Arabic script. The carvings on the Kutb Minar show with what effect an inscription in these could be used for architectural ornament.

From Glück and Diez, 'Die Kunst des Islam'

It was, indeed, one of his chief delights to destroy such examples of the latter as came under his notice. The art which the invaders chiefly influenced and enriched was architecture. Islam,

at the end of the twelfth century, possessed a highly developed architecture of its own. The ornament of the Moslems, who were debarred from plastic modelling, consisted in colour, line, arabesques and geometric patterns, but above all in inscriptions in the beautiful Arabic script, which has the appearance of having been designed for decorative purposes.

But the great gifts of Islamic architecture to India were the dome and the arch, neither of which was understood by the Hindu. Of the arch he was not entirely ignorant, but as he used neither mortar nor cement in his own trabeate style of architecture, he was not able to apply his knowledge. Of his general



EXQUISITE ARABESQUES IN AN INDIAN MOSQUE

Being debarred by their tenets from the representation of living creatures, the Moslem artists had recourse to 'arabesques,' and Indian craftsmen executed marvels in this style. The pierced sandstone windows of the mosque of Sidi Sayyid at Ahmadabad (early sixteenth century?) are perhaps unexcelled in technical skill and just conventionalisation of tree forms.

From Burgess, 'Archaeological Survey of West India'

ignorance of the principles of arch construction we have examples in some of the earliest Islamic buildings at Delhi, erected by Hindu builders from Moslem designs. In these the arches are constructed, not with voussoirs, but in corbelled horizontal courses, and it was not until the end of the thirteenth century that the Hindu mason had learned to build arches on scientific principles. Other gifts of Islam to Indian architecture were the 'minar' or slender tower, and the use of concrete and mortar, which enabled the Moslem architect to cover wide spans and to roof wide areas with his arches and domes.

Moslem architecture in India was not uninfluenced by Hindu art; some, indeed, regard it as no more than a development

of Indian art, but this is a mistake, for the earliest monuments of Islam owe very little to Hindu influence. The destruction of idol-temples suggested the utilisation of their materials, but these were incorporated with such skill as to exercise the minimum of influence on the general design of the new structure. Their introduction, however, produced a distinctively Indian style, which was diversified as Islam extended its sway in India. In Delhi the Hindu element was always rigorously subordinated to the Islamic design, but in Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and the Deccan it is more prominent, and in Bengal the Moslems learned to use brick. Islamic architecture in India, though everywhere distinguishable from Hindu, is not of one uniform style, but has many local developments.

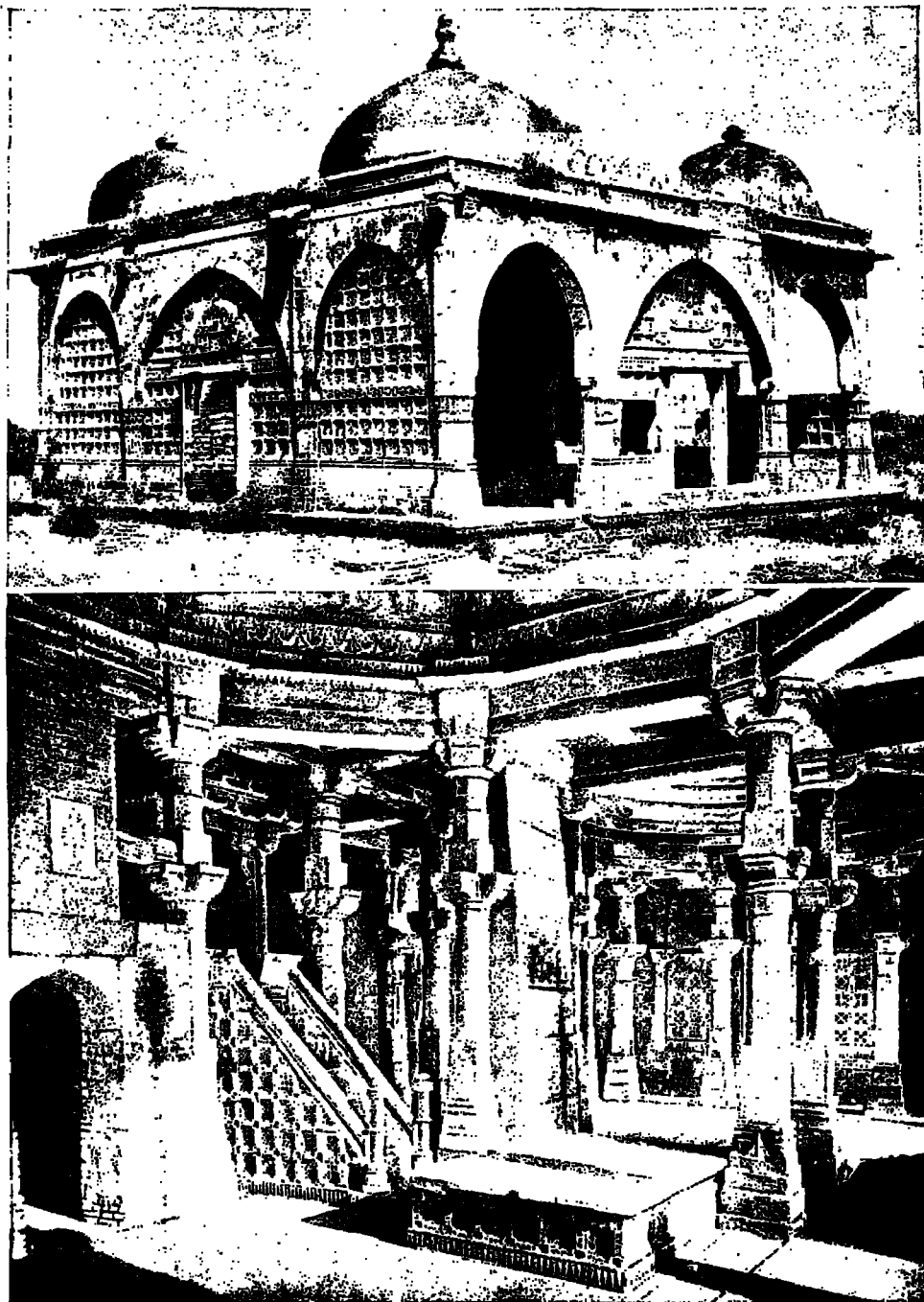
Islam and Hinduism have always stood, and must always stand, apart. We cannot speak of Indian literature, Indian art, Indian culture or an Indian nation, for the two principal religions in India cannot combine or coalesce. Uncompromising monotheism must ever be in conflict with polytheism or pantheism. Yet Hinduism has not been without its effect on Islam, and Islam has served to emphasise to Hindus the conception of a Supreme Being, inherent, indeed, in the Hindu religious system, but apt to be lost sight of in the worship of minor deities. Some, in the spirit of the Persian mystics, have preached the doctrine that all religions alike are paths to the knowledge of the Friend, the Beloved of the Sufis. A Brahman in the reign of Firoz Tughlak was called to account for preaching that there was no essential difference between the two religions, both of which were but varying aspects of the same truth. Firoz demanded that he should accept Islam,



HINDU PILLARS LOOTED FOR A MOSLEM MOSQUE

The Kutb Minar (page 3166) is part of the Kutb ul-Islam, whose ruins exhibit a blend of Hindu and Moslem architecture. The pillars were plundered from Hindu shrines, but the arch beyond is Moslem. The iron pillar by the figures is 800 years older, having been erected by Chandragupta Vikramaditya.

Photo, Kenneth Comyn



ARCHITECTURAL BLEND OF HINDU AND MOSLEM STYLES

At first Hindu materials were used in mosques with as much concealment as possible, but their presence had an insensible effect on Moslem architecture. Thus, while the pillars of the mosque of Hilal Khan at Dholka in Gujarat (lower), erected 1333, are from Hindu temples, the canopy over the 'mimbar' or pulpit, of purely Hindu design, is Moslem work. On the other hand, the arch and the true dome, well seen in the tomb at Batwa above, were specific Moslem contributions.

From Burgess, 'Archaeological Survey of West India'

which, on his own showing, was equally as true as Hinduism, and, on his refusing to change his faith, put him to death.

A more pleasing record of the influence of Islam on Hinduism is the life of the Hindu teacher Ramanand, and of his principal disciple, the Moslem weaver Kabir, 'at once the child of Allah and of Ram,' who preached a creed 'capable of expressing Moslem and Hindu devotion alike.' Kabir, who flourished in the fifteenth century, condemned the worship of idols and the institution of caste, and included among his followers both Moslems and Hindus. His teaching was almost identical with that of the Persian mystics, and the story of his funeral recalls Christian legends of holy men and women who died 'in the odour of sanctity.' His Moslem followers proposed

to bury his body in accordance with the rites of Islam, but the Hindus insisted on burning it after the Hindu manner, and during their unseemly strife the shroud which had covered it was torn aside and disclosed nothing but a heap of flowers. The Hindus took half and cremated them at Benares, and the Moslems the other half and buried them near Gorakhpur. The Kabirpanthis still exist as a small sect of Hindus, but show a tendency to lapse from the teaching of their founder, who is remembered chiefly by his apophthegms, which are frequently quoted by Hindus and Moslems alike; but his preaching never commanded wide assent, and, as we learn every year, Moslems are Moslems and Hindus are Hindus, however volubly politicians may prate of an Indian nation.



MOSLEM INFLUENCE ON HINDU PALACE ARCHITECTURE

As the mosque in India was modified by native traditions, so Moslem architecture was not without its effect on Hindu work. The palace built on the rock at Gwalior by Man Singh, 1486-1516, exhibits Hindu architecture in this transitional phase. Gwalior had been a Hindu fortress captured in 1196 by Shahab ud-Din, but after the break-up of the Delhi empire it regained its independence.

Photo, F. Deaville Walker

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

A Sketch of the Birth and Development of the Craft
that has been most vital to the Modern World

By JOHN K. M. ROTHENSTEIN

Assistant Professor in the Department of Fine Arts, University of Pittsburg

UPON the ease or difficulty with which knowledge of every kind can be exchanged depends the rate of progress of civilization. The acknowledgment of this fact need imply no belief in the permanence of progress derived from the preservation of the discoveries and experience of the past. Progress is here taken to mean nothing more than movement towards a more complex organization of human society. Thus, efficient mechanism for the rapid exchange of knowledge may as well increase the rate of a society's progress towards decadence or collapse as towards greatness or regeneration. In other words, periods in which knowledge of all kinds has been most readily accessible are those whose history has moved the swiftest.

By far the most effective mechanism for the exchange and preservation of knowledge is printing. And the sudden acceleration in the pace of European progress dates from its invention—the invention, that is to say, in its present form, for printing of a rudimentary kind long preceded the invention of movable type in Germany in the middle of the fifteenth century (see page 607 for the Phaestus Disk and pages 2556–60 for printing in China). But the effects of these earlier typographical experiments were strictly limited, either because the machinery was in itself deficient or because the language in which the printing was done was that of a small and exclusive class.

Printing, however, while it had in a general sense existed from the earliest historic times, was not, in the special sense of movable types for individual letters (the Chinese had used them for individual *characters*), invented until the middle of the fifteenth century. It is a

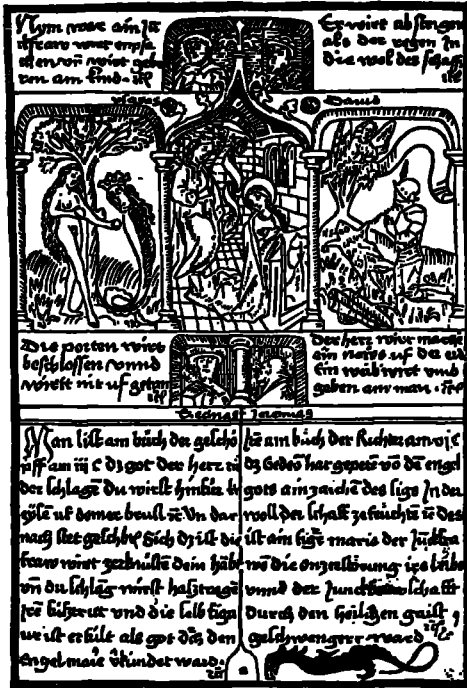
curious fact that this invention, which was so revolutionary in its effect, should have come into existence so quietly. So unobtrusively did it steal upon the world that not only can no exact date be assigned for its first appearance, but the very country of its origin is still a matter of bitter controversy.

It was once thought that the invention of printing was foreshadowed by the production of block books. These block books, as the name suggests, were printed from woodcut blocks. The art of printing from wood engravings was practised long before the invention of printing from movable type, and the block books were simply made up from woodcuts with added descriptive texts cut also from the same block. There were more than a hundred of these books published, comprising at least thirty-three different works.

Scholars with a tendency towards a priori reasoning assumed that the printing in these block books was one of the necessary steps towards the invention of real printing. They reinforced their conclusion with the plausible assertion that once printing with movable type had been invented it would have been uneconomic to engage in the laborious process of cutting letterpress on wood. Facts do not, however, wait thus upon the nice systems of such historians.

The printing of the block books is now no longer thought to have been the forerunner of modern typography. Modern scholarship has rejected the older opinion, first because there is no evidence for connecting any of the block books with a date earlier than that of the earliest printed books; secondly because block

Printing not developed
from Block Books



PAGE FROM A BLOCK BOOK

The block books once thought to be the forerunners of typography consisted of ordinary woodcuts with the text cut in the same block as the illustrations. This is a page from the block-book edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, 1470.

British Museum

printing did, in fact, co-exist with printing from movable types. Block books were being made for at least eighty years after the invention of printing. The best known among the latest of them, although it is undated, bears the name of its publisher, Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, who was working in Venice about 1530.

Although this work may be regarded as something of a survival, Vavassore is not likely to have produced it, an historian has observed, solely to cause twentieth-century antiquaries surprise. The use of wood blocks so long after the advent of printing had, as a matter of fact, a very solid economic justification. The metal of which types were made in the early days of printing was far less hard than that in use to-day. Thus, only small editions could be taken from each setting-up. And so, if the demand for a certain work were large, it became necessary to recast the type. The number of editions which could

be taken from wood blocks was infinitely greater. Although to cut letterpress upon wooden blocks was a far more laborious process than to set it up with movable type, the blocks, once made, had very much longer working lives. And so it came about that when a printer had to publish a book for which there was a constant demand he often preferred the more laborious process. Particularly was this the case when the work in question happened to be of a popular nature, because the public reading such a book would be more likely to overlook the crudeness characteristic of woodcut text.

Since the weight of evidence seems to be so decidedly against the theory that the block books formed the connecting link between wood engraving and typography, the uncertainty surrounding the origin of the latter art must be squarely faced. And once faced it does not seem that the apparent suddenness with which typography came into being and achieved perfection is so mysterious after all.

All the essential elements of modern typography were in existence. The



BLOCK BOOKS LATER THAN PRINTING

What suggests that block books did not precede type is that they continued to be made after typography was established. This cut is from an Italian version of the 'Bible of the Poor' bearing the imprint of Andrea Vavassore, c. 1530.

From 'La Bibbia della Povera'

necessity for a rapid and efficient method of propagating ideas had been rendered imperative by the intellectual ferment which had already stirred up the Renaissance and was about to provoke the Reformation. Ingenious men were never more abundant. Indeed, it would have been strange had printing entered diffidently a stage so perfectly set for it.

In spite, however, of the urgency of finding an adequate and permanent means of expression for a mighty intellectual ferment, and in spite of the number of men of conspicuous imagination and ability of which the time could boast, the extraordinary finish and perfection of what are generally considered to be the first printed books is certainly startling. This brings us to the vexed questions as to who was the true inventor of modern typography. This subject, rich in intrinsic interest, has been rendered dreary by the pandering of partial historians to nationalistic pride.

The two men for whom the two parties to this bitter and unending controversy



DUTCH RIVAL OF GUTENBERG

Lourens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, a chandler and innkeeper, has been put forward as the real inventor of what the Germans only perfected, to such good effect that a statue was erected to him in 1635, from which this print may be derived.

From Bullart, 'Académie des Sciences,' 1682



FIRST INVENTOR OF PRINTING?

Johann Gutenberg (c. 1400-1468), otherwise Gensfleisch, is claimed by some as the inventor of movable type in Europe. He is said to have perfected it at Strassburg, but in 1444 to have moved his press to his native Mainz.

Engraving by De L'Armestre

claim the title of original inventor of printing as we know it to-day are Johann Gutenberg of Mainz and Lourens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem. The controversy has proved to this day inconclusive in so many important respects; its literature is so vast and so partial, and its end, after all, a matter of so little significance, that it is unnecessary to discuss it here at any length. Nevertheless, it is possible to come to certain general conclusions which internal evidence tends to support. Before outlining these general conclusions, it would be well to quote from the celebrated passage about printing which occurred in the Cologne Chronicle of 1499, for this document forms the basis of so much of the evidence of both Dutch and German controversialists. As translated

and paraphrased in *Fine Books* by A. W. Pollard, it runs thus :

This right worthy art was invented first of all in Germany, at Mainz, on the Rhine. And that is a great honour to the German nation that such ingenious men are found there.

This happened in the year of Our Lord 1440, and from that time until 1450 the art, and all that pertains to it, was investigated, and in 1450, which was a Golden Year, men began to print, and the first book that was printed was the Bible in Latin, and this was printed with a letter as large as that now used in missals.

Although this art was invented at Mainz, as far as regards the manner in which it is now commonly used, yet the first prefiguration [*Vurbyldung*] was invented in Holland from the Donatuses which were printed there before that time. And from and out of these the aforesaid art took its beginning, and was invented in a manner much more masterly and subtler than this, and the longer it lasted the more full of art it became.

A certain Omnibonus writes in a preface to a Quintilian, and also in other books, that a Walloon from France, called Nicolaus Jenson, was the first inventor of this masterly art—a notorious lie, for there are men still alive who bear witness that books were printed at Venice before the aforesaid Nicolaus Jenson came there and began to cut and make ready his letter. But the first inventor of printing was a burgher at Mainz, and was born at Strassburg, and called Junker Johann Gutenberg.

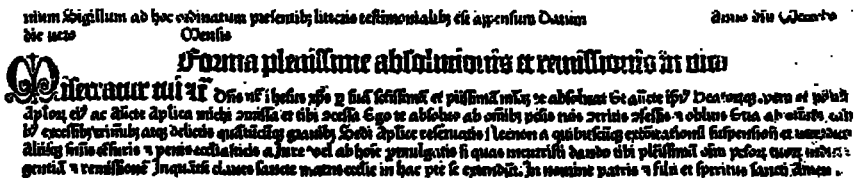
From Mainz the art came first to Cologne, and after that to Venice. The beginning and progress of the art were told me by word of mouth by the Worshipful Master Ulrich Zell of Hanau, printer at Cologne in this present year 1499, through whom the art came to Cologne.

Although this account contains several small and obvious inaccuracies, it has been accepted as substantially true, especially as regards the assertion that the manner of printing now commonly used was invented at Mainz. The most interesting

feature is the reference to the 'prefiguration' (*Vurbyldung*) which, the writer candidly admits, existed in Holland before the final invention in Germany. Unfortunately, the author of the statement neither connects a name with this prefiguration nor indicates in what manner it foreshadowed the final invention while it was distinct from it.

The idea that what had been referred to as mere prefiguration was, in fact, the first real printing was developed by a Dutchman, Hadrianus Junius, in his *Batavia*, which was not published until 1588. Rival German and Dutch claims Although certain examples of early Dutch printing are known as '*costeriana*,' there is little reason for connecting them with Coster. The earliest claim that he was the first printer is found in a pedigree of the Coster family compiled about 1550. But, even if it could be definitely proved that the earliest Dutch printing predated that done in Germany, the claim of the Germans that it was they who were the first to print with beauty and efficiency, and that it was through them that the art was carried all over Europe, remains unchallengeable.

It remains to find out the exact nature of Gutenberg's invention. As we have said, there existed before his invention, in rudimentary form, most of the constituents of printing. D. B. Updike, in his *Printing Types*, tells us that 'Gutenberg's invention consisted, apparently, in making brass moulds and matrices by which type could be accurately cast in large quantities.' In addition to this, Gutenberg was the man whose combination of vision and practical ability enabled him



EARLIEST DATED SPECIMEN OF MOVABLE TYPE PRINTING IN EUROPE

If printing was developed by Gutenberg between 1440 and 1450, his first output must have perished, for the earliest definitely dated specimen that we possess is an indulgence of Pope Nicholas V, the so-called '31-line' indulgence, printed in 1454. Many manuscript copies must have been made before it was first printed, because authority for the indulgence had been granted by the pope in 1451; it promises plenary absolution in return for a contribution to the Turkish War.

British Museum

to draw together and organize the scattered inventions which already existed. Great as have been the improvements in the details of the practice of printing since his day, his principle has never been fundamentally changed.

It is generally held that the development of the invention took place during the decade 1440-1450. But the first piece of printing that can be definitely dated is an indulgence printed at Mainz in 1454. Pope Nicholas V granted this indulgence to those who should contribute towards the war against the Turks. Of these there were printed two editions, one very shortly after the other. It is in connexion with these indulgences that the name of Johann

Gutenberg is first heard of. That he and his two associates, Johann Fust, a goldsmith, and Peter Schöffer, were responsible for them is now considered certain, although the share of each in the work still remains doubtful. Such evidence as we have tends to show that Gutenberg was the inventive spirit among them, Fust the financier and Schöffer the skilled artificer.

Gutenberg appears to have been unfortunate as a man of affairs, and, like many other inventors, to have profited less by his own invention than did those who assisted him to carry it

into effect. And so, probably worn out and embittered by the difficulties and troubles by which the path of the inventor is generally beset, he retired early from the scene and became a pensioner of the archbishop of Mainz. But before doing so he is believed to have played the leading part in the production of a magnificent book. This was the first printed edition of the Bible, variously called the Gutenberg, the Mazarine (from the copy which was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin) or the Forty-two Line Bible. Its probable date was 1455. Because of the absence of conclusive evidence as to the identity of the printer of the work the

fecit suis. Et imitatus est quod opera
ei erant retributum est: et venit super eos
maledictio ioathan filij ierobaal. **X**

Post abimelech surrexit dux israel
helihola filius phua patris abimelech
vir de isachar qui habitavit in
sanir montis ephraim: et iudicavit is-
rahel viginti et tribus annis: mortuusque
est ac sepultus in sanir. **Quic** successit
iur galaadites qui iudicavit israhel

PAGE OF THE FIRST PRINTED BIBLE

The first printed edition of the Bible is called simply the 42-line version because, though it was produced at Mainz in about 1455, it is not known how far Gutenberg himself was responsible apart from his associates Fust and Schöffer. The name refers to the number of lines in a page.

British Museum

last description, which derives from the number of lines in a column of its page, is now generally used. About the same time was printed another Bible of similar type, named on the same principle the Thirty-six Line Bible. Some scholars have suggested that Gutenberg himself produced the Thirty-six line Bible, and Fust and Schöffer the Forty-two edition. This was produced not later than 1466. It is, however, tolerably certain that the last two produced jointly the no less famous Psalter in 1457. Their partnership lasted until 1467, after which Schöffer continued to produce works from their press until the beginning of the next century.

From Mainz, the art spread with great rapidity. D. B. Updike, in the work previously referred to, observes that it took less than thirty-five years—from 1454 to 1487—to establish itself throughout Europe. He gives the dates at which it was introduced into the various countries as follows: Germany not later than 1454; Italy in 1465; Switzerland in 1468; France in 1470; Holland (excepting the so-called 'costeriana' executed before that time) in 1473; Belgium and Austria-Hungary in 1473; Spain in 1474; England in 1477; Denmark in 1482; Sweden in 1483; Portugal in 1487.

torum manu praefixi. Longa linea
 copiosa lacus effluere. Puer sur-
 rex in colomis. Nos obtapefacti
 tanta eremiraculo. Id quod ipsa
 cohibet ueritas facebamus. Non
 ee subaelo. qui martinum possit
 imitari.

CONSEQUENTI ITIDEM
 TEMPORE. ITERCUMEODE
 dum diocesis uisitatagebamus

nobis nescio quante cessitate remo-

EARLY CAROLINE BOOK HAND

The origin of modern cursive and printing styles is the book hand developed under Charlemagne; but whereas the gothic (surviving in Germany to-day) represents a progressive departure, the humanistic (in which these words are printed) was a conscious reversion during the Renaissance. *Quedlinburg Gymnasium; from 'Legacy of Middle Ages,' Clarendon Press*

The partial pillaging of the cradle of modern printing markedly accelerated the spread of the art. The temporary destruction of the commercial life of Mainz, with the shortage of money which it entailed, forced the printers to migrate in search of more favourable conditions. A large number of them merely moved to other German cities, where they were, on the whole, successful, since financial support was not generally difficult to obtain. Successful they were also where foreign princes and ecclesiastics invited them to set up their presses. Wherever they went, they found their chief patron in the Church. The first towns to challenge the brief monopoly of Mainz were Bamberg and Strassburg, where printing was being practised by 1461. Cologne followed, for Ulrich Zell set up his press there in 1466, whither a number of other craftsmen followed him. Within two years the art was flourishing at Augsburg; two years after that it was introduced in Nuremberg. Before following further the advance of printing in all directions from Mainz, it would be well to inquire into the nature of the

printing done by these pioneers of the art. For in the answer to that question is found the main reason for the rapid development and no less rapid decline in the quality of early printing.

The aim of the early printers was simply this: to reproduce manuscripts with the greatest possible accuracy, speed and economy. They envisaged what they did not as an independent art, with qualities and limitations peculiar to it alone, but simply as a substitute for the manuscript. So intent were they upon copying the manuscript, that they introduced into typography many features which were suitable only to calligraphy. Their attitude has been lucidly described by Updike:

. To the first type-cutters printing was merely an evolution, and did not appear a new invention in the sense that it obliged them to decide what forms of letter were best adapted to the new medium they had to employ. If these craftsmen had but thought of the whole matter from a fresh standpoint, some of the calligraphic black-letter types would never have existed, and italic and Greek types, so far as imitative of handwriting, would have been corrected. Instead of a long series of endeavours which have not yet entirely adjusted type-form to the medium in which the type-cutter has to work, we should then have had characters designed with closer relation to the materials from which they were fashioned.

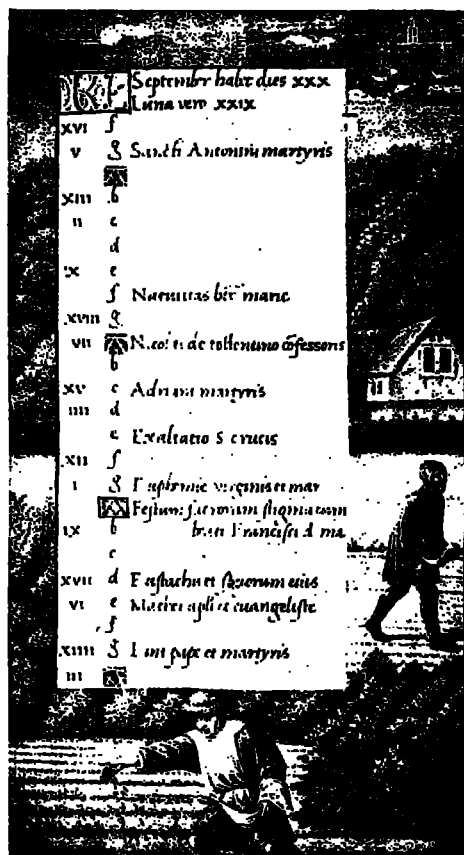
To understand the character of modern printing it is necessary to know something of the handwriting upon which it was originally based. The manuscript was, as we have already seen, the model which the early printers followed in a most servile manner. At the time when printing was invented the manuscript had reached the height of its grandeur and beauty. Several critics have gone farther, and assert that it already showed signs of decadence. Even if this were the case, the fact remains that the best manuscripts of the period were of a character so magnificent as to set a standard which gave to the infant art of printing a unique beauty; a beauty which was dulled in proportion as the influence of the manuscript grew fainter. But it is useless to mourn overmuch for the manuscript. Its slowness and

laboriousness made it altogether inadequate as a means of expression of the intellectual upheaval which was taking place.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the various scripts in use in Europe were broadly divisible into two classes: gothic and humanistic. The gothic prevailed over the north and centre, while the humanistic was obtaining a strong hold in Italy, but had not as yet advanced much beyond the Alps. And so it was natural, since printing was invented in the north, that the gothic hand should have been the model upon which the earliest printers based their types. But, although the gothic was the first model, the finest types that were ever cut had their origins in the humanistic script. The history of that hand is as follows.

Its foundation was the script of the ancient Romans, which was divisible into various categories. After the final decline

of the Roman Empire these hands declined, and no fine original script was developed until the reign of Charlemagne. The emperor decided to have a corrected version of the Bible and to secure its uniform use throughout his dominions. Chief among those responsible for the work was an Englishman, Alcuin of York (see page 2437). This revision necessitated a vast amount of writing. A new script, based upon those of the Roman Empire, was developed in which the work was carried out. Alcuin was formerly believed to have been the inventor of this letter, but, although there is no doubt that he was interested in good writing, expert opinion no longer credits him with it.



GOthic AND HUMANISTIC SCRIPTS CONTRASTED ON FLEMISH CALENDARS

Gothic in various forms characterised the north of Europe; in the south other national styles of handwriting were rapidly displaced by the humanistic or neo-caroline which spread thence to the northern countries, except Germany. The two styles are contrasted in these Flemish calendars, the gothic one, that on the left, being fifteenth-century, the other early sixteenth. It is impossible not to comment on the delightful miniatures of agricultural life that border the calendars.

British Museum: Egerton MS. 2147 and Additional MS. 35,515

κθεωρ παντα τα διδουσαι παλαια ιεροσ αποπι τρις ηδαιτ
 οπκιγος και γαλα ταμβρος ιερο ενος ει παρτες ειδη δαισις
 Id eplox ainfola fca rta oia hcr fere flucta mellis de petra acoq de forte et
 lac immortalitatis manabit omnibus istis. Vnde itaqz hoies dñgillissimam
 nita et copiosissimam de regnabit cu deo pariter. Et reges gentiu ueniet cu
 donis ac muneribus nre adorēt et honorificēt regē magnū. cuius nomen erit
 preclarū ac uenerabile uniuersis nationibus que sub celo erūt. et regionis q
 dominabuntur in terra. Qui nouerunt ex quāda scriptura auctore nisi dūcti an
 uis ad uerum inuentionē Et c. finis non aduenit nisi Roma defuncta. Ca. xvi

TYPE CUT FOR ITALIAN READERS BY GERMAN PRINTERS AT SUBIACO

Since printing was first elaborated in Germany it was natural that the gothic letter should have been supreme in the early founts, though it was not long before the humanistic or roman style prevailed in Italy. Even there the first press, that set up at Subiaco by Sweynheym and Pannartz of Cologne, in 1465, made use of a compromise; it is interesting to see from this specimen of their work how the two Germans endeavoured to give a humanistic impress to their national gothic letters.

From 'Lactantius, Opera,' 1465

The success of Charlemagne's policy of unification was, as far as handwriting was concerned, only temporary. National characteristics were quick to assert themselves, and by the twelfth century the scribes of northern Europe were using scripts which differed widely from those current in the south. In the north the elongated, pointed gothic letter had emerged, while in Italy and Spain the shorter and rounder form prevailed.

By the time that Gutenberg was engaged upon his invention the original ninth-century caroline script had almost disappeared. But at this time there was a sudden reversion to it. The reasons which prompted it are not difficult to discover.

The Renaissance, just then at its height, drew the greater part of its inspiration from the widespread study of the writings of classic Rome. These were most accessible in manuscripts written in the caroline hand. What, then, could be more natural than that the scribes who copied them should have been strongly influenced by the hand in which the originals were written? It was in Florence that this neo-caroline script was first developed. The new letter was enthusiastically received by the leaders of the Renaissance, to whom in any case the various gothic hands were repellent. The manuscripts written in it are of a magnificence and regularity which have been equalled neither before nor since.

Since in the Florence of the middle of the fifteenth century scribes and illuminators of such transcendent skill were relatively so plentiful, it is hardly surprising that the recently invented art of printing should have been looked upon as a mean and superfluous makeshift. Cardinal Bessarion, the first Greek scholar of his day, declined to interest himself in this invention 'by the barbarians of a German city.' Another great scholar, Federigo, duke of Urbino, refused to have so much as a single printed book in his library, since he preferred to patronise the superb scribes of Florence.

Perfection of form alone could do little towards satisfying the passionate thirst of the age for every kind of knowledge. And since discovery of printing was made in northern Europe where the gothic letter was all but unchallenged, and carried southward largely by Germans, it was inevitable that that letter should for a time have remained typographically supreme. But no sooner was printing introduced into Italy than it tended to become humanistic rather than gothic in style. Finally, the use of the roman letter became general in the whole of Europe save Germany, where the gothic has survived tenaciously to this day.

Printing was first practised in Italy by two Germans, Conrad Sweynheym of Mainz and Arnold Pannartz of Cologne,

who set up their press at the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco, outside Rome. The theory has been advanced that these two were accompanied in 1462 by Nicolas Jenson, and that he cut the fount which they used at Subiaco as well as that afterwards employed by them at Rome. The most interesting fact about the Subiaco type is the conscious attempt of printers accustomed to gothic type to produce a letter in accord with the humanistic spirit of Italy. While the earnestness of the effort is obvious, the type which was produced seemed very gothic to our eyes. By 1467 they had moved to Rome and set up a press in the de' Massimi palace. The letter used by them, although distinctly more roman than that of Subiaco, was very much below it in beauty. In Rome they were not, from the commercial point of view, successful, since we find them, in March, 1472, appealing for aid to Pope Sixtus IV. The extent of their output may be calculated from the twenty-eight works which they had printed up to that time, together with the number of copies of each, usually 275. They produced in all, including separate editions, 11,475 volumes.

The town into which printing was next introduced was destined to become for some time the most important centre of the art. In Venice a more purely roman letter than hitherto produced was used in 1469 by the brothers Johann and Wendelin da Spira. The modern quality of their type may easily be seen in the Venice editions of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familiares* and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* of Johann da Spira, and in the *De Civitate Dei*, which was printed by both brothers.

The design of the da Spira letters, for which Johann obtained an exclusive privilege for five years, has sometimes been attributed to Jenson. However, da Spira's death in 1470 removed the restrictions on roman type from the other Venetian printers, and Jenson produced his famous type in that same year. This type has since enjoyed an unrivalled prestige and has, in fact, become the accepted model for roman letters. Despite the number of the attempts, it has never been equalled. Torresano, father-in-law of Aldus, who, after the latter's death, carried on the Aldine house, also inherited Jenson's material on his death in 1480.

We have next to consider the types which were cut for the great scholar, printer and publisher, Aldus Manutius Romanus. While typographical authorities agree that Jenson's roman was the most perfect type ever cut, their pronouncements upon the merits of Aldus' letters differ widely. He has been described by at least one high authority as the

*Hic elegos impune dicam consumpsit ingens
T elephus aut summa plena iam margine libri
S criptus, et in tergo nec dum finitus, Orestes
N on magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi locus
M artis, et aoliis uicini rupibus antrum
V ulcani. Quid agant uenti, quas torqueat umbras
A eacus, unde alius furtive deuehat aurum
P ellicula, quantus iaculetur monychus ornos,
F rontonis platani, conuulsq; marmora clamant
S emper, et assiduorupae lectore columna.
E xpectes eadem a summo, minimoq; poeta.
E t nos ergo manum ferula subduximus, et nos
C onsilium dedimus Sylla, priuatus ut alium*

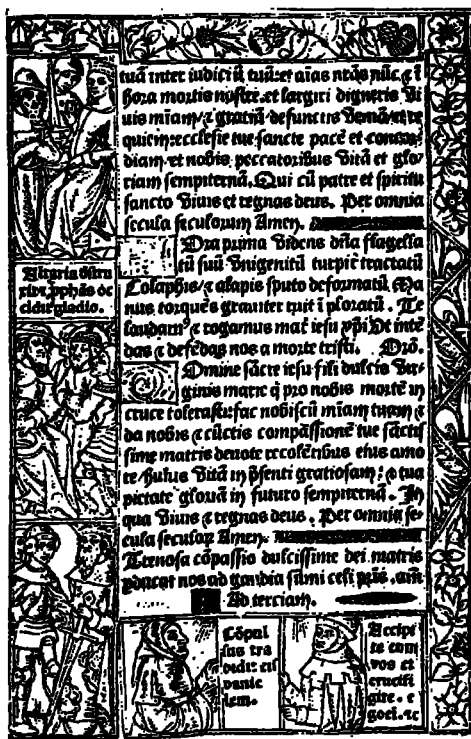
NATVRA DELLE POPPE DEGLANIMALI. CAP. XL.

a Lafine dolgono lepoppe dopo el parto: Ilperche Ifuezano lafinino el sexto me-
se: conciosia che lecaualle dienolapoppa un anno. Tutti glanimali che hāno un
ghia dun pezo non generano piu che due per uolta: ne hanno piu che due poppe & ql
le nel peccignone: nel medesimo luogo hāno quelle che hanno lunghia didue pezi
& sono comute: le uacche quattro: le pecore & capre due. Quelle che partoriscono piu

ORIGINS OF THE MODERN ROMAN AND ITALIC TYPES

The type on which all modern types in general use are based was cut at Venice by Nicolas Jenson in 1470; as the extract from his translation (1476) of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* shows, it is admirably readable and yet beautifully formed without mechanical and, therefore, irritating perfection. It was Aldus Manutius Romanus, a scholar as much as a printer, who first used, for certain classics issued in 1501, the italic or chancery type, designed for him by Francesco of Bologna (top).

From Updike 'Printing Types' (above) and Studio Spring Number, 1914 (below)



USE OF GOTHIC IN FRANCE

An interesting example of early French printing is the Book of Hours made to the order of a Rouen bookseller, for English (Sarum) use, by Philippe Pigouchet of Paris in 1494. The type is a modified form of gothic.

British Museum

greatest printer of the Renaissance, and by another as a man 'whose fonts are . . . devoid of any beauty of form other than that conferred by good cutting.'

Careful examination will show this last opinion to be somewhat extreme. At least one of Aldus' roman founts rivals those of Jenson. It must be admitted, however, that his type cutting and press work were often careless. Aldus seems to have concerned himself little with detail, and to have been interested far more deeply in scholarship than typography. Indeed, it was its great reputation for accurate and enlightened scholarship that enabled the Aldine house to overshadow all its rivals. Thus his texts were copied all over Europe, as were the characters in which they were printed.

In 1500 Aldus made a revolutionary invention by causing to be cut the sloping

letter which we know as 'italic,' but which he termed 'chancery.' This letter he employed in his famous edition of the classics. As a type it was far from perfect, but the enthusiasm which the accuracy and cheapness of the series aroused advertised the letter in which it was printed to an extent which it hardly merited. Nevertheless, its influence has been far-reaching and sustained. The deficiencies in the Aldine italic were rectified in the singularly beautiful one invented by Ludovico Arrighi, sometimes known as Vicentino, a scribe employed in the Vatican chancery. This letter had a potent influence upon French typography.

Among the most distinguished of Venetian printers was Erhard Ratdolt, who came to Venice from Augsburg in 1476. He it was who issued the earliest type specimen sheet. By the beginning of the sixteenth century Venice had achieved priority as a centre for printing, and her type founders and printers were taken as models by the rest of Europe. The city at this time contained no fewer than a hundred and fifty printing houses.

Although there had been primitive essays at printing in France several decades before, the art was introduced on an important scale in 1470. In that year Johann Heyhlin, who had been prior and rector of the Sorbonne, and Fichet, professor of belles-lettres and rhetoric there, established a press in Paris and sent to Germany for three workmen to operate it. Their names were Michael Freiburger, Ulrich Gering and Martin Kranz.

These men cut a large and awkward but readable roman type, despite the popularity of the gothic manuscript letter at that time in France. After a few years popular taste caused roman to give way to gothic for some time.

This led to the invention of two types of gothic character: the 'lettre de forme,' a stately letter employed for liturgical books, and the 'lettre bâtarde,' which served for general purposes. This last derives its name from its mixed origin. It was not until the very end of the fifteenth century that the roman letter came once more into extensive use. Lyons quickly became a centre for

printing hardly less important than Paris. The first man to work there was Guillaume Le Roy, whose first book, the *Compendium Breve*, was issued in 1473. Early French printing was elegant and distinguished, but it could compare neither for monumental severity with that of Italy nor for virility with that of Germany.

The type of printing invented by Gutenberg spread rapidly in the Netherlands. Even admitting the claims made for the shadowy Coster by his fellow-countrymen it is certain that the methods practised by him did not survive. The earliest Dutch book bearing a date is the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, which was printed in Utrecht in 1473. The chief centres where the art was practised were Louvain and Deventer. The early printing done in the Netherlands is aesthetically dull but historically interesting as being the starting point of English typography.

Updike, in the work already quoted, pays a fine tribute to the great man who

*It is plese only man spiritual or temporel to hve only
pyes of two and thre comemoracions of salisbury vñ
enpryntid after the forme of this prelet lettre whiche
ben wel and trulh correct late hym come to westmōs
nether in to the almoneske at the reed pale and he shal
have them good chepe . . .*

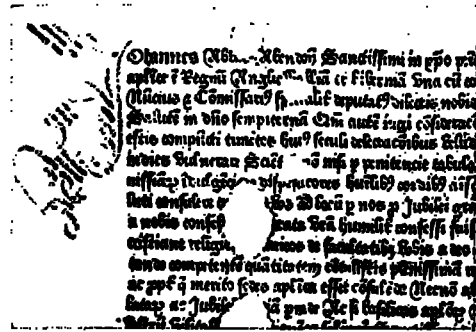
Supplicatio lre cedula

*Began boldly to renne forth as blynde bayard in thys
presente werke whych is named the recuyell of the
troian hystories And afterwarde when I remembryd*

*Ever endeth the booke named the dictes or sayengis
of the philosophres enprynted by me William
Caxton at Westmestre the yere of our lord .M.
CCCC. Lxxvii. Whiche booke is late translated out of*

ISSUES FROM THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS SET UP IN ENGLAND

William Caxton, a mercer's apprentice in London, emigrated to Bruges in 1441, and became what might be called consul-general for the Lowlands. His first press was at Bruges, and on his return to England in 1476 he introduced printing to that country. Top: his advertisement, issued from the Sign of the Reed Pale in the Westminster Almonry; centre: part of preface to the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* (Bruges, 1474); bottom: part of epilogue to the *Dictes* (Westminster, 1477).



CAXTON'S EARLIEST VENTURE

The discovery in 1928 of an indulgence dated December 13, 1476, proves that Caxton's Westminster press was working in the same year in which it was set up; though the first book (*The Dictes*) was not ready until the following year.

Public Record Office, London

in 1477 introduced printing into England. Of William Caxton he says:

His services to literature in general, and particularly to English literature, as a translator, and publisher, would have made him a commanding figure if he had never printed a single page.

In the history of English printing he would be a commanding figure if he had never translated or published a single book. But with him printing was not the sole aim; and this explains in part why his printing was not so remarkable as his reputation might lead us to expect. He was a great Englishman, and, among his many activities, was a printer. But he was not, from the technical point of view, a great printer.

He possibly gained a technical knowledge of printing in Cologne, where he was living in 1471. Four years later, in partnership with Collard Mansion, he started to print in Bruges. Here he printed the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, the first book to be printed in the English language. The following year he returned to England and established his press at Westminster, near the Abbey,

undertaken between 1494 and 1525 by the French were unimportant in their political results, yet the influence of the beauty and the learning of Italy upon the French mind was powerful and lasting. The art patrons, scholars, writers and artists became profoundly imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance. And so it was that much of the feeling of the first great Italian printers was revealed again during the golden age of French typography, which covered a little more than the first half of the sixteenth century.



ILLUSTRATIONS WITH WHICH CAXTON PROVIDED HIS LATER WORKS

Caxton's earliest works were unillustrated, but in 1481 he began to include woodcuts in the text, those in the *Mirror of the World* published in that year being extremely coarse. Those reproduced above, in more finished style, are a king playing chess with a philosopher, from a second edition of *The Game and Play of Chess*, and King Log and King Stork, from *Aesop's Fables*.

where on the eighteenth of March, 1477, was completed the first dated book to be issued in England, Earl Rivers' translation from the French, *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres*. Before his death in 1491 he printed about a hundred works. Caxton's press was then directed by his chief assistant, Wynkyn de Worde. Theodoric Rood established himself at Oxford in 1478, and Richard Pynson, who became printer to the king, in London, in about 1490.

Spanish printing, which dates from 1474, had little influence upon the practice of the rest of Europe. Although introduced by Germans, it rapidly assumed a strongly marked national character, and many magnificent books were produced.

Printing had been invented and spread by Germans and quickly brought to a splendid maturity in Italy. No sooner did the great impulse given by the Venetian masters flag than the centre of interest moved northwards. The Italian wars

The first press set up in Paris, it will be remembered, used roman letters, which were replaced, in deference to popular taste, by various gothic styles. That the Roman letter once more came into favour during the first part of the sixteenth century was due, more than anything else, to the efforts of perhaps the most attractive character in the history of French printing—Geofroy Tory. This versatile genius and typical product of the Renaissance, besides being a printer, was poet, artist, translator and reformer. The standard of his publications was very high, and his celebrated *Champfleury*, which appeared in 1529, caused him to be made printer to the king. He it was who introduced into French printing the accent, apostrophe and cedilla; Claude Garamond, one of the greatest of French type cutters and founders, was his pupil. Foremost among the others whose achievements made of this period one of the most splendid epochs in typographical history

were Henri and Robert Estienne, Simon de Colines, Michel Vascosan, Badius, the two De Tournes and Robert Granjon.

The turn of the sixteenth century brought to a close the classic period of printing which had opened almost simultaneously with its invention. That the art should have risen to such heights of perfection and then begun to decline, after a spell so brief that it would scarcely have sufficed for the mere foundation of any other art, are facts which require explanation. There were many causes. Of all these by far the most important is to be found in the origin of typography itself. The art was invented solely as a cheaper and less laborious substitute for that of making manuscripts. The early printers based their characters so exactly upon those of the manuscripts which they copied that it is often difficult for the unpractised eye to distinguish between what was written and what was printed. Early printing was enabled to attain from the first its fineness and maturity through having been based upon something which

was itself the climax of centuries of growth. And just as long as the printer kept close to his splendid model, so long did his work retain those qualities which gave such beauty to both.

But after a century the model had become something antiquated and remote, and printing began to present problems



DEVICES USED BY THREE EARLY ENGLISH PRINTERS

Caxton's device (left), used first at the beginning and later at the end of his works, was his 'mark' or signature (a monogram of the date 1474) between his initials; that of his assistant and successor, Wynkyn de Worde of Lorraine, on the right, is similar. Top: device of Richard Pynson, probably a Norman. He succeeded Caxton's contemporaries, John Lettou and Machlinia, about 1490, and, though not a scholar like Caxton, was a better printer from the technical point of view.

From Plomer, 'English Printers'

strictly its own. That this should have been so was inevitable. But so great had been the change which the personnel of the printing trade had undergone during the century that the printers themselves were no longer capable of facing them as effectively as their predecessors aided by their great model had been. The very stimulus which printing gave to the spread of literature led to a constantly increasing demand for more numerous and cheaper books, tending thereby to concentrate the attention of printers and publishers rather upon quantity than quality. This more than anything else brought about the change in the class of man who sought to make his living by printing.

The early printers had been enthusiasts attracted by a new art, or at any rate more or less educated men deeply engrossed in their work for its own sake. The great scholars and patrons of the arts, who had at first encouraged the printers with advice and protection, lost their enthusiasm when their erstwhile protégés began to be concerned with the exigencies of business rather than with scholarship. Neglect of the models upon which its first sudden greatness was built, the eagerness with which the demand for more and cheaper books was met, the decline in the quality of the men by whom the art was carried on were among the main causes of the general decline of printing which took place from the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Although there was a clear falling away from the old standards, many fine printers continued to flourish. Towards the end of the century the centre of interest moved from France to the Netherlands, where there worked such men as Christopher Plantin, whose most important production was a handsome polyglot Bible, and the house of Elzevir was rising to fame.

Before the beginning of the seventeenth century printing had freed itself, as far as it has ever done, from the influence of the manuscript, and inevitably it lost the richness and grandeur characteristic of the best of them. On the other hand, by its relative cheapness, speediness and facility of production, it acquired a

practicability which has made it an integral part of the machinery of organized society. It had become, not a lovely yet exotic growth, an art to satisfy scholars and charm the sensibilities of patrons of the arts, but a necessity of daily life to the ever increasing number of those who could read. And so, from this time, the general standard, until the revivals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, became steadily lower; while the products of the revivals, although often admirable in themselves, have, by their very nature, lacked the spontaneous beauty of their earliest predecessors.

In order to turn out printed works with the required facility and speed, their producers were compelled to extend very drastically the practice which underlies every sort of mass production, and one which has always tended, when carried beyond certain limits, to promote efficiency at the expense of beauty. This practice is division of labour. The early printer had been not only his own type founder and type designer, but often his own publisher too. The buying and selling of type was extremely rare, and when a printer wished to augment his stock of type he usually did so by the work of his own hands.

Since the story of printing is the story of ceaseless expansion, the process of the division of labour naturally began very early. Even before the beginning of the sixteenth century we find independent type cutters plying for hire. And so the art of printing suffered by efficiently fulfilling the demand for knowledge which it had itself done so much to stimulate. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century type forms had become so far fixed that their history is thenceforward that of relatively slight variations. For gothic type had at last received its death-blow at the hands of Claude Garamond, whose roman and italic letters thenceforth exercised a dominating influence in Italy, England, Holland and France itself.

It now remains to notice the work of those men who have been foremost in bringing these variations about and finally to consider the effect, not only upon the art of printing but upon the course of

Decline in the Sixteenth century men deeply engrossed in their work for its own sake. The great scholars

Dangers of mass production

civilization, of the vast mechanical improvements in the last century and a half.

Italian printing during the seventeenth century was exuberant but undistinguished. A great variety of types was used, often in ludicrous combinations. Books of this period were overloaded with flamboyant decoration, which, combined with their extreme typographical disunity, give them an air of grotesqueness. A writer has aptly likened them to stage properties. Here and there among these exaggerated and ill-balanced productions were examples of fine printing. One such was an imposing work on navigation, *Dell' Arcano del Mare* di D. Roberto Dudley. These large and handsome volumes were printed in Florence, where their author, Robert Dudley, son of Elizabeth's favourite, the earl of Leicester, was then living.

During the eighteenth century the flamboyance of Italian printing dwindled into a superficial and somewhat pallid elegance. This quality became more and more pronounced as the century drew on towards its close.

During the seventeenth century French printing completed its emancipation from the Italian tradition.

Eighteenth-century French printing

Although grander in style than that of contemporary Italy, it was marred by an extreme pomposity not uncharacteristic of the regime of the day. With the eighteenth century came greater readability and delicacy. But the standard remained low. Mechanical uniformity was mistaken for classical purity, and lightness for elegance. The inferiority of the typography is the more marked when compared with the magnificent engraved illustrations with which the best books of the period abound. But such men as the Barbours, the Didots and the Fourniers did much to keep alive the tradition of fine printing in France.

Although the art of printing was introduced into England under the auspices of so inspiring a character as William Caxton, it did not at first flourish very readily. No sooner had it begun to do so than it became subject to the same weaknesses which beset printing all over Europe. Excessive governmental restriction further impeded its growth.

Therefore, while England produced a number of fine printers, such men as John Day, Thomas Berthelet and Thomas Vautrollier, it was not until the eighteenth century that she began to play a part of the first importance in the history of printing. She was enabled to do this by the emergence of two men. The first was William Caslon, one of the greatest of type designers, whose letters exercised a profound and lasting influence upon typography in general and that of the English-speaking world in particular. The second was John Baskerville, whose types, while they were less good than Caslon's and enjoyed less vogue in England in his own day, did, nevertheless, have a powerful influence upon European type forms, and, later on, upon those of England as well.

**William Caslon
of England**

Caslon was born in 1692, and established his foundry in 1720. It was not until 1734 that he issued his famous specimen sheet which showed the results of fourteen years of experiment. His letters were modelled upon Dutch types, which they far surpassed. The most noticeable quality of a page set in them is the excellence of the mass effect. This is the result of concentration rather than on general harmony than on individual perfection. Many of his letters, critically examined by themselves, are seen to be imperfect, but taken together they have an unpretentious distinction and grace.

Baskerville was an admirer of Caslon, to whom he thus refers in his preface to the edition of Milton which he made and published: 'Mr. Caslon is an Artist, to whom the Republic of Learning has great obligations; his ingenuity has left a fairer copy for my emulation than any other master.' While he acknowledges the debt which he assuredly owed to Caslon, the difference between the two men's work could hardly have been greater. Caslon's letters were based on the type forms of the classical period of two centuries before, and they seem to have come into existence in the same traditional and impersonal way as, say, a design for a spade, or a folk-song. Baskerville's, on the other hand, were the epitome of individual personality

and self-conscious, almost assertive good taste. The pronounced but happy archaism of Caslon's was entirely absent from them. For Baskerville, before he turned to typography, had been a writing master, and his designs for letters were strongly influenced by the contemporary handwriting which he had taught.

Since the types of Caslon were traditional and typically English in feeling, it is not unnatural that they should at the time have enjoyed more popular favour at home than the original and over-refined letters of Baskerville. But from the start these last were greatly admired upon the Continent. Bodoni praises him warmly in his preface to *Fregi e Maiuscola*, published in 1771, while Janssen in his *Essai sur l'origine de la gravure*, published in 1808, credits Baskerville with having made not only the most correct but the most elegant roman letter of anyone in Europe. The grace of his characters, the excellence of his press work, the glossiness of his paper, the blackness of his ink and, above all, his reliance for his effects upon the beauty and careful disposition of his letters rather than upon elaborate illustrations, were the qualities which chiefly impressed foreign observers. 'Content with the simplicity of typographic art,'

says the Abbé de Fontenai, referring to Baskerville, 'the English printer has no need to borrow aid from engraving. . .'

Meanwhile, there had started to print in Italy, in 1768, a man who was finally to carry Baskerville's methods with extraordinary accomplishment to extreme lengths. Giambattista Bodoni was even more strongly influenced than Baskerville by the ideals of engraving and handwriting. By emphasising the contrast between the blacks and whites he attempted to give to his pages the brilliancy of fine engravings, and by exaggerating the differences between the thick strokes and the thin to endow his characters with the sensitive qualities of hand-written letters. Much of what he printed is magnificent in its boldness and suavity. Nevertheless, the opinion of the best modern typographers is against such vivid contrasts, and the division of the page, which is now envisaged as an artistic unity, into jet-black strips separated by broad white spaces. Bodoni left such spaces in order that the opulent elegance of his type should stand out with the greatest possible clearness.

It is not surprising that the work of a printer who was more concerned with displaying the beauty of individual letters than with the general effect of the page should be unduly neglected to-day. But



THREE STAGES IN THE MAKING OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK

This trio of cuts by Jost Amman, a Swiss or German engraver who lived 1539-91, shows the life-history of a book in the century immediately following that in which printing was invented. On the left, paper-making with a pulping mill and a press in the background; next, printing from a wooden hand press; and last, bookbinding, with one workman threading the sheets at a frame in the background and another trimming them up in a press.

From Jost Amman, *Stände und Handwerker*

in his own day his prestige was immense. He printed in 1792 twelve copies in folio of a brief of Pope Pius VI, who exclaimed that he must issue a second brief to praise the way in which Bodoni had printed the first one. Carlos III of Spain made him his court printer; he received pensions from Napoleon, Carlos IV and the viceroy of Italy. He corresponded with the most eminent men in Europe and America. Among the authors for whom he printed editions were three Englishmen—Gray, Thomson and Walpole.

In Germany the work of Georg Joachim Göschen and in France that of the gifted and scholarly Didot family represented the style originated by Baskerville and brought to its most striking consummation by Bodoni. The best work of all these men is so excellent that it needs no apology, but it must be admitted that its effect upon type forms was unhappy. For the letter which they made popular was susceptible of greater degradation than any which had appeared before.

From their day the art of printing entered upon a new period of declension.

From this it was, at any rate partially, rescued by a revival of the older forms of letter, which had its origin in England. With the exception of Baskerville, English printers had until that time exercised no great influence upon the Continent. But after the Napoleonic wars, partly because of the prominent part which England had played in them, and even more through the impression created by the apparently overwhelming success of her industrialism, things English enjoyed a great vogue. Unfortunately, English typography was in no condition to give a lead to Europe, for there was no native style, but only a chaos of conflicting fashions.

The majority of the types in use were either brittle and anaemic versions of older letters or grossly exaggerated versions of the new. The most striking example of this last class was the 'bold face' which Robert Thorne had designed in 1803. Its popularity in Germany, France and Holland was extraordinary. Bodoni himself fattened his large letters in deference to the enthusiasm inspired by

ABCDEFGHIJK
abcdefghijklmn

ABCDEFGHI
abcdefghijklmno
et st us is ll ß ss si st

EXAMPLES OF FELL TYPES

When in the nineteenth century a reversion to older and better types took place in England, use was made by the Rev. C. H. O. Daniel of the actual fount bequeathed to the Oxford University Press by Dr. Fell in about 1670.

Courtesy of Oxford University Press

Thorne's, and the Didots followed suit. It is from such exaggeration on the one hand and such sterility on the other that the revival of old styles in England dating from the 'forties has probably for the time being rescued the art of printing.

The origin of this revival was accidental. The publisher, William Pickering, and Charles Whittingham the younger, the second director of the celebrated Chiswick Press, decided in 1844 to issue *The Diary of Lady Willoughby*, a fictitious journal of a seventeenth-century lady of quality. For a book of this sort an old style type was thought appropriate. Its commercial success drew attention to its typography, which had not only a novelty which pleased the public but a sanity which caused printers, wearied by the poverty of current styles, to look longingly backwards. Thus started a revival of Caslon letters which was to have far-reaching and beneficial results.

The next important old style types to be revived were the Fell. These had originally been imported from Holland by Dr. John Fell, dean of Christ Church, and presented to the Oxford University Press between 1667 and 1672. They had long lain there neglected when their use was revived in 1877 by the Reverend C. H. O. Daniel, afterwards provost of Worcester College, Oxford. He first established the small press known by his

name in 1845, at Frome, and later moved it to Worcester College. Another step towards the reinstatement of the old style type was the appearance of an admirable but short-lived quarterly under the editorship of Herbert Horne, called *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*.

The whole revival was now vastly stimulated and extended by the typographical activities of that singular and versatile genius William

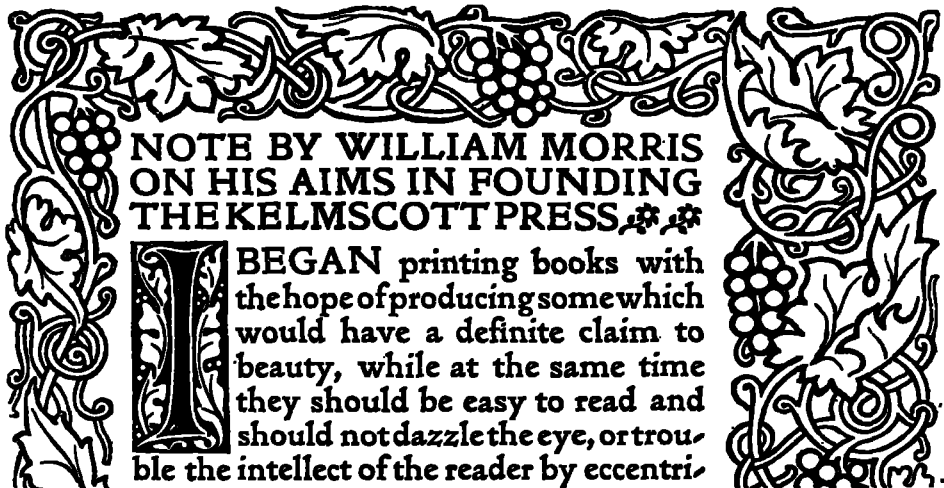
Influence of William Morris. In 1891, almost half a century after the first revival of Caslon's types by Pickering and Whittingham, Morris established his press at Kelmscott Manor House, on the Thames, not far from Oxford. He invented four types, which were as follows: a roman letter based on Jenson's, known as the Golden type, which was designed in 1890, and first used two years later in *The Golden Legend*; a large black letter known as the Troy type; a smaller black letter known as the Chaucer type; and a transitional type based on that first used at Subiaco. This last was never cut.

Viewed by itself, Morris's achievement is not particularly impressive. He fell short of his declared ideal of printing books 'which . . . should be easy to read and

should not dazzle the eye, or trouble the intellect of the reader by eccentricity of form in the letters.' His books have all these faults. But to judge his printing apart from the influence which it exercised upon the future is to lose sight of its real importance.

By the emphatic archaism of his two gothic types, he awakened the interest in the work of the early printers which played so important a part in the later period of the revival. Even more important was the example which he set in unity between type setting and decoration. Since his day publishers of even the most popular books have hesitated to issue them with different types on their title pages, and with illustrations bearing no aesthetic relation to each other or the letterpress.

Morris's influence was not quick to make itself felt. The first Kelmscott book, *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, while it instantly interested bibliophiles, failed to stir the typographers. The fact was that they were not sufficiently well informed about the history of their art to see the revolutionary motives implicit in Morris's book. But after a few years his influence, first in Germany and the United States, and a little later in England, became prodigious. The success of the



'GOLDEN' TYPE OF WILLIAM MORRIS

A feeling for gothic is evident in this 'Golden' type designed by William Morris and first used at Kelmscott in 1891. With its many faults—the thickness of the letters, for instance, do definitely 'dazzle' the eye—it yet exercised a profound influence by reason of its clear striving after beauty. Morris (1834-96) devoted most of his life to improving the craftsmanship of every-day things.

Courtesy of Wm. Morris Trustees

Kelmscott Press inspired a number of other men to design type and use it in private presses. One of these, Charles Ricketts, made a considerable contribution to the revival of printing. He designed three types, but the books issued by the Vale Press were printed by Messrs. Ballantyne. The Vale books, although in many respects reminiscent of those of Kelmscott, are unlike them in that the influence of the Renaissance upon them, which Morris hated, is clearly marked.

In 1901 T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, in partnership with Morris's scholarly and skilful associate, Emery Walker, began to print at the Doves Press. Far more closely than the Golden type of Morris or any of those based upon it did the single fount of roman cut for the Doves Press approximate to the letter of Jenson. Despite a touch of frigidity, and the awkward descender in the 'y,' it is probably the most beautiful type that the printing revival has produced. Its austere and simple elegance gives it a unique place among modern letters. Among other private presses which have played their part in engaging the interest of educated opinion in typographic standards were Lucien Pissarro's Eragny Press, St. John Hornby's Ashendene Press, and the Essex House Press. In America the revival has found its best expression in the work of three men: D. B. Updike, of the Merrymount Press, Boston, author of *Printing Types*, a monument of sane scholarship; the gifted and ingenious Bruce Rogers; and Frederick W. Goudy, a prolific type designer.

In Germany, where the transition from gothic to roman is still incomplete, the best contemporary printing is based upon

English models. Among these by far the most influential has been the Doves type, the effect of which has been wholly beneficial. Perhaps the most interesting German type designer is Rudolph Koch, in whose 'Kursiv' elegance, originality and legibility are strikingly combined. French typography was but little affected by the tendencies represented by Morris, nor has the private press ever become popular in France. Although a number



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PRESS

The title page of *Hegesippus* (1511), printed in Paris by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, shows the type of printing press used two generations after the invention of printing; it differs little from certain forms in use to-day.

of interesting letters have appeared there from time to time, the best printing has been done with revived Garamond and Grandjean types. Of the new ones the best are the Grasset, which appeared in 1897, the Auriol and the Cochins. With exception of the last named, these types have found little favour outside their own country. France's most important contribution to typography in modern times has been Anatole Claudin's great *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle*.

Although printing may be viewed and described from many angles, it has in this chapter been considered from an almost exclusively typographical standpoint. The development of the art has been briefly recorded in terms of type faces, that is to say, in terms of the shapes of the various letters, because it is in their different characters and their variations that the essential nature of printing is most clearly revealed. And in addition the character of the various periods is reflected in their type faces hardly less completely than it

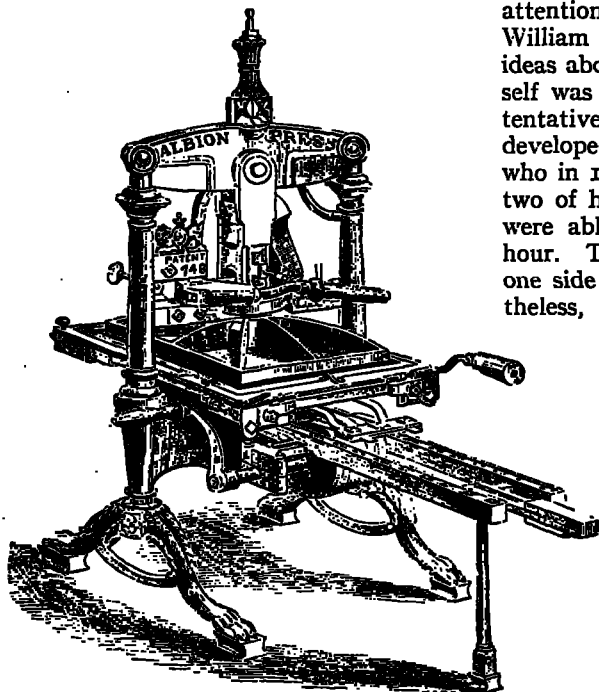
is in their philosophies, architectures, costumes or manners.

Now that the main function of printing has been briefly discussed, and the history of the principal types lightly outlined, it remains to mention a new factor which during the last hundred years has in certain respects transformed printing. That factor is the application of power to the printing press. While this invention has completely transformed the art from the social aspect, its influence upon type forms has been singularly slight. The press used by Gutenberg and his associates resembled in essentials the modern hand press. The power was exerted by a movable handle placed in a screw which tightened to make the impression and loosened again after it had been made. This remained in use until the early seventeenth century, when Willem Janson Blaew, of Amsterdam, map maker to the Dutch republic, made

considerable improvements in details. At the end of the following century Charles, third Earl Stanhope, made an iron press which was an advance upon those then in use because of its improved application of power and greater stability. Based upon Stanhope's iron press are the two hand presses most generally used to-day. These are the Albion, which was invented early in the nineteenth century by an Englishman, Richard Whittaker Cope. This press was used by William Morris and many other printers of the revival. The other, known as the Columbia, a somewhat heavier and slower working press, was the invention of an American, George Clymer.

So for four and a half centuries after its invention the essential features of the hand printing press changed little. But towards the end of the eighteenth century the idea of the application of power to printing began to engage the attention of ingenious men. By 1790 William Nicholson had developed certain ideas about power printing which he himself was unable to put into effect. His tentative invention was shortly afterwards developed by a German, Friedrich König, who in 1814 persuaded the Times to use two of his steam printing presses, which were able to make 1,100 impressions an hour. These machines could only print one side of the paper at a time; nevertheless, Nicholson and König discovered the principles upon which all power-presses have since been modelled.

Power applied
to printing



HAND PRESS AS STILL USED

To-day steam rotary presses are paramount, but for certain work the old hand press is still preferred. Of the two types in use, this, the Albion, is based on the iron press invented by Earl Stanhope (1753-1816); itself only a modification of the old wooden presses of the earliest printers.

From Jacobi, 'Printing'

Since 1814 printing by machinery has developed with immense rapidity. The result has been that printed matter has become, instead of the preserve of an educated minority, an object of daily use by vast populations. And in spite of subsequent revolutionary inventions, such as the cinematograph and wireless telegraphy, the printed word is still immeasurably the most powerful agent at man's command for the dissemination of knowledge and news and opinions.

LIFE IN THE ITALIAN CITIES

Every-day Activities of the Men among
whom the Renaissance bore its finest Fruits

By CESARE FOLIGNO

Serena Professor of Italian at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Magdalen College; Author of *Padua*, *Epochs of Italian Literature*, etc.

IN dealing with the history of Italian cities it is fairly easy to arrive at the facts, but, to judge from what has been written about them, it would seem to be far from easy to appreciate these facts or to realize their implications. No two historians seem to agree. One describes the free cities as model democracies and laments their fall as marking the end of the most glorious period of Italian history. Another emphasises the conflict between two great political parties, Guelphs and Ghibellines, and considers all events as dependent on the varying fortunes of this century-long feud. A third appears chiefly to be impressed by the contrast between religious zeal and ancient culture, and points out how Christianity gave way to moral laxity and a heathen outlook. Each of these theories provides an angle from which usefully to view such evidence as we possess; but none of them is completely satisfactory, for they are too sweeping and general. What is true of one city is not necessarily true of another.

Rome, as all agree, should be considered apart. As the seat of the popes and the capital of the papal state, her conditions were peculiar; though, as it happened, between 1305 and 1377 no pope resided at Rome. Venice also should be considered apart, for her constitution was peculiar to herself, and she passed through none of the trials that other cities underwent. So Rome and Venice are considered in Chapters 107 and 118. Less frequently, but quite as cogently, it is argued that the history of Naples cannot be considered alongside of that of other Italian cities, for in 1266 Naples became the capital of the Angevin monarchy in the south of Italy, and still retained this distinction

when the Aragonese succeeded to the decadent Angevins. One could carry on such a process of elimination almost indefinitely, setting aside the cities of the southern kingdom on the ground that the vicinity of the ruling sovereign hindered the concession of immunities and thus also the development of the civic liberties; making a special class of the cities under Venetian rule for similar reasons; taking into account the different processes by which different cities developed their constitutions, until one realized that the only thing which all the Italian free cities really had in common—and they shared it also with the minor communities of the countryside—was precisely the possession of an original individuality.

Thus the point of contact between the histories of these cities is not to be sought in their statute books nor in the account of political events; it is to be looked for **Common aims and deeper, in the common common obstacles** aims which prompted the new ruling class in each city to act, and in the similar obstacles which this class had to overcome; and in the general yearning after enlightenment, in the effort to find a philosophical basis to religious beliefs; in the passion for artistic beauty. A complete survey would far exceed the space which reasonably may be allotted to these cities; but, excluding rural communities, Milan, Verona, Padua and Florence might be chosen as representative. In each of them, much earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century, the citizens had organized themselves and had claimed the privilege of certain exemptions or immunities. Theoretically, every

city in Italy depended upon the emperor and king of the Romans, who was the feudal overlord; and it was the peculiarity of the feudal system that it was linked together by a chain of immunities: in return for certain services the overlord waived the enforcement of some of his all-embracing rights.

Naturally enough, the mainstay of imperial authority in Italy was formed by the German settlers who had been invested with feudal lordships throughout the country. These feudal aristocrats felt that they could better exercise their authority by occupying and fortifying strategical positions in the rural districts, and there building their castles, than by taking up their abode in the towns, for in the towns they would have been a minority. Again, the citizens, who were conscious more or less obscurely of a long past of civilized life, were more easily controlled from outside by armed

force. Thus the exercise of feudal authority in the towns was generally delegated to the bishops.

Who lived, then, in the cities? Impoverished magnates of diminished estate, ecclesiastics, some scarcely distinguishable in ambition and habits from the proudest knights and others humble and poor, lawyers, doctors and other professional men, sometimes business men with wide interests, men who exercised such trades as provided for the immediate necessities of the population, butchers, weavers, cobblers and the like, and a nondescript mass of wage earners who had been slaves, sometimes were still deprived of complete freedom, and who, in any case, had no political rights. All these and their womenfolk, proud ladies and washer-women. The body of citizens was allowed certain privileges from the earliest medieval days, for they

Those who dwelt
in the Cities

had the right to be represented at the feudal assemblies which the emperor or a delegate of the emperor summoned. This in itself would be sufficient evidence that the idea of collective association was not unfamiliar to the Middle Ages; far from being unfamiliar, it was, if anything, developed to excess, and has left a deep mark on medieval law.

Thus in a city the inhabitants of a street, of a quarter or a suburb would combine and elect a committee to manage their common interests; as did also the traders in certain commodities and the upholders of certain political views. Such associations were so well established in custom and law that the political exiles from a city used to constitute themselves into an association, and thereby acquired a juridical position; so that, in fighting against their own native city (or, as they said, against those who still resided in their native city), they did not



COLLOQUY BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

In many Italian cities the feudal lord was the bishop, and friction between the bishop, with his association of citizens, and the feudal overlord was often serious. A formal interview between a bishop and one such overlord is the subject of this picture by Pietro Lorenzetti, a 14th-century Siennese painter.

National Gallery, London

consider themselves, and were not considered in law, as rebels, but as lawful belligerents. If one bears in mind that the people were very devout and that certain monastic orders identified themselves with certain industries (the Humiliati for a considerable time monopolised wool weaving in Lombardy, for instance), one will be in a position to understand the extreme complexity of the economic and social life in the cities. There were associations within associations and overlapping associations; each association possessed particular rules, generally embodied in a statute book, and chose a saint as patron and protector; there were political, economic, neighbourly, military and religious associations; some of them became better known, and lasted longer under the name of trade guilds, others as political parties, but one and all they were formed in order to protect and to further the interests of their members.

On occasions such interests were best secured by obtaining immunities and privileges from the feudal lord. Generally the feudal lord was the bishop, who, in his turn, wished to find support amongst the citizens against the other feudal dignitaries in the countryside and even against the feudal overlord. Privileges were therefore granted by the bishop in return for services, military, economic or political, and a give-and-take was established that tended to render ever closer the connexion between the bishop and his flock, and to cause serious friction between the cities, with their associations of citizens and their bishops, and the feudal hierarchy and the emperor. Sometimes the bishop was hard pressed to enforce discipline on his clergy, and an occasion was thus provided for the lay associations to sell their support in exchange for other immunities.

It is clear that the existence of traders, business men and their associations postulated the existence of capital invested



STAGGIA CASTLE NEAR SIENA

Typical of the hill fortresses of early medieval Italy is the eleventh-century castle of Staggia, a few miles outside Siena on the road to Florence. It is an immensely strong structure with two circular towers, and many struggles for its possession took place between the Siense and Florentines.

in business, and tended to render its holders ever more daring in their undertakings. The merchants purchased raw materials from the outlying district and from more distant centres; they sold other wares abroad; in either case they needed to transport their goods to and from the city in comparative safety and as cheaply as possible. Trade caused prices to rise and the economic position of the landowners to be impaired; and the landowners were precisely the same noblemen who from their hill-castles often swooped upon the traders' convoys and looted them, or at least imposed heavy exactions upon them as tolls and right-of-way dues.

Forces so diametrically opposed could not but come into conflict, and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cities undertook recurring military expeditions against their noble neighbours in order to destroy dangerous castles and to open routes. They conquered and were vanquished as luck would have it; but, by persistence and force of numbers, they generally succeeded in reducing the nearest and most troublesome neighbours to obedience; in order to secure their victory they compelled these noblemen to reside a fixed period each year within the town. A natural consequence of this, but one which was fraught with unexpected and



A LEGAL LUMINARY

Lawyers and medical men enjoyed opulence and high position in Italy as social life gathered complexity. Above is the portrait of Giovanni Cristoforo Longone, Milanese nobleman and lawyer, painted in 1505 by Andrea Solario.

National Gallery, London

ominous results, was that these noblemen, who were divided by partisan feeling and family feuds, contributed in arousing factiousness among the citizens, particularly among those who, by reason of trade or profession, were in close contact with the aristocracy, and among those who, being weak, wished to find powerful patrons.

Neither should one overlook the military side of the question; despite every other consideration the noblemen remained the mainstay of the armies in the open field. They alone knew how to fight on horseback, and specialised in military training, so that the cities had compelled them to serve in the citizen armies. The complexity of social life is further proved by the importance which the professional classes acquired; lawyers trained at Bologna were in great demand and rose to responsible positions; and wealth had so increased as to offer excellent chances to lawyers and medical men.

Thus all the germs of dissension were to be found within the walls of the cities,

and at different times and on different grounds these germs bore their natural fruit, producing political strife and factious warfare. Once blood had run, there was no end to the chain of vendettas. If one bears in mind that each city prided herself upon an imaginary foundation by Trojan and Roman heroes, and that each must secure an increasingly wide field of economic activity, thus coming into conflict not only with immediate neighbours but also with more distant competitors; that internecine wars followed; that the cities sought and found natural allies among the political exiles from the enemy towns and among their restless subjects: it is easy to imagine how complex and unstable the life of the country was.

There was little room left for ideals; each individual aimed at a personal advantage; the object of each association was to further the interests

of its members; each city considered herself the possible metropolis, in a near future, of her region and even of a large portion of Italy. Of course there occasionally was found an exceptional man who looked farther afield, but he either had never taken part or, from 1303 onwards, was no longer taking part in practical politics.

Dante, when he had been driven into exile, conceived a universal monarchy headed by a peace-loving and peace-enforcing emperor; Marsilius (Marsiglio) of Padua devised his political system in order to show the illegitimacy of the ecclesiastical power under whose ban he was; Petrarch dreamed of a happy world ruled by learned princes, but he resided for many a year with typical tyrants such as the Visconti of Milan and the Carrara of Padua. And it is noteworthy that Dante, Marsilius and Petrarch had one and the same object in view—peace; precisely because peace was never to be found in these cities so long as they were free. Freedom was understood as a restless pursuit of personal and class advantage to the oppression of all others; independence meant as much the possibility of oppressing others as immunity from oppression; insecurity was the normal condition of all, and security the goal that everybody sought.



ROUT OF THE SIENESE BY THE FLORENTINES AT SAN ROMANO

One of the many outbreaks of war between Florence and Siena occurred in 1431. In the course of this, in 1432, the cavalry engagement was fought known as the Rout of San Romano, and commemorated in this picture, one of a series painted by Paolo Uccello for the Medici palace at Florence. On the left, on a white horse, is the victorious Florentine condottiere Niccolò da Tolentino, his banner with his device, the Knot of Solomon, borne behind him by two knights.

National Gallery, London

For a time these new capitalists found themselves on a level in their guilds with the representatives of guilds whose interests did not go beyond the walls of the city and the immediate neighbourhood. But silk merchants could not stay on the same level as bakers; bankers had a wider outlook and more influence and wealth than bricklayers and stonemasons. The foreign politics of the city became involved with the interests of these influential men.

They were the new rich, and they naturally antagonised the rabble as violently as the proud but impoverished noblemen of feudal origin; these had their castles and their palaces; the new rich purchased these palaces or built new ones which were larger and finer. Artists were summoned from their shops who had shown their skill in decorating churches and in erecting town halls and guild halls, magnificent symbols of civic pride. Now the houses of the new rich vied with the palaces of the aristocracy and even public edifices.

Little by little these successful representatives of the trading classes grew to such an importance that the emperors

and kings of the Romans were induced to knight some among them; thus new noblemen, who had aims and interests of their own, took their places side by side with the ancient noblemen. They had new interests and new tastes, warfaring was not usually popular among them, and many also among the working population were tiring of constant bloodshed. If wars had to be fought—and sometimes the necessity of fighting was thrust upon the most unwilling city—why should the citizens themselves take up arms and fight? There was enough rabble only too ready to enter the fray, at a price.

Life was too precious, too beautiful, too rich in its promise of pleasure and artistic enjoyment to be laid down so cheaply. Mercenary troops, local at first, and later foreign, were making their appearance in Italian life. So long as the enemy was vanquished, it mattered nothing at all that the victory was achieved, wholly or in part, by the efforts of mercenary troops; it mattered nothing even if treachery and bribery had part in it. Dante places in hell a man belonging to the Pazzi family who was bribed into betraying a castle to the opposite party. Villani, the wise and



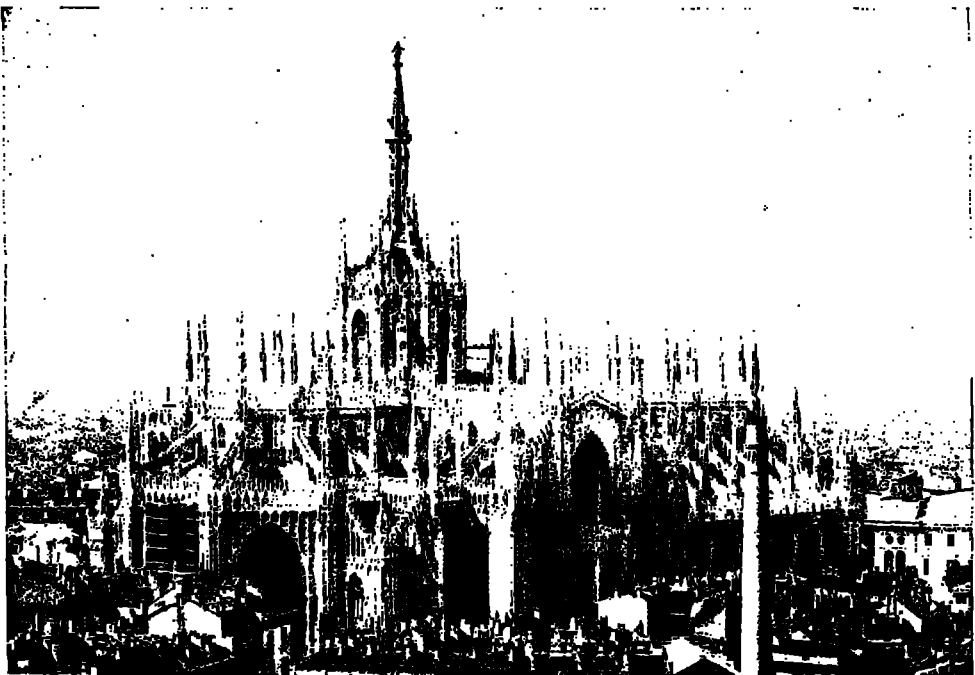
PAZZI CONSPIRACY MEDALLION

On April 26, 1478, through a conspiracy of Francesco de' Pazzi, Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici were attacked while at Mass, the latter being killed. For equally treacherous conduct Dante places an earlier Pazzi in hell.

British Museum

sedate chronicler, once advised the purchase of an enemy city. His suggestion was turned down, but he felt no compunction in recording years later, when that city's resistance had been overcome after prolonged fighting, that victory would have been cheaper if his advice had been followed.

In thinking of the lives of these men one is apt to be dazzled by the astounding abundance and beauty of artistic production of the age. Poems by Dante and Petrarch, Lorenzo and Poliziano (Politian); paintings by Giotto, Masaccio and Fra Angelico; sculptures by Giovanni Pisano, Mino da Fiesole and Donatello; buildings such as the cathedrals of Florence and Siena, Milan and Orvieto make us imagine, now when the humble reality of their every-day life is difficult to visualise, a people totally given up to the charm of poetry, gentle as their works are pure in design. But the grim town halls and the



MILAN CATHEDRAL: THE 'EIGHTH WONDER OF THE WORLD'

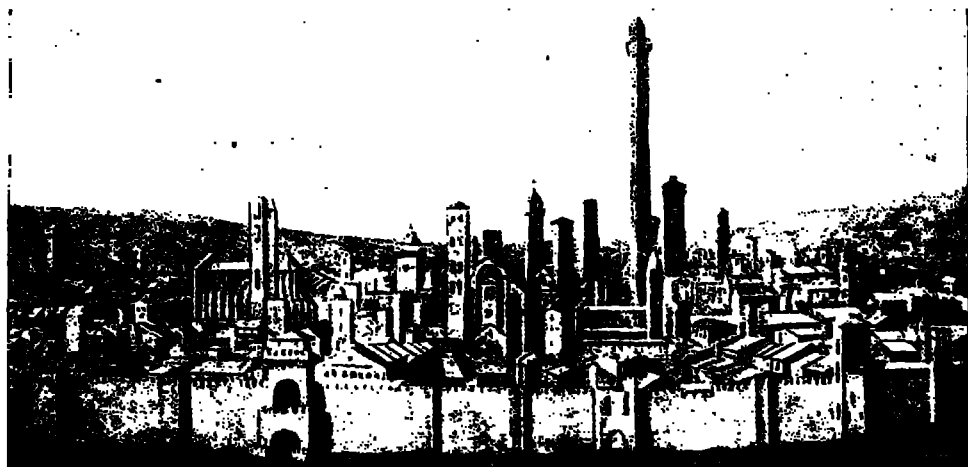
One result of the rivalry between the Italian states was the production of buildings, ecclesiastical and secular, that are our priceless heritage to-day. Among the most imposing, though rather un-Italian by reason of its Gothic style, is the Cathedral of Milan, founded in 1386, and at that date the largest church in existence. It is a cruciform structure, built of marble, 162 yards long internally, with upwards of 2,000 statues on the outside and a tower, 354 feet high, and 98 pinnacles.

Photo, Brogi

towers of Perugia, Florence, Siena and Bologna should warn us against hasty conclusions. The creative impulse in those artists sprang from pride and strength. Poets raised their ladies to heaven and worshipped, and artists raised to the skies their wonderful cathedrals; piety was mingled with and enlivened by pride; nowhere should the Almighty have a more splendid temple; no town hall should be fairer than theirs. They meant thus to assert the superiority of their beloved ladies and the unrivalled wealth and power of their cities above all others.

the human figure became increasingly lifelike in the productions of artists.

Already at the beginning of the fourteenth century the feudal organization, ultimately depending on the fiction of the Holy Roman Empire and the temporal power of the Church outside the papal state, had become obsolete in fact, if not yet in public opinion. Growing wealth, increasing capacity of enjoyment of life in its natural and artistic possibilities, stirred up a new form of unrest. Wars were a dire necessity if each state had to resist the encroachments of other ambi-



VIEW OF BOLOGNA AS IT WAS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Its high brick walls dating from 1206, and its grim Palazzo Comunale, built in 1290, testify to the stormy history of medieval Bologna. This picture, painted by Francesco Raibolini, presents the town as it was in 1505, studded with towers, like all Italian cities of that period. Dominating this view is the Torre Asinelli (see page 2762) 320 feet high and 4 feet out of the perpendicular. Behind it is the contemporary, unfinished, Torre Garisenda, 156 feet high, but 8 feet out of the perpendicular.

Courtesy of Dr. Charles Singer

Pictures and statues became more and more true to life. Saints ceased to be unreal and emaciated shapes looking down from golden backgrounds; there were trees and houses in the backgrounds, and there was red blood in the veins of the saints; thus showing by visible signs that the philosophical outlook and the centre of interest were shifting. The earlier Middle Ages had been obsessed by religious, mystic and philosophical generalities; the trend of thought was then entirely transcendental. But it soon ceased to be transcendental in the Italian cities: earthly life, its joys and its sorrows, acquired an increasing significance, and

tious states and to extend its own dominions; but internal strife was even more irksome. During the thirteenth century a peculiar device had become general as a means to check factiousness; a foreign magistrate (see page 2762), elected for a year or six months, was entrusted with the executive power; it was hoped that he would administer the law independently of local parties. In practice he mostly proved to be the agent of the dominant party; but sometimes he was strong enough to enforce peace, and then the citizens were often prompted to re-elect for a further period so unusually successful a ruler.

Peace was essential to the development of the ever wider interests of financiers and business men, and was as ardently yearned for by the workers, who were anxious to escape from the hardships of war; it was desired by the landowners, whose crops would be spared, and by the farm workers, who would avoid being robbed, ill treated and killed. It is said that Dante, on arriving unknown and unexpected in a lonely monastery, was asked by a monk what he was looking for; and his answer was peace. Petrarch concluded one of his most famous poems by the word



PERUGIA'S GRIM TOWN HALL

In the heart of Perugia is the Palazzo del Municipio, a vast building erected between 1281 and 1333. Towards the Cathedral square and the Corso Vanucci it presents handsome Gothic fronts, but its frowning massiveness is seen in this view of a corner of it in the *Maestà delle Volte*.

Photo, Anderson



HERALDIC WARDENS

From brackets above the portal of the Municipal Palace at Perugia these bronze emblems, Perugian griffin and Guelph lion, have overlooked the Piazza del Duomo since the fourteenth century.

Photo, Anderson

thrice repeated—peace, peace, peace.

The communal constitution with its imperfect system of representation seemed unable to bestow peace upon the people. The ultimate sovereignty rested in the general assembly of all the citizens in the square. The debates in the councils, often elected by a complicated system of ballot and lot, only served to embitter party strife and to bring about the clash of conflicting interests. The general assembly was too numerous to allow of discussion; tumults and rioting often took its place.

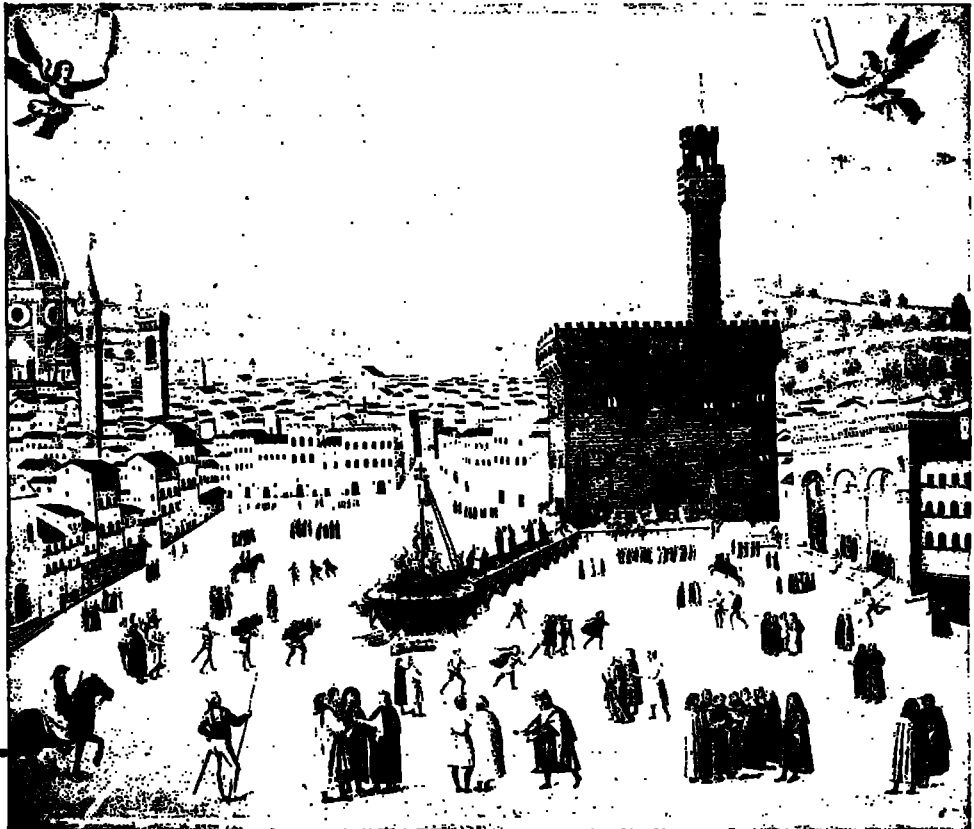
These conditions were common to all cities, common to all were the desire for peace and the practice of appointing

the foreign magistrate called 'podestà.' Most cities, in the course of less than a hundred and fifty years from the beginning of the fourteenth century, ceased to be free, and chose to be ruled by princes. How did such a change occur?

It is well to bear in mind that the original struggle between the several cities had already made way for the formation of larger states. The cities more favoured by geographical position, more populous and enterprising, had by degrees extended their power over the neighbouring communities, whose freedom ceased to exist with the cessation of their independence. These new subjects were excluded from the administration of the state; only the citizens of the metro-

polis possessed political rights. Such a condition was perilous because any opponent of the administration could rely for support on the more patriotic citizens of the subjected cities. The communal constitution proved incapable of adapting itself to the requirements of the larger groupings which had become a political necessity owing to the pressure of the rapidly developing monarchies of western Europe.

These were the data of the problem. Each city worked out its problem and arrived at an almost identical solution, but by widely different processes. In some places, as in Milan, the bishop extended his power; two families alternately obtained the bishopric until the



THE PIAZZA DELLA SIGNORIA, FLORENCE, IN MEDICI TIMES

Many historic pageants have been staged in the Piazza della Signoria at Florence, one of the grimmest being the execution of Girolamo Savonarola on May 13, 1498. The scene is depicted in this almost contemporary painting by an unknown Florentine artist, showing the square as it was in those days. On the right is the Loggia de' Lanzi, with the Palazzo Vecchio beyond; modern views of both these buildings appear in page 3208; on the left is a glimpse of the Duomo.

Museo di S. Marco, Florence: photo, Allinari



A WISE AND VIRTUOUS RULER

Leonello d'Este (1407-50) was one of the better sort of princely rulers in Italy. His portrait by Giovanni Oriolo shows him in a rose-red gown under a sleeveless black tunic edged with gold.

National Gallery, London

Visconti triumphed and the Della Torre were definitively expelled. In other places, as in Verona, appeal was made to a noble family of feudal origin to stop internal dissensions and to enable the city to withstand external foes. Elsewhere, as in Padua, a rich family stood out as the champion of independence and was rewarded, no matter whether deservedly or not, with the principality. But the prince was styled 'captain general for life,' and the succession was not hereditary *de jure* if it was hereditary *de facto*; for whenever a prince died his heir asked for, and easily secured, election in his turn to the dignity of 'captain general.' These rulers seemed anxious to avoid a break in the tradition and a constitutional change. Only occasionally, and when they felt securely established, did some of the tyrants attempt to legitimise their power by asking for imperial recognition and assuming the title of 'dukes.'

Characteristic in this respect was the conduct of the Medici in Florence, who came last upon the scene and for a long time had no official position whatever. Florence was very rich and had been more restless than most cities. A first attempt at a tyrannical government by a foreign ruler had proved disastrous; thus freedom and dissension lasted longer than anywhere else, and even when the rule was taken over by Cosimo de' Medici he ostentatiously affected merely to be a private citizen, the wealthiest and thus the first citizen of the state; he exercised his personal authority by packing the usual councils with his supporters, by foul means or by fair ones, and dictating his will to them privately. Florence was a 'free' city, but her freedom was thus only nominal.

During the fifteenth century the more successful leaders of mercenary troops who 'owned' thoroughly organized and efficient armies, which were real states without territories, aimed

at, and sometimes succeeded in, making themselves the masters of territorial states; and in general the people were pleased with the change. The citizens were no longer asked to fight, for the princes were unwilling to arm subjects who might be disaffected and turn against them; internal strife was mercilessly suppressed. Those who had always been forced to play a secondary part, had suffered oppression and envied the leaders, felt a bitter satisfaction in seeing the former leaders themselves reduced to the ranks and oppressed.

A comparative political stability allowed trade to expand. Even when the princes were eaten up by ambition, as were the Visconti who aimed at extending their state far into the Po valley and into central Italy, the people felt inclined to stand by their lords, for victory would have enlarged the state and allowed greater scope to enterprising business men untrammelled by political boundaries. And, further, the inhabitants of the cities other than the capital preferred to look up to a prince, however tyrannical, who was the master of the citizens of the capital as well, than to be subjected to their ancient foes

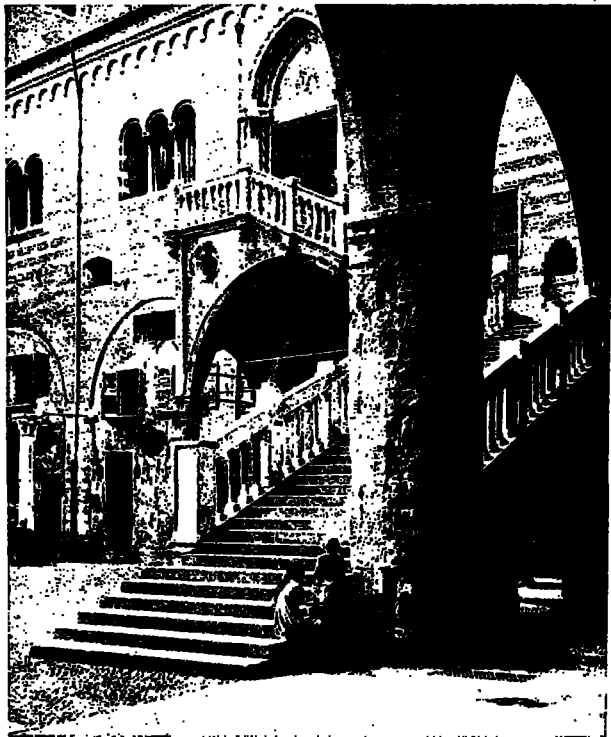
and equals. If a change was desired it was not a change of political system, but a change of master.

In an earlier age men had felt dwarfed by the transcendental mysteries on which they focussed their attention; earthly joy was sinful and heavenly joy a privilege of the deserving. The awe-inspiring eloquence of a monk could sway the feelings of the crowds, bring about emotional pacifications which lasted little longer than the emotions themselves; in days of misery and want he could drive whole townships into a passion of penance so that the roads were thronged with chanting processions of flagellants, and Dante could make himself God's spokesman and in his poem call the whole of humanity to an anticipated Last Judgement. Such days passed when the inhabitants of the free cities made their influence felt. So much is generally acknowledged and indeed could not be denied in the face of overwhelming evidence, but there is no agreement as yet as to the causes of this change of outlook. To trace its causes means to discover the origin of the fundamental difference between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

In a feudally organized world none but the highest, the emperor and the pope, could consider themselves free agents, and even they claimed that they were carrying out duties which had immediately been entrusted to them by God. During the political struggles against the emperors and their officers, and also against the popes and their officers, the enriched middle classes who were leading the cities found their feet; they won confidence in themselves; and, if they did not lose their faith, they ceased by degrees mystically to look upon earthly life as a mere trial; they ceased to despise the world. Their political, economical and military successes,

however indecisive at first, and their new consciousness of self, led them to take an interest in their own promptings and doings, and in the manner by which success was achieved; which means that they began to take an interest in Man.

Such a change was not restricted to one or the other class of citizens; on the contrary, all men, particularly those among them who had more leisure and greater aptitude for introspective reflection, participated in this change. Thus painters who had hitherto been inclined to sink their personality in the imitation and adaptation of traditional models—for painting had been to them a manner of worship—acquired a new consciousness of their art and technique. Their work was no longer the expression of self-effacing worship, but of their own conception of the subject of the picture and thus of



STAIRWAY TO JUSTICE IN OLD VERONA

Verona was one of the cities that found stability under the more or less autocratic sway of princely rulers—in this case the della Scala family. A fine architectural relic of its great days is the Palazzo della Ragione, the twelfth-century Court of Justice with this fifteenth-century staircase in the courtyard.

Photo, Donald McLeish



A PLASTIC MASTERPIECE

Sculpture in terra-cotta, sometimes with the addition of painting, was an art form first developed by Guido Mazzoni (1450-1518), a realistic plastic artist of Modena. This head of Nicodemus is part of a *Pietà* by him dating from 1480.

S. Giovanni, Modena; photo, Anderson

their own personality. They felt prompted thereafter to look round themselves and to compare their works with the works of other artists living and long dead and to be interested in them. What is said of painters applies to architects, sculptors and poets. It is easiest to trace such a development in the works of poets; for their ideas are expressed in words, and men have ever been so trained as more readily to understand thoughts that are formulated in words.

Dante, who often breaks away from his age and points to the Renaissance, was deeply conscious of his art and technique, and he boldly affirmed that he had formed his own on Vergil's style; he even challenged a comparison of some of his tercets with passages in the works of Lucan and Ovid, and in so doing he clearly acted in a Renaissance spirit. Petrarch proceeded much farther in this direction, for he never tired of introspection and of comparing his own with the

intellectual experience of the great men of the past. It is owing to this self-expression and new evaluation of the great men of the past that he has been called the 'first man' of the Renaissance.

The import of such a change is stupendous, for men were the less able to concentrate on the mysteries of the after-world by reason of their increasing attention to their inner selves, an attention which necessarily extended to nature in general. The revival of studies about which so much has been written, and so often unconvincingly, was a consequence, not a cause, of this change. Many classical authors, many classical masterpieces of architecture and sculpture, were in fact perfectly well known in the Middle Ages, but these works conveyed no message to men who looked upon them with contempt, fear or suspicion.

When men's outlooks were altered and their leaders recognized kindred spirits in their classical forerunners, the legacy of Greece and Rome became fruitful. There became apparent a burning desire to increase its amount and

its usefulness by discover- **Humanism and the Renaissance**
ing manuscripts, excavat-
ing for art treasures and

travelling in the regions in which classical art had flourished in the far-off ages. It was in the free cities that 'humanism' had its sources and thrived in a suitable environment; and it was from humanism that the Renaissance proper arose.

As long as transcendental ideas prevailed, the enjoyment of earthly life was considered a sin, and thus looked upon with disfavour. When the centre of thought was shifted, everything changed; with the consciousness of self man won for himself the capacity to enjoy life, a new confidence and a new daring in conduct.

Of course it is necessary to guard against hasty generalisation. In the course of many centuries, during which foreign invasions and an almost uninterrupted warfare had brought want and unhappiness, the transcendental outlook of philosophers had found a ready response among the people. Transcendence meant to them hope of a reward after death, a hope the more anxiously nursed and fondled because existing conditions seemed to

prompt men to despair. It was not so easy for a conception of life which implied introspection, self-confidence and artistic consciousness to spread among the less learned. To a certain extent humanism and the Renaissance, in so far as they were intellectual movements, were the work and the privilege of a minority—a minority which was leading society and had no interest to seek for a large following and thus to cease to be an aristocracy.

On the contrary, the anonymous crowds continued to live their lives of toil and hardship, but even their lives were no longer necessarily joyless. The constitutional change which transformed the free cities into tyrannies found a ready support also among the people who had had little or no part in the humanistic movement; tyranny was welcomed by them also because it seemed to level the lot of all citizens and to abolish such privileges as the learned minority had acquired. Conversely, the tyrants, far from forgoing the advantages which humanism and the Renaissance afforded to them, displayed them as means of government, and tried their best to make the people share in their new pleasures. It is partly for this reason that Lorenzo and other princes so frequently arranged popular festivities and pageants.

Never, perhaps, has personality counted so much. And what a galaxy of strong characters these tyrants formed! Splendid young warriors like Cangrande della Scala, the lord of Verona and Dante's host; far-seeing, calculating politicians such as Gian Galeazzo Visconti, whose career was cut short at an early age when almost half of Italy was under his rule; restless and reckless adventurers such as Sigismondo Malatesta; many-sided rulers like Lorenzo de' Medici, a loose-living Platonist, a crafty politician who was fond of revels, a poet and a protector of all artists. Such men towered above the crowd by sheer force of personality; the factious feeling of an earlier period and the incessant struggle for pre-eminence among citizens associated in classes, guilds and clans, were quenched in the general submission to a tyrant.

So long as the tyrant was either satisfied with his domains—and it happened but rarely—or successful in his endeavours to enlarge them, the lot of the citizens was comparatively stable and prosperous. If the tyrant was conquered, it was seldom that the loss of prestige for his metropolitan subjects was made good by the advantage of being incorporated in the larger political body over which the conqueror ruled. And, in fact, it only happened after 1450 that the principal tyrants of Italy came to an agreement in order to maintain political stability, and thus were secured for Italy two or three decades of peace, during which the Renaissance produced its most perfect fruits.

It was the age of Lorenzo de' Medici, Francesco Sforza and Alphonso of Aragon, king of Naples. This temporary balance of power was brought to an end by the inglorious campaign of Charles VIII of France, when for some years signs had not been lacking that a new age was maturing. The early Renaissance was over.

It is therefore clear that the transition from the so-called republican to the so-called tyrannical constitutions in the main cities of Italy was the result of general and long pre-existing causes, and that it constituted no break; the life in the cities did not alter its rhythm. There were, of course, rulers who were inordinately lustful and cruel; there were also stupid princes, but, as a class, they were notable for the same qualities that render the men of the Renaissance so conspicuous. They came into power in youth, they lived, loved, hated and fought with a tremendous intensity; and, despite this, some among them seemed to be driven along by Lorenzo's refrain:

Let who will be gay,
To-morrow none can tell.

Just as in the republican period the arts came into prominence as a means of expressing the superabundant vitality and the ambitions of the cities, so in the succeeding period the tyrants took care to protect and to encourage poets and artists, who were expected to bestow fame on their masters for all ages to come.

Even one of the gloomiest among these princes, Galeazzo II Visconti, found pleasure in entertaining Petrarch at his court and adorning the palace at Pavia. The frequent murders among the Carrara, rulers of Padua, did not prevent them from fostering the University and erecting splendid buildings. One of the most unscrupulous among the minor tyrants, Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini, had a poet in his pay whose duty it was to praise the beauty and accomplishments of his master's mistress and to sing their mutual love; it was the same Malatesta who called no less a man than Leon Battista Alberti to Rimini to rebuild a Gothic church in pure Renaissance style.

A few among these tyrants may have considered the arts a useful means of impressing their subjects, but there were many to whom the arts, poetry and philosophy made a very real appeal. They treated familiarly with learned men, poets and painters, they took great pains and spent fortunes in collecting libraries and adorning their palaces with objects of ancient and modern art. Lorenzo de' Medici himself took the trouble of preparing a collection of old Italian poems for his friend the king of Naples; Federico

da Montefeltro, a soldier and a scholar, turned Urbino into a treasure house; and a famous bookseller, Vespasiano da Bisticci, was busy for many decades in providing beautiful manuscripts for his patrons, the Medici, the Aragonese, the Montefeltro and the popes. Vespasiano wrote some interesting biographies of the men he knew; scores of characteristic personalities are set by him before his readers with an abundance of anecdotes; and one cannot fail to be impressed at one and the same time by the wealth of personalities and the easy accessibility of the greatest among them, sovereigns, popes and men of letters.

No doubt the tyrants of the Renaissance loved display and used pageantry as a means of government; no doubt the passion for ancient learning became excessive in their days and overpowering; no doubt religious zeal was stunted by the passion for ancient classics and the rebellion against everything transcendental; no doubt comparative peace increased wealth, and wealth stimulated the wish for enjoyment with its attendant corruption; no doubt tyranny provoked flattery. But it is wrong to generalise. If some of the princes were monsters of cruelty



ARROGANT ENTRY INTO FLORENCE OF CHARLES VIII OF FRANCE

Florence was in alliance with Naples when Charles VIII of France embarked upon his Neapolitan campaign in 1494. Notwithstanding this, Piero de' Medici surrendered several Florentine towns and fortresses to him, and on November 17 the French king entered Florence at the head of 12,000 men. This picture by Granacci shows Charles clad in armour, bestriding an armour-protected charger, with spear on thigh in token of victory, riding down the Via Larga, the street now called Via Cavour.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Brogi



A CULTURED CRIMINAL

Sigismondo Malatesta (1417-68) was perhaps the most surprising mass of contradictions that the Renaissance produced. Utterly unmoral, cruel and relentless he was also a devoted lover, a poet and scholar and a patron of the arts.

British Museum

and lust, they were no worse than some prominent men had been during the earlier Middle Ages, and there is no proof whatever that moral conditions deteriorated from the days of Boccaccio to those of Machiavelli. Religion lost its hold on some of the intellectual leaders, but the people continued in their simple creed, even if they were at times shocked by the private life of some among the dignitaries of the Church; and education never received greater care and attention. The children of the rich were coached in study and sport by men such as Vittorino da Feltre, one of the founders of modern pedagogy, Guarino da Verona, the zealous admirer of Cicero, and Poliziano, who was considered the paragon of scholars.

The 'pedagogue'—we would say the private tutor—became a well-known character, and constantly has a place in anecdotes, in stories and in plays. Shall we wonder if he appears

to be the butt of all jokes? Teachers have seldom found favour with playwrights and novelists. There was such an abundance of schools that even for the less prosperous a minimum of instruction was provided. No age of the past and no country can muster so many women who arrived at prominence in literature and learning; good women and bad women; women belonging to the great families, plain women of the middle classes, and women of no class at all.

The glory of ancient literature captured the imagination, but one must not overlook that Italians had always considered themselves as the immediate descendants of the Romans. The names of Roman, sometimes of Latinised Greek, heroes had long been familiar to all classes, having found a place in medieval legends, but the people in general were little affected by the classicist fashion.

In the squares on market days one would see mountebanks and clowns; the same feats of dexterity called forth the



MONTEFELTRO FAMILY GROUP

Urbino came into the possession of the Montefeltro family in the twelfth century and attained its zenith under Federigo (created duke 1474) and his son Guidobaldo in the fifteenth. The boy in this picture, by an artist of the school of Melozzo da Forlì, is probably Guidobaldo, with his fiancée and a cousin.

National Gallery, London

same applause; the same coarse jokes were greeted with the same ribald laughter. Under an archway a street-poet sang, as his predecessors of a century earlier, about the battles of Charlemagne, though perhaps he recited less frequently the legends of the saints. Pilgrims still passed along the roads begging their way; charlatans still pulled teeth in the open; fashionable ladies and young courtiers, if more gorgeously attired, still went to church, laughed and flirted. Occasionally the lord would walk or ride among a company of followers; but the main change was to be found in the more stable condition and in the frequent presence of mercenary troops, German, Spanish and Swiss, and in a greater self-reliance. Life was more refined, but still the streets were dark at night, still the gates of the cities were closed at sunset.

The court circles loved complex allegorical entertainments, the staging of which was entrusted to the leading artists of the day; but even these performances were scarcely without precedent. In Dante's days there had been allegorical shows

representing the after-world. Lorenzo, than whom no ruler was keener in keeping in touch with his subjects, himself took part in arranging carnival processions, in costume, during which licentious songs, written by him and his friends, were recited. The gluttonous voracity of the German soldiers, and their imperfect pronunciation of Italian, were often the subjects of these songs.

It was a period of prosperity and peace almost without parallel in Italy, a period during which Italians felt profoundly conscious of their intellectual superiority over the rest of the world; and politically it was Italy's

The Golden Age
of Italy

misfortune to be and to feel so far in advance of her neighbours. Refinement of manners, love of luxury, passion for artistic beauty, aestheticism, diplomatic craftiness, treaties of arbitration, do not make for a sturdy political organization and for military strength. A small French army brought down this splendid structure like a castle of cards; and the very same soldiers of Charles VIII who were so ready to taunt Italians for their lack of tactical ability and military dash could not restrain their surprise in seeing the marble palaces supported by classical columns and arches, and in witnessing the refinement of Italian civilization.

Lorenzo was dead, and the age passed away with him; it was too precocious a fruit, and the first blast of a cold wind caused it to wither. A fanatical monk, Savonarola, was terrorising Florence into repentance and penance by forecasting awful disasters; he tried to drive the Florentines back to medieval piety, to religious transcendentalism and to a republican constitution, and for a time he succeeded. And at Reggio a poet died, Matteo Maria Boiardo, the first to compose a poem of classical beauty on the paladins of Charlemagne, reviving for his age the greatness of a past age. Boiardo had loved his chevaleresque dreams and enjoyed to the full the precocious fruits of Italian civilization. When the French invaders reached the Po valley, he broke off his poem as if conscious that a world, his world, was crumbling; and then, broken-hearted, he died.



A PEDAGOGUE IN A GREAT FAMILY

Education was highly prized in Renaissance days. This plainly attired, clean-shaven, reddish-haired man is Battista Fiere of Mantua, private tutor to the children of Baldassare Castiglione, the Italian diplomatist and author of *Il Cortegiano*.

National Gallery, London

THE SPIRIT OF THE RENAISSANCE

A keen Wind of Artistic and Intellectual
Freedom that blew from Italy over Europe

By W. ROMAIN PATERSON

Author of *The Nemesis of Nations*

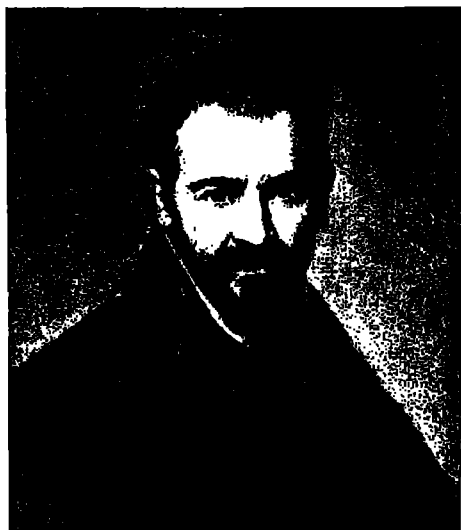
L EONARDO DA VINCI used to purchase caged birds and immediately open the doors of the cages in order to allow the little inmates to escape. We can imagine him standing in his rose-coloured cloak in the Italian sunshine and smiling as he gazed upwards at the birds flying into freedom. His action was symbolic of the liberation of forces that took place during the Renaissance, of which he was one of the most representative men. Human thought, too, had been like an imprisoned bird, although in the centuries before the day of Leonardo (1452-1519) it had more than once escaped from its medieval jailors.

Attempts have been made to assign certain dates to the great movement of the European mind which we call the Renaissance, and it has been said, for instance, that Dante (1265-1321) opens it and that Galileo (1564-1642) closes it. The inclusion of Dante as one of the dynamic personalities of the period is due to the profound influence of his work on subsequent generations: on men of such different temperaments as Michelangelo and Botticelli. During the fifteenth century *The Divine Comedy* was publicly read in numerous Italian cities, special lectures were delivered on its text in the University of Florence, and even the mule drivers sang Dante's verses on the Tuscan roads. The central epic of Christendom is, in the words of Lamennais, both a tomb and a cradle—the tomb of a world that has passed away and the cradle of a world about to be born.

But the spirit of 'renewal' had already appeared before Dante's time and it remained active long after the time of Galileo. In the *Vita Nuova*, which has been called the first modern book of

confessions, because in its pages Dante describes the origin and progress of his love for Beatrice, he mentions poetry of Provence which had been written a hundred and fifty years before his own day. He is apparently referring to the troubadours, such as Jaufre Rudel and Bernard of Ventadorn or Ventadour, but he might have gone still farther back. For Guilhem of Aquitaine, the first troubadour known to us, was born in 1071, and in his poetry the Renaissance spirit is already awake. In the songs of the French and Italian troubadours the word 'joy' occurs with frequency, and Guilhem of Aquitaine announces that he will write a song 'filled with love and joy and youth.' It reminds us of one of the greatest painters of the Renaissance, Correggio, who signed his pictures with the word 'Lieto'—the happy one—not only because his original name—Allegri—had the same meaning, but because his work brought him the most intense happiness. The Renaissance had its graver and darker moods, but it was essentially a rediscovery of the joy of life. Mind and senses were in revolt. It was an uprising of long trammelled desire. The troubadours wrote the dawn songs of the Renaissance.

If now we turn from poetry to philosophy we find that Abélard (1079-1142) broke the chain of medieval thought two hundred years before Dante was born. Moreover, Abélard's tragic love for Héloïse seems to connect him with the Renaissance by its poignant claim of what was 'human, all too human.' If, again, we pass from philosophy to science we find that Roger Bacon (1214-1294) was preparing the way for the broader tasks of



SELF-PORTRAIT OF CORREGGIO

Correggio (c. 1494–1534), as Antonio Allegri of Correggio is always known, was the supreme master of the art of chiaroscuro and wrought in oil and fresco. This is almost certainly a self-portrait and possibly the only portrait from his brush.

Courtesy of Lord Lee of Farnham

humanism and that he wrote a treatise on geography which influenced Columbus. On the other hand, supposing we accepted 1642 as marking the close of the Renaissance we should be leaving insufficient space for the career of William Harvey, who was lecturing in London in 1616 on his great discovery of the circulation of the blood and who died some fifteen years later than Galileo.

The boundaries of the Renaissance are elastic. In the Middle Ages there were minds that were modern and in the modern world there are minds that are medieval. Even during the Renaissance we find an enlightened ruler like Federigo, duke of Urbino (1444–1482), who owned a library superior in many respects to the library of the Oxford of that day, declaring that he would be ashamed to own a printed book. For the new invention of printing was competing with the work of the old copyists. In a similar way Ruskin in the nineteenth century looked with disgust on the invention of the steam engine and refused to go near a railway, whereas Turner seized the opportunity of a new subject and was the first to paint a railway train. We shall treat the Renaissance,

therefore, not merely as a definite historical period with limits in space and time, but as a state of mind, a condition of temperament and a spiritual force which remains active in individuals although it may not find collective expression. The spirit which gave the Renaissance life is the spirit which refuses to rest satisfied with unexamined tradition, whether the traditions happen to be those of art or science, politics or religion. Its interrogation of nature and of man was the forerunner of the eager questionings of our own day.

History is both static and dynamic. It reveals restraining as well as propelling forces. Institutions, standards, styles, appear at one moment to be fixed, final and irreplaceable, whereas fresh motive power may have accumulated which will create new styles, standards and institutions. No historical period, however, is wholly stagnant, and although the Middle Ages present a picture of rigidity in their social structure, theology, philosophy and art, the currents of change were already flowing beneath the surface.

In contrast with the Middle Ages the Renaissance was volcanic. Numerous forces which had been slumbering side by side came either into active alliance or collision. If we were to concentrate our attention solely on its aesthetic aspects it would be like studying the decorations of a building apart from the supporting walls and foundations. Raphael was born in 1483, but so was Luther. And although the Reformation was in many ways alien to the spirit of the Renaissance it was nevertheless a sign of the intellectual unrest of Europe. It acted like a cleansing storm, and has been described as the renaissance of conscience.

If it had consisted merely in the revival of learning with which the word 'humanism' has become associated the Renaissance would still have possessed profound historical significance, but the world of scholarship might have been alone interested. Even supposing that the manuscripts of Greece and Rome had remained unread and the Hellenic statues or their Roman copies had been undiscovered the reconstruction of European life must still

**Volcanic forces
in operation**

WITCHCRAFT AND ITS SUPPRESSION

A Study of Fanaticism and Delusion attending the Survival into Modern Times of a pre-Christian cult

By MARGARET A. MURRAY

Assistant Professor of Egyptology, University College, London ; Author of *The Witch Cult in Western Europe*, etc.

THE subject of witchcraft and witches has been so overlaid with misconception and prejudice that it is difficult to present it in a reasonable form. The confusion is due in great part to the use of the word 'devil' as applied to the personage whom the witches worshipped. But in order to prevent any misunderstanding at the outset, it is necessary to realize that the devil of the witches' cult was not 'Diabolus,' the Slanderer, the Satan of Hebrew dualism, but the dishonoured god of an earlier religion. If we accept the devil of the witches as a god, the whole system at once becomes clear as the cult of a 'pagan' deity.

Take England as an example. When the Christian missionaries arrived they were solitary adventurers among a host of pagan Saxons, and Augustine was willing to make concessions to pagan sentiment. But when the Danish invasions threatened the country with a return to paganism, it was a strongly organized church with which they had to deal ; Christianity was forced upon their rulers as the price of defeat, though it is impossible to believe that in such circumstances the common people could have been still anything but heathen. The original invaders, Saxons, Jutes, Angles, retained more than a trace of paganism owing to Augustine's concessions ; and so late as Canute—only a generation before the Norman Conquest—laws were promulgated urging the Danes to bring up their children as Christians and to renounce heathenism.

The people, whether superficially Christianised or not, must have carried on the rites of their old religion till the Christian

Church was strong enough to crush its rival. The Church concentrated on the conversion of the rulers and law-givers before it attempted to convert the people. When, however, it turned its attention to the poor it produced a condition similar to that which obtained under the Roman Empire at the rise of Christianity, that is, a religion of the ruling classes imposed by force from above. Just as there had been among the early Christians, so there seem to have been among the members of the old religion many of both sexes who rushed to obtain a martyr's crown. But with the Christians it had been their co-religionists who made the records, and it is only rarely that we can get a glimpse of the feelings of the persecutors towards the martyrs ; when this happens (see, for instance, page 2183), it is clear that political or religious feelings were the true cause of the persecution, and that insensate cruelty was not a motive. So also the persecutors of the witches considered that they were serving their God by destroying the worshippers of a more ancient deity.

In most countries the god of the old religion becomes the devil of the new, and his devotees are always credited with the possession of magical or 'occult' powers which they use against members of the new religion, especially those who have forsaken the old beliefs. Consequently the new religion considers itself, as a matter of self-preservation, constrained to persecute the old, and to justify its action it will vilify the old god and all who worship him. The records of the Christian Church

The Devil a
dethroned god

supply an abundance of instances. No word was too bad for the believers in the old god, who was stigmatised as the power of evil, the foul fiend, the enemy of salvation, the tempter, the adversary of the only true God. Anyone who worshipped him was a danger to the Church and therefore to the community and must be destroyed, lest the contamination should spread and the new religion of Christianity become once more the persecuted instead of the persecutor.

In all instances the actions as well as the trials of the witches were recorded by members of the conquering religion.

The enemies of Christianity received no mercy in word or deed from their persecutors, who seem to have taken a special delight in representing the witches as monsters of wickedness without one redeeming feature. The swing of the pendulum has caused many modern writers to take an entirely opposite view and to envelop the whole subject in a fog of indignant sentimentality. It is only by a careful investigation of the records and a comparison of the witch cult with other early religions that the true conditions can be made apparent.

Inquisitors were enjoined by the Church to acquaint themselves with every detail of any heresy which they were commissioned to root out; they were to obtain the information from those who recanted and to use it against any accused or suspected person; and they had to instruct the civil judges in the belief and ritual of the heresy, that they also might recognize it and act accordingly. This method made it almost impossible for a follower of a non-Christian faith to escape if once in the hands of those who administered the Church-made law; yet the knowledge which the inquisitors acquired remains and makes clear the essential details of this ancient religion, the true feeling of the witches towards their god, and the rites with which they worshipped him.

Remy, Bodin, Boguet, De Lancre have left full accounts of the religion and of the adoration of this primitive deity. Their accounts are trustworthy from

their very nature, written as they were for the instruction of others who were engaged in the good work of destroying the enemies of the Church; and from them we learn the feelings of absolute faith and trust in their god which animated the witches and caused them to meet their death in that joyful spirit of martyrdom usually considered the peculiar prerogative of the Christian. Few things astonished the ecclesiastical persecutor more than the sublime confidence of the witch at the stake, and many were the suggestions to account for it. Usually it was said that the deceptions and delusions of the Evil One clouded the minds and hardened the hearts of his followers, but the sentiments expressed by the victims show as vivid and lively a faith in their god as can be found among the Christian martyrs.

The Sabbath was the true Paradise, where there was more joy than could be expressed. . . . They had a singular pleasure in going to the Sabbath, for the Devil so held their hearts and wills that he hardly allowed any other desire to enter therein. There was more pleasure in going to the Sabbath than to mass, for the Devil made them believe him to be the true God, and that the joy which the witches had at the Sabbath was but the beginning of much greater glory. . . . In short it is a false martyrdom, and there are witches so madly devoted to his devilish service that neither torture nor anguish can frighten them, and who say that they go to a true martyrdom and to death for love of him as gaily as to a festival of pleasure and public rejoicing. . . . When they are seized by Justice, they neither weep nor shed a single tear, seeing that their martyrdom, whether by torture or the gibbet, is so joyful to them that many of them long to be led to execution, and suffer very joyously when they are brought to trial, so much do they long to be with the Devil. And in prison they are impatient of nothing so much as that they may show how much they suffer and desire to suffer for him.

If in these quotations from De Lancre the word 'God' is substituted for the word 'Devil' the feeling shown is exactly that of a Christian martyr.

The suppression of witchcraft, therefore, resolves itself into a struggle between the old religion and the new. As mentioned above, the Christian Church—wise in its generation—had concentrated on

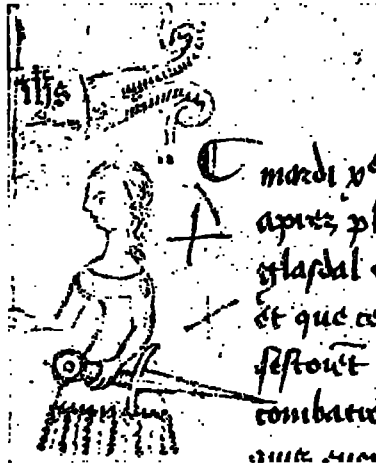
the conversion of those who made and administered the law. When, therefore, the two religions came to grips the one which could control the law and its administrators could not fail to be victorious.

It was not until England had begun to recover from the state of poverty and misery which centuries of invasion and internecine war had brought upon it that the religious battle began in earnest. First came small skirmishes, which gradually increased in intensity as the true issue was realized. The old religion fought gallantly but vainly; its opponent had gained the ruling classes and pushed every advantage; but so strong was the hold of the old religion on certain sections of the people that three centuries were required to suppress it.

The earliest records in the British Isles come from Scotland and Ireland; the first is of the priest of Inverkeithing, who was presented to his bishop on a charge of leading his parishioners in a dance in the churchyard. The description of the dance shows that it was of the same type as those practised by the witches at their sabbaths, and as those so-called 'fertility dances' of primitive peoples surviving at the present day. The Church was not then strong enough to take action against heathen practices; and the priest of Inverkeithing escaped without even a reprimand, and probably continued his gay career to the day of his death. In 1303 the bishop of Coventry, a Norman, was submitted to the judgement of the pope for having rendered homage to the 'Devil'; he also escaped. But in 1324 the Church was strong enough to try conclusions with the old religion, and the Lady Alice Kyteler appeared before the bishop of Ossory accused of spell casting and devil worship, in other words those practices which in later times were in-

cluded under the one comprehensive term: 'witchcraft.' The accusation was proved against herself and her followers, and the bishop had the satisfaction of burning the lesser prisoners; but the Lady Alice's high rank protected her. It was a victory for the Church, though only a partial one.

For another century the Church gathered power, and when it aimed its next blow its partisans were the rulers, temporal and spiritual, of Europe. Its victim was again a woman, the leader of men-at-arms in a victorious army, a member of the supreme council of the king of France; Joan of Arc, if we regard the Church's case as proved, was, therefore, an opponent whose defeat was of the first importance to the cause of Christianity throughout western Europe. Nine years later the Church again re-



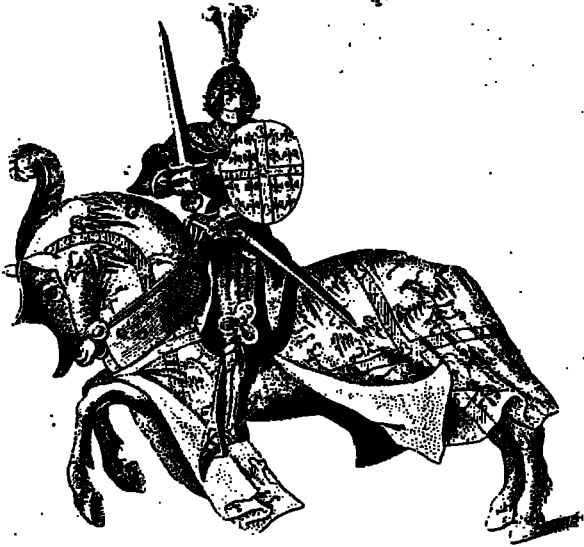
JOAN OF ARC FROM LIFE

The scribe who made the procès verbal of Joan's trial did a sketch of her in the margin in the dress in which she appeared, but with the addition of the sword and pennant appropriate to her.

Archives Nationales, Paris

corded a success against heathenism in high places, when Gilles de Rais, marshal of France, was tried and hanged, principally for his crimes but partly as a witch. The Church was now in a position to give open battle. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the struggle was at its height. Too late the old religion tried to capture political power, to induce kings and nobles to join its ranks, and even, according to the Christian recorders, to establish a reign of terror by secret or open murder. The new religion held the rulers firmly, the Church-made laws served the Church only; by persuasion, by torture, by calumny, by the most agonising of deaths, the Church availed itself of every advantage.

Every decade, as the trials show, increased the power of the Church and decreased that of the old religion. The higher and more educated classes adhered more and more closely to Christianity, leaving the old god to the poor and ignorant. The members of the 'covens'



MARSHAL OF FRANCE WHO PRACTISED WITCHCRAFT

Gilles de Rais at his trial in 1440 confessed to having sacrificed children, and the crime of witchcraft was also included in the charge on which he was executed. This portrait, derived from an old manuscript, was used by Montfaucon in his *Monuments de la monarchie française*, and is usually accepted.

became mere hedge-priests, practising their religious rites in places far removed from human habitation; their followers came in secret to worship the forbidden deity. Steadily and surely the old religion was crushed out, till in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the last witch trials took place in Great Britain, and at the end of the century the laws against witches were repealed amid a storm of indignant protest from earnest and pious Christians. But there was no need for protest; the old religion was destroyed, Christianity had triumphed.

The main tenet of the old religion was the belief, common to many ancient religions, that the god was incarnate in a human being or an animal. In all such cases the god was the creator, the giver of fertility; and among a rude and primitive people the rites of worshipping such a god shock and horrify members of a higher cult. But to the very ignorant the religion made a great appeal, for their god was actually present with them, they could speak with him, they could hear his voice, they could go to him in all their

joys and sorrows, and when they lay dying he could come to them and promise them a joyful hereafter. As a Scotch 'devil' said to his followers in a sermon, 'They were more happy in him than they could be in God; him they saw, but God they could not see.'

As in many other religions of the same type the creature, man or beast, in whom the god was incarnate was sacrificed for the benefit of his people (for parallels see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, under section *The Dying God*). Sometimes a substitute for the real victim was permitted, usually a volunteer, who for a limited period was credited with all the powers and attributes of the deity. There is evidence to show that the witches were often such substitutes, for we find among them continually the belief in transference of divine power and the self-

devotion to death. It is the only explanation of the strange fact, sworn to by many English witches, that they had been given a lease of life, usually of seven years or multiples of seven.

Then there is also the method of death. In England there is no record of a witch being condemned to death by fire; she was hanged and her body burned. In Scotland witches were, as a rule, strangled (‘wirrit at the stake’), then burned, but sometimes they were sentenced to burning alive. In France the sentence was generally death by the sword or the strangling cord, the body being afterwards burned; but, as in Scotland, death was sometimes by fire (‘estre bruslée vive’). When, however, the French witch was tried by the ecclesiastical courts, and was handed over to the secular arm, she was invariably burned alive. The burning of a witch, whether alive or dead, shows that it was something more than a mere execution, especially when the ashes were carefully collected and scattered on the fields or in running water.

The descriptions of the sacrifice of the witch god bring out these facts very clearly. At Poitiers in 1574 the 'devil,' in goat form, 'was consumed in the fire and each person took some of the ashes.' In the Lyons district in 1598 the 'devil,' again in goat form, was burnt in the fire and reduced to ashes, which were collected by the witches. In 1603 a Belgian witch gave an account of the procedure of which she was an eye-witness; the devil, as she put it, in the form of a goat was burnt and his ashes distributed and carried away by the assembly. In 1609 another eye-witness, in the Basses Pyrénées, 'saw the grand master of the assembly throw himself into the flames and be burnt until he was reduced to powder, and the great and important witches took the said powders.' Another French witch gave the same kind of evidence in 1652.

In every case the ashes were said to be taken for the performance of certain magical rites; but as the record is always inimical to the witches, these rites are declared to be for the destruction of fertility, though on comparison with the ceremonies which still survive in Europe and elsewhere it is evident that their real use was for the increase of fertility. The fact that the devil was so often stated to be in the form of a goat at the sacrifice suggests that on occasion an animal represented the god and that a human sacrifice was not always made. But it is also evident that the human sacrifice was sometimes necessary for the cult, and that in the eyes of the worshippers that sacrifice might be consummated at the hands of the public executioner.

A lease of life granted to a witch shows that he or she was the destined victim. It is this consideration that lends some colour to the Church's condemnation of Joan of Arc: she was trained for the sacrifice from the age at which witches were admitted as full members of the cult, she was continually warned that she must suffer martyrdom, her lease of life was but for one year as she herself told the dauphin. Moreover, after she had been tried and condemned by the Church as an 'idolater, apostate, heretic, relapsed' and handed over to the secular

arm for execution, her death was by fire and her ashes were collected and thrown into running water. Her death, too, took place in a city which had a long tradition of human sacrifice, and in the month of May, a month in which the greatest of the witch festivals was held.

When the organization of the witch cult is examined it is seen to have been extraordinarily efficient. The country was divided into districts, and each district had its own **Organization of the Witches** body of workers, so that Cotton Mather's remark that 'witches are organized like Congregational Churches' is both apt and accurate. Each district was served by a 'coven,' consisting of twelve persons and their chief, thirteen in all. The word 'coven' appears to be from the same root as 'convene,' and is spelt covine, coven, cuwing and covey. Whenever the record of a witch trial is given in full detail, the presence of one or more covens is indicated by the number of persons tried or implicated, there being always thirteen or multiples of thirteen.

The earliest of such records is the trial of Gilles de Rais in 1440, when there were thirteen persons involved. In 1567 the coven in Ayrshire numbered thirteen; in 1582 the Essex witches were thirteen, or one coven; in 1582 at North Berwick there were thirty-nine witches, or three covens; in 1596 at Aberdeen fifty-two persons, or four covens, were involved; in 1613 in the great trial of witches in Lancashire there were fifty-two persons, or four covens; in 1617 in Guernsey thirteen persons, or one coven; in 1644 at Queensferry thirteen persons, or one coven; in 1658 at Alloa thirteen persons, or one coven; in 1661 at Forfar again thirteen persons, or one coven; in the same year at Edinburgh there was a coven of thirteen persons; in 1662 at Crook of Devon thirteen persons, or one coven, were accused. At the trial of the Auldearne witches in 1662 Isobel Gowdie deposed that 'ther ar threttien persons in ilk Coeven'; and it is evident that there were many witches in the neighbourhood, for she says further, of a certain event, 'all the multitude of all owr Coevens got notice of it at owr next meitting, all my owin Coeven gott notice



WORSHIP OF A GOAT: THE WITCHES' RITUAL

A fifteenth-century French treatise on witchcraft has a miniature that shows the goat so often associated with devil worship. Sometimes it impersonated the devil for the purposes of the ceremony, or was sacrificed as the god incarnate; sometimes, it is clear, a man dressed as a goat. Twelve witches can be traced in the original—with the goat-devil, one 'coven.'

Bodleian Library; Rawlinson MS., D.410

of it weric schortlie.' In Somerset in 1664 the accused numbered twenty-six persons, or two covens; at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1673 Ann Armstrong saw 'five coveys consisting of thirteen persons in every covey . . . every thirteen of them had a divell with them in sundry shapes.'

The recorders' habit of calling the head of a coven by the name of 'devil' is another source of confusion in the minds of modern writers. In every coven there was a leader; but when the covens were united, as happened always four times a year, these leaders are called 'officers,' for the grand master or 'devil' of the district was present, and in his presence the officers were in an inferior position. There are indications that the officers of a district formed in themselves the coven of the grand master of that district. In primitive times the grand

master, the giver of fertility, was in all probability the king himself; and it is perhaps not without significance that Joan of Arc, Giac, the duc d'Alençon, Brother Richard, all of whom were suspected to be witches, were members of Charles VII's great council, which consisted of twelve members and the king.

The witches, being members of the religion which had once been universal in the country, were drawn from all classes of society at first, and even in the late sixteenth century many men of high rank were not averse from assuming the highest place in the cult, though their connexion with the old religion was not openly avowed. The position of 'devil' or incarnate god was one which appealed to an ambitious man; his power over his followers was absolute, their lives were in his hand, and he ruled, not as king, but as god. The discipline in the organization was enforced by a system of rewards and punishments, of which the trials often

give details. Capital punishment was also inflicted, but usually only when treachery was feared; the method was by strangling. When the traitor was dead, the string or garter which fastened the **Power of the Grand Master** hose was tied round his neck to indicate to the world why he had met his death. In England and Scotland there are records of five traitors who were put to death in this way, and in each instance the recorders indicate in so many words that the devil had killed the unhappy victim. The five traitors were Alse Gooderidge and the warlock Playfair in 1597; John Stewart the 'juglour' in 1618; the Lady of Pittahro in 1649; and John Reid in 1696.

The trial of the witches of North Berwick in 1590, though late in date, shows very clearly the organization and beliefs of the old religion, and therefore

throws light on the earlier and more obscure records of its tenets and ritual. The number of persons involved was thirty-nine, or three covens; they were brought to trial for attempting to destroy James VI of Scotland by witchcraft. The political situation shows that had James died without children, his first cousin Francis Stewart, Earl Bothwell, would have been eligible for the

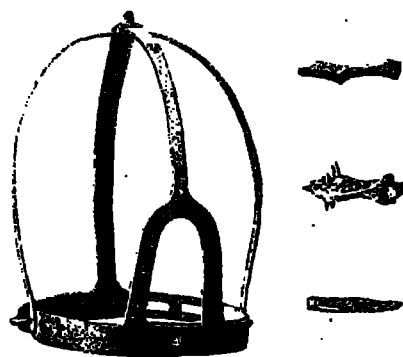
The Scottish throne of Scotland; and there trial of 1590 is some evidence that Bothwell himself was the 'devil' or chief of the district, and was using his power to clear his way to the throne. He escaped, but three of his most devoted adherents were tortured and put to death, one woman being burnt alive. But the fate of John Fian—chief officer of the covens, a schoolmaster and therefore an educated man—suggests that he was the substitute for the master whom he regarded as divine.

Fian at first confessed all of which he was accused, and his confession, which James himself is recorded to have seen, was placed among the legal records of the trials. It is perhaps a significant fact that the confession no longer survives, but has disappeared together with the records of the trials of Bothwell and Barbara Napier. The day after the confession was signed Fian was so altered in his manner that James accused him of having seen the devil during the previous night. And Fian acknowledged that this had been the case. The next night he made his escape in order, according to his own account, to have a longer interview with his master. He was soon recaptured, evidently at his own desire, and at once recanted his previous confession, saying that he had only confessed for fear of torture. He was promptly tortured without mercy and bore the utmost extremity of anguish without allowing a syllable to escape him which could incriminate his chief in any way. He was at last so mutilated by the torture that he had to be carried to the stake, where he was strangled and his body burned to ashes.

Of the many piteous figures in that long and desperate struggle between the old cult and the power of the Church, the most tragic is John Fian as the most heroic is

Joan of Arc. But the virgin martyr, noble, as she is, does not rouse the same admiration and human sympathy as the man who, through fear of physical pain, came near to betraying his lord, then repented and returned to suffer and to die. Even after three centuries we can realize the struggle in his mind; on the one side the horror of the black treachery urged upon him by the enemies of his god, on the other the certainty of enduring agonies from which every nerve shrank in shuddering terror. 'All that daie he continued verie solitarie, calling uppon God,' and in the end his conscience triumphed. The history of John Fian, written by his bitter and virulently biased enemies, shows a man endowed with a splendour of true courage and noble endurance which has never been surpassed.

The prayers, the hymns, the rites in the ritual of the witches, had originally been almost entirely for the promotion of fertility, and by their very nature horrified the pious inquisitors and reformers who suppressed the religion. At the same time the persecutors were deeply interested in the sexual rites, and insisted on extorting from the accused every detail, the records of which were made with many expressions of unctuous and pious horror. In ancient times, however, such rites were known among the followers of Bacchus, and even in the highly civilized city of Athens the Sacred Marriage was



RELIC OF IGNORANT CRUELTY

The ordinary 'scold's brank' for termagants, an iron cage fitting over the head with a plain or spiked tongue-piece (examples right) entering the mouth, was often used to prevent witches from crying out while they were being burnt.

Norwich Museum



CONSULTING A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY WITCH

Whatever supernatural powers the witches may have believed themselves to possess, they amassed a knowledge of worldly affairs and a medical repertory useful in every-day life. This fifteenth-century French miniature shows Sextus Pompeius consulting a wise woman before the battle of Pharsalia.

British Museum; Royal MS. 17 f. ii

publicly consummated as a means of inducing fertility. But the time for such rites was passed; the chastity of women and the sanctity of marriage had assumed greater importance as civilization advanced, and the higher religion obtained the complete extinction of sexual rites.

The accusation of gross immorality which the Church brought against the old religion was to a certain extent true, but it was not immorality in the modern sense, for the actual rite was regarded as sacred by those who practised it. These sexual rites are given a quite unnecessary importance in the records, for in the eyes of the witches they were no more than the other features of the Sabbath, such as dancing and feasting. The dances were also ritual, and included torch dances, ring dances, follow-my-leader dances and many other varieties. The proceedings

at a Sabbath usually ended with a feast, from which the worshippers returned home in a merry mood quite incomprehensible to their persecutors.

The meetings of the witches can be divided into 'esbats' and 'sabbaths.' The esbat, held once or twice a week, was attended by the members of the covens, and was for the performance of certain religious rites as well as for business. As the witches were the acknowledged givers of life and death, their help was sought in all cases of sickness of man or beast. Witches were instructed by the head of the coven in the art of medicine, and did not practise until sufficiently instructed; all cases of illness were reported to the head, who gave advice where necessary. Treatment was partly by drugs, partly by spells, partly by ritual; and the success or failure of any method was duly reported to the head of the coven at the weekly esbat, and to the grand master himself at the quarterly sabbath.

In this way, first orally, and later in writing, there was built up a body of medical knowledge. In addition to their knowledge of healing, the witches were supposed to be versed in the art of procuring fertility, for animals and crops as well as for human beings; and the opposite power and knowledge were also theirs—they could kill as well as cure, they could blast as well as render fertile.

The 'great sabbaths' were attended by all the worshippers in the district, and took place quarterly; the greatest were on the Eve of May (Walpurgis Night) and the Eve of November (All Hallow E'en), and on the cross-quarter-days, Candlemas and Lammas. This division of the year shows the antiquity of the cult, for it has no connexion with the solstices and equinoxes nor with agriculture; it is

Procedure at
the Esbats

entirely concerned with the breeding seasons of animals, and points therefore to a period before the introduction of agriculture. The sabbath was held at night and was over at dawn. The ceremonies began with homage paid to the 'devil,' who sat in state; then followed a religious service; when this was over, there were dancings and feastings on a large scale, besides the transaction of business in the form of the admission of new members and the recording of cures or curses wrought by various witches.

Among the accusations brought against the members of the old religion was that they had familiar spirits, usually in animal form. On tabulating the information given in the trials, two kinds of familiars are found, the 'divining familiar' and the 'domestic familiar.' The former is found throughout western Europe, and is well known in classical times as 'augury' by animals or birds. The witch on joining the religion was instructed by the grand master as to the animals to be used in

divining and the form of words to be recited at the ceremony. The domestic familiar is, however, entirely different and is peculiar to certain localities only. It occurs, with but one or two exceptions, only in the eastern counties of England; Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, Cambridge-shire. The creature was usually some small animal, fed in a peculiar way, and employed to carry out the witch's commands after certain ritual words had been spoken over it. This form of familiar is unknown outside England. It is entirely due to the records of the witches in Essex, where Matthew Hopkins worked in 1645, that the subject of the domestic familiar has struck the popular imagination and has obtained an unwarrantable importance.

The animal form in which the devil appeared is interesting for several reasons. The universal animals are the horse, bull, cat, and dog; the goat or sheep occur in



S. WALPURGA'S EVE : PREPARING TO SET OUT FOR THE SABBATH

Many beliefs of the period about witchcraft are included in this picture by the Flemish artist David Teniers the younger (1610-1690). It shows the ritual supposed to take place on Walpurgis Night—the eve of S. Walpurga's day, which happened to coincide with the old pagan spring festival of May 1. In the background a naked witch is being anointed with the magic salves that will enable her to fly up the chimney on a broomstick to the witches' gathering.

Academy of Plastic Art, Vienna

- France and Germany, never in the British Isles; the pig, the ass, the hare and all wild animals, with the exception of the deer and very rarely the bear, are never found. The geographical distribution of the goat form and the entire omission of the hare, which was a form much affected by the witches themselves, are facts at present inexplicable. The 'devil,' when in his 'grand array,' was dressed in an animal's skin, but he is at the same time very clearly human. One of the best descriptions is given by Martin Tulouff, a Guernsey witch, in 1563. He went with 'la Vieillesse Collettette Gascoing' to a meeting of witches,

là où il y avait cinq ou VI chats, d'où il y en avait un qui était noir, qui menait la danse . . . et dit qu'il était sur ses pieds

plat . . . et s'agenouillèrent tous devant le Chat et l'adorèrent en lui baillant leur foi, et lui dit ladite Vieillesse que ledit Chat était le diable—

'where there were five or six cats, of which there was one who was black who led the dance. . . and it was on all fours . . . and they all knelt before the cat and worshipped it, pledging their faith to it . . . and the said old woman told him that the said cat was the Devil.'

The man disguised in an animal's skin is again an indication of the early date of the religion, for among the palaeolithic paintings of the French caves is a figure of a man dressed in a deer's hide with horns on his head, dancing among animals (see page 206). This is the devil of the witches himself, and carries back the



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ORGIES WITH WHICH MORBID IMAGINATION CREDITED WALPURGIS NIGHT

The meetings to which the witches were supposed to be conveyed by supernatural means on Walpurgis Night were made the subject of the most fantastic imaginings of the Middle Ages; inspiring thereafter many a story, such as that in Goethe's *Faust*, and many a picture like this engraving by Michael Herr, c. 1620. With a wealth of morbid invention it shows witches and imps foregathered for their 'sabbath' on the Brocken, or Blocksberg.

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs'

religion to the Magdalenian period. The man disguised as a deer with the horns on the head appears again as Cernunnos, the Gaulish deity under pagan Rome (see page 1523). After enduring for many centuries this cult of the man divine, the human animal, fell before the onslaught of a new and purer religion, and was stamped out in blood and fire by its conqueror.

Though the old cult was persecuted with a ferocity and bitterness which were not surpassed anywhere in all the annals of religious persecution, it is impossible not to admire, however unwillingly, the courage of the persecutors. They believed that all the powers of evil were arrayed against them, and they braved not only the supposed spiritual dangers to their souls but also the very real dangers of murder by poison and the dagger; it was this feeling of fear which gave an additional bitterness to the persecution. On the one side the witches, fighting for all that they considered holy, compassed the death of their enemies by insidious means—spells and charms which no doubt were effective enough against those who believed in them; and when magical means failed, had recourse to aconite, belladonna, hemlock and other poisons known to and procured by their leaders.

On the other side the Christians retaliated by putting in motion the machinery of the law; an invincible weapon, for if harm to man or beast could be proved the accused would suffer death, even though the charge of witchcraft failed. This was the usual course of trial of the English witches, for Lord Coke's definition of a witch as 'a person who has conference with the Devil to consult with him or to do some act' prevented condemnation for witchcraft only; but in Scotland, France and other countries

death was the reward of spell casting. The terrible law of Israel, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' was responsible for the death of thousands of the inhabitants of western Europe who held to the old pagan religion.

Christianity was the victor in the long struggle; but still at the present day 'la vecchia religione' can be found in Italy, to the scandal of the priests of the Church; still in Great Britain and France, in those places where the witch cult most flourished, are to be found the songs and dances, once part of the joyous religious festivals of the whole country but now mere folk-dances, folk-songs and children's games, collected and preserved by learned societies. With its gross ritual and its passionate devotion to its god, with its renegades and its martyrs, the old religion has passed away.

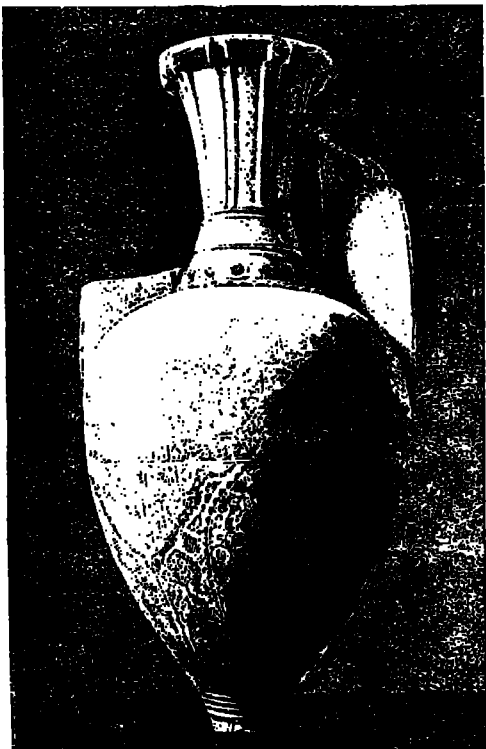
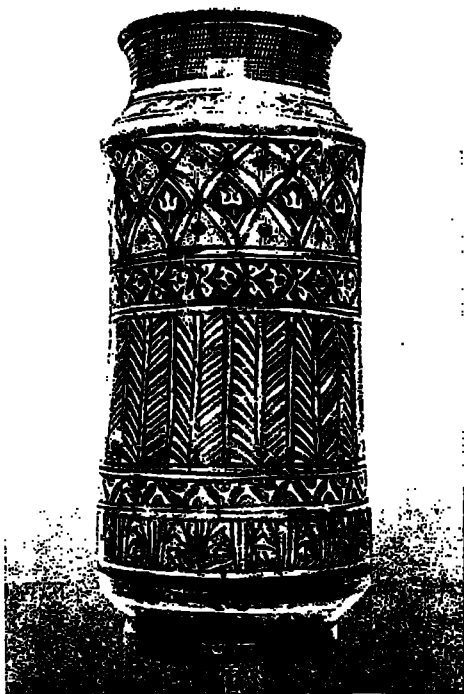


ANIMAL 'FAMILIARS' OF TWO WITCHES

The belief in animals attached to witches as 'domestic familiars' is known only in England; the fullest accounts are in the trials of 1644 in which Matthew Hopkins, the witch finder of Manningtree, figures. Various familiars are shown in the frontispiece to his work, *The Discoverie of Witches*, 1647.



Though its technique betrays the Moorish craftsman, the arms of Portugal on the sail in this lustre bowl show that it was made for a Christian: Manises ware, early fifteenth century. Right: drug pot from Valencia, same period.



Since the days of ancient Greece the craft of pottery making in Europe had declined. The one people with whom it still remained in honour were the Moors of Spain, their 'Hispano-Mauresque' ware being renowned for its metallic lustre. Above, a fourteenth-century jar (left) made at Málaga and now standing in the Hall of the Two Sisters in the Alhambra; and a vase made at Manises in the late fifteenth century and therefore under Christian dominance—note its vine-leaf ornament.

EXQUISITE LUSTRE-WARE OF THE HISPANO-MAURESQUE POTTERS

Bottom left, photo Laurent, Madrid: remainder, Victoria and Albert Museum

THE MOORS IN SPAIN

Their Arts and Crafts and the Cultural
Debt that Modern Europe owes to them

By J. B. TREND

Author of *A Picture of Modern Spain*

It is sometimes assumed that the 'Legacy of the Middle Ages' is an exclusively Christian legacy, and that the only clue to medieval history is that provided by orthodox Christianity. To say this, however, is to reckon without a most important contribution to European civilization—the contribution of the Mahomedans in Spain, and to a lesser extent in Sicily and Portugal. Both the Christian West and the Mahomedan East were in many respects heirs of the same civilizing influences—the influences of Hellenistic culture; and in the tenth century, while Christian Europe lay sunk for the most part in abject barbarism and savagery, a shining example of general well-being and toleration of alien beliefs was provided by the Mahomedans in Spain. Their achievements are definite. Their art had a period of strength as well as of decadence, and their records are every year becoming more accessible in Western languages.

Mahomedan civilization in Spain falls into six periods, as is shown in the table in page 3267. After the invasion of 711 (see page 2356), the whole of Spain and Portugal, except the mountains of the Asturias in the north, was overrun, and for a time occupied, by Arabs and Berbers. From 622, the year of the Hijra (or Hejira, the 'Migration' of the Prophet and his Companions to Mecca), the new movement had been one of uninterrupted success, though it had met with considerable opposition. Once in Spain, however, the Moslems met with so little resistance, and indeed were so well received by the greater part of the population that they felt themselves secure enough to cross the Pyrenees; their invasion of France (see page 2361) was only stopped at Poitiers

(732). Forty-six years later, they or their Basque allies defeated Roland and the rearguard of the army of Charlemagne in the pass of Roncesvalles (778).

For reasons which were climatic rather than military the Mahomedan invaders of Spain generally preferred to live south of the latitude of Toledo (40° N.), while the Christian kingdoms which gradually formed in the north preferred to fight amongst themselves rather than against the infidels. For five hundred years there was no idea of reconquest; all sense of continuity with Roman or Gothic Spain seems to have been lost. Then Ferdinand III of Castile (see *Outline of Political History* page 2827), profiting by civil wars among the Mahomedans, first drove the Berber rulers from Córdoba (1236), and afterwards, aided by his vassal el-Ahmar, the founder of the Arab dynasty of Granada, forced the Berbers of Seville to capitulate (1248). Granada, however, existed as an independent Mahomedan state for another two hundred and fifty years, thanks to an astute diplomacy, which played all the kings of Castile against the kings of Aragon, and both of these against the dominant ruler in Morocco across the Strait of Gibraltar.

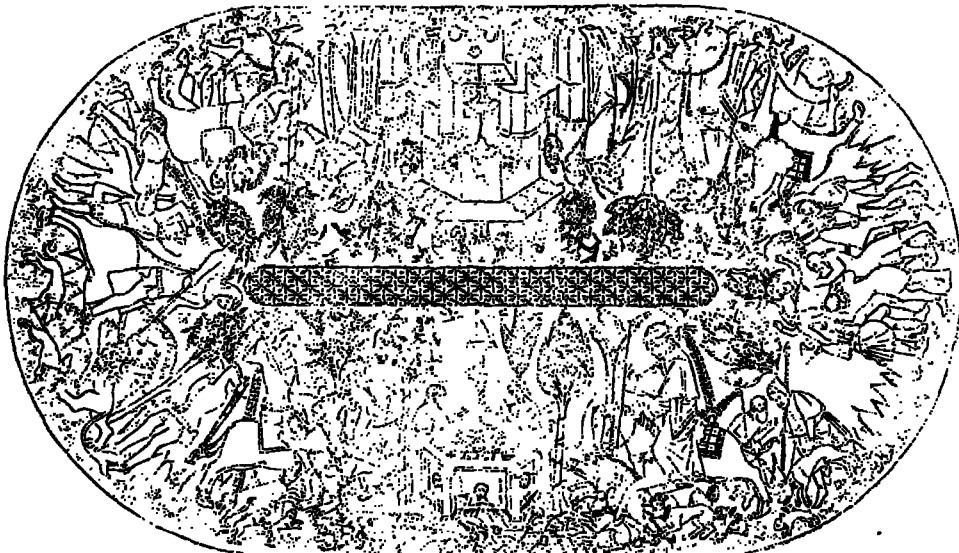
The union of the two Christian kingdoms of Aragon (which included Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Isles) and Castile (which had absorbed Asturias, León, Galicia and all the rest of the Peninsula) was accomplished by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile (1474); and this made the conquest of Granada inevitable (1491-92; see page 3145). Yet under Christian rule (which unfortunately became synonymous with the persecution of the Inquisition)

the Moriscos, forcibly converted to Christianity, lived on in Spain for more than a hundred years after that. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Arabic was still spoken and sung by country people in Spain—in the south-east of the Peninsula, at any rate—and there was nothing absurd in the author of *Don Quixote* pretending that his great 'history' had originally been written in Arabic, by a Moor named Sidi Hamet ben Engeli.

The Mahomedan invaders of Spain are often spoken of as 'Moors'; but though the majority belonged to Berber tribes in Morocco, the leaders were usually Arabs. The expeditionary force led by Tarik (himself a Berber) is said to have consisted of 300 Arabs and Syrians and 7,000 Berbers, and the reinforcements sent over from Africa at Tarik's request added 12,000 Berbers to those already in Spain. The commander-in-chief, Musa son of Nosair, was a pure Arab, belonging to a Yemenite tribe from the south of Arabia. Musa's fleet was manned, it is thought, by Copts from Egypt; and Copts and Arabs formed the garrison of Tangier.

The Arabs, as Nicholson expressed it, 'showed all the indifference towards religion and contempt for the laws of Islam which might have been expected from men imbued with Beduin traditions.' They were tolerant to the Christians in Spain; indeed they were prepared to tolerate anyone except members of a Mahomedan sect to which they did not themselves belong. Their intolerance of one another was their undoing, for all the feuds of Arabia were fought out in Spain. To the distinction between the rival sects of Shiah and Sunni—distinctions which divide the Mahomedan world to this day—were added local jealousies. The Yemenites, pure Arabs from South Arabia, could never tolerate the Kaysites from the north; and in Spain they could not settle in the same districts. They fraternised with the Christians, and as time went on the most enlightened parts of Mahomedan Spain seem to have been those in which the descendants of Yemenite Arabs and Gothic Christians lived side by side.

The majority of the new colonists in Spain were Berbers from what is now known as the Riff country and the Atlas,



PROOF OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN

The relation between Moors and Christians in Spain was not one of unrelenting hostility. From the outset the Visigothic Christians were treated with tolerance; during the advance of the Christian arms there were continual alliances between chieftains of different religion; and, illustrating the end of the Moorish period, there is a painting on a leathern panel in the ceiling of the 'Hall of Justice' in the Alhambra, perhaps by an Italian painter, that shows Moors and Christians amicably hunting.

From Calvert, 'The Alhambra'

HISTORY		ART	CULTURE
EMIRS AND KHALIFS, 756-1033	Ommiad (Arab) dynasty of Córdoba; khalifs for last 100 years.	Mosque (cathedral) at Córdoba. Medinat ez-Zahra (ruins). Ivory caskets, etc.	Abulcasis, surgeon; Maslama, mathematician; er-Razi, historian; Ziryab, musician.
CITY STATES, 11th cent.	'Party-Kings' (Span., 'Reyes de Taifas'; Arab., 'Muluk el-Tawa'if') including: Seville, 1023-1091; Toledo, 1035-1085; Saragossa, 1019-1141; Valencia, 1021-1085; Granada, 1012-1090; and others.		Mu'tamid, and other poets; Arzachel, astronomer. Samuel Ha-Levi (Jewish).
BERBER DYNASTIES, 1036-1269.	(1) Almoravids (Arab., 'el-Murabitun, the Marabouts'), 1056-1146.		el-Bekri, geographer; Idrisi, geogr. and traveller; Avenzoar, physician.
	(2) Almohades (Arab., 'el-Muwahhidun, the Unitarians').	Giralda tower, Seville. 'Patio del Yeso' in Alcázar, Seville. Aljafería (castle) at Saragossa.	Aveinpace, Averroes, Ibn Tufayl, philosophers; Ibn 'Arabi, mystic; Maimonides (Jewish), physician, Ibn Jubair, traveller.
KINGDOM OF GRANADA, 1232-1492.	Nasrite dynasty (Arabic).	Alhambra, Generalife.	Ibn al-Khatib and Ibn Khaldun, historians.
MUDÉJARES, -1492.	Mahomedans living under Christian rule, chiefly during the two preceding periods.	Toledo, Saragossa, Teruel: brick towers. Alcázar, Seville: coffered ceilings. Hispano-Mauresque pottery. Textiles, etc.	
MORISCOS, 1492-1614.	Christian converts of Mahomedan descent, under Spanish rule.	Hispano-Mauresque pottery. Textiles, etc.	

MOORISH DYNASTIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY TABULATED

the plains between, and the desert beyond—wild mountaineers or people of the desert who were recent converts to Islam and took their religion very seriously. They were alike the strength and the weakness of Mahomedan civilization in Spain; they made it possible and then destroyed it. Ethnically considered, they are a fair-skinned people, usually believed to be connected with the Iberians, the original inhabitants of Spain. At the present day there has been a certain mixture with Arabs (some tribes being described as Berber in one part of Morocco, and Arab in another), and there has also been an interfusion of Negro blood. The Berber language, again, belongs to a

different family from Arabic; and Berber religious observances have come to differ considerably from orthodox Islam.

Large numbers of Spanish (Visigothic) Christians were converted to Islam at the time of the invasion. The alternatives offered were not conversion or death, but conversion or taxation. There were cases like that of the Banu Kasi, as they were called after they had turned Mahomedan with all their people; they lived on their lands in peace and now and again produced a chief who played a part in history—the leader, for instance, who eventually drove away an expedition of Norse Vikings who had reached and entered Seville. The name of the family is remembered in Benicasim, a small town on the Mediterranean coast of Spain between Tarragona and Valencia. Other Visigothic landlords, Duke Theodomir, for instance, came to terms with the invaders, paid tribute in lieu of con-

version, and lived on in the peaceful enjoyment of their vast possessions. Toledo, it is said, was always largely Christian and Jewish, and in Seville a Christian princess, Sara (grand-daughter of the Visigothic king Witiza), married in succession two Yemenite nobles, and her descendants ruled Seville like kings, though nominally subject to the emir of Córdoba. Those who had abjured Christianity were known as 'Muwalladun' (Spanish, 'Muladies'), while those who continued to profess and call themselves Christians, though they adopted Arab customs and spoke Arabic, were called 'Most'arib,' Arabised (Spanish 'Mozárabes'). On the whole, it appears that both the government and the



INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE AT KAIRWAN

The Great Mosque at Kairwan, in Tunisia, set the style for all such buildings in western Islam. Founded together with the town by Okba in 670, it was rebuilt in 821, with many subsequent alterations. This view shows the forest of columns in the interior bearing arches of incipient horse-shoe shape.

Photo, E.N.A.

taxation of the invaders were less oppressive than those of the Visigoths whom they displaced.

The Mahomedans had come, of course, for plunder; but they had been invited in the first instance to take part in a Spanish dynastic quarrel—to support a pretender (Roderic) against the legitimate heirs, the sons of Witiza, though it should be borne in mind that the Visigothic monarchy was in the main not hereditary but elective. The decisive battle of the invasion took place behind Cape Trafalgar, by the half-drained lagoon on the landward side of the modern road between Algeciras and Cadiz. Roderic was betrayed by one of his generals, and by his uncle, Oppas, the archbishop, who belonged to the opposing faction of Witiza. He died fighting, or was drowned in the lagoon, or 'was eaten by wild beasts in the mountains,' or lived to fight against the Mahomedans once more in the north

—the accounts differ. The victorious Mahomedans made straight for Toledo.

Berbers like Tarik had heard of the Romans, and some of the tribes had once been Christian; but the Arabs, though they had come in contact with many ways of living and building, many religions and attitudes towards life, though they had encountered Graeco-Roman civilization in Syria and also in somewhat different form in Mesopotamia and Persia, found themselves now, for the first time, face to face with the thorough-going civilization of an old-established Roman province. They marched along Roman roads; they saw aqueducts, bridges, walls, theatres and temples. Such things existed (and still exist) in Syria and also in North Africa; but in Spain they were to be found in greater profusion. In Córdoba the first thing the invaders saw was a Visigothic church—a curious mixture of late Roman and Byzantine

styles—remains of which exist in the west wall of the present cathedral. They bought half of it from the Christians, and used it as a mosque for forty years.

Mahomedan building in the West began with the Great Mosque at Kairwan (Tunis), the prototype of all western mosques. Abd er-Rahman I, however, the first emir of Córdoba, was a Syrian by birth—it was he who planted the first palm tree in Spain, to remind him of his native land—and he undoubtedly wished the new mosque at Córdoba to remind him of the mosque in his home at Damascus. His building consisted of a flat-roofed hall, supported by numerous rows of columns leading to the wall on the side nearest Mecca, in the middle of which was the prayer-niche ('mihrab'). In front was an open court, with a fountain at which the faithful performed their ceremonial ablutions, and a minaret from which the muezzin summoned them

to prayer. The aisle leading to the mihrab was slightly wider than the others, and the minaret was in a line with it on the opposite wall across the court outside.

The outside was kept as plain as possible; high walls and imposing doorways such as are often found in Eastern mosques were unknown in Spain. The effect of the interior was obtained through the forest of columns; the eyes of the faithful were not to be raised to majestic heights by domes or 'a steeple to point to God.' They were directed straight in the direction of Mecca. Originally there were as many doorways as there were aisles, and when they stood open the courtyard as well as the mosque became a house of prayer, and a vast multitude of believers could be gathered together.

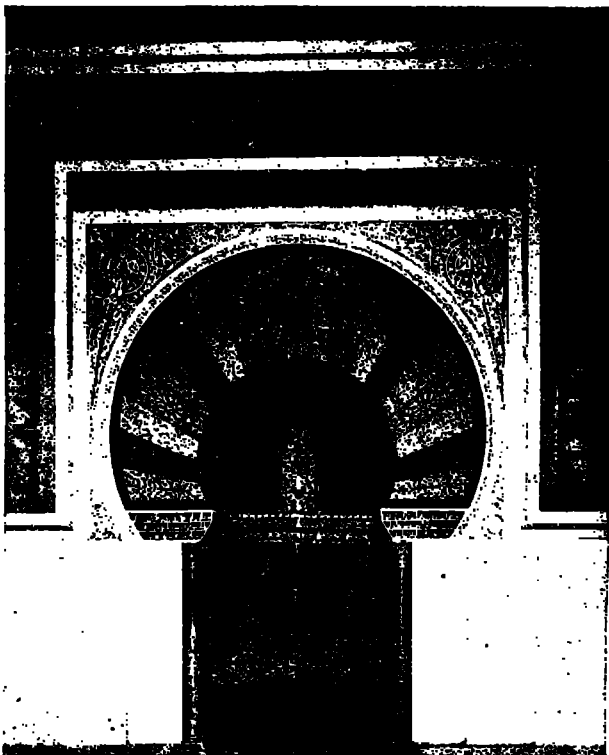
Córdoba cannot fail to strike the imagination. Even Comendatore Rivoira, who is sceptical and unsympathetic to any building or architectural feature for which he cannot find a Roman origin, can write:

None of the ancient mosques built as such, which I have studied, compared with that of Córdoba [Córdoba], produce anything like the same impression of unlimited space, due to the unusual number of the rows of columns, and of majestic dignity.

The columns and capitals came as a rule from ancient Christian buildings. The arches, which at Kairwan are round, with little or no 'horse-shoe' effect, at Córdoba are arranged in two tiers, the upper being semi-circular while the lower are of the characteristic horse-shoe, or 'Moorish' form. Some authorities believe that the Mahomedans borrowed this form from the Visigoths, while others affirm that there is no genuine Visigothic building in Spain (that is, built before the Mahomedan invasion of 711) which has any other arch than the round

one. However that may be, the horse-shoe arch certainly owes its development to the Spanish Mahomedans; and as time went on they modified it, by exaggerating the 'pinch' and then by almost blocking up the arch. A lobed or 'multifoil' arch was introduced from Mesopotamia, and can be seen in some of the later additions to the mosque at Córdoba. We shall return to this later.

The minaret as it is seen to-day was rebuilt long after the expulsion of the Mahomedans. We can imagine what it may have been like from the squat tower of the Great Mosque at Kairwan. It was not until after the tenth century that well-proportioned minarets were produced—or perhaps we should say that no good minaret of earlier date than the tenth century has been preserved. The best of



PRAYER NICHE IN THE MOSQUE AT CORDOVA

Begun by Abd er-Rahman I in 785 on the site of a Christian church, finished five years later by Hisham I, enlarged or restored on four occasions by later kings and made a cathedral after the Christian conquest, the mosque at Córdoba is one of the glories of Spain. This is the mosaic-incrusted mihrab.

Photo, E.N.A.



HORSE-SHOE ARCH DEVELOPED

The barely perceptible shoulder on the arches at Kairwan has developed at Córdoba into the complete horse-shoe form. Note, in the background, the classical pillars, and the system of semicircular imposed on horse-shoe arches.

Photo, Anderson

these is the famous and beautiful tower at Marrakesh (Morocco City), the Kutubiya, or Mosque of the Booksellers. Another is the ruined (or unfinished) 'Tower of Hassan' at Rabat, on the Atlantic coast; a third is the Giralda at Seville. Tradition ascribes all three towers to the same architect, a Spaniard named Jabir, and they are so near to one another in style that there is no reason to doubt the statement, particularly since they were all built for the same prince, Yakub el-Mansur (1184-1199), the Almohade ruler of both Morocco and southern Spain.

The Mahomedan invaders preferred to buy part of the old cathedral at Córdoba from the Christian inhabitants rather than take it by force—a striking example

of their tolerance towards an alien creed. Abd er-Rahman I (756-788), the first Spanish ruler to style himself 'Emir descended from the Khalifs'—he was descended from the Ommiad (Omayyad) khalifs of Damascus—afterwards bought the other half of the church, for 100,000 dinars; and in 785 he began the building which we can see to-day. His successors added to it. We can see how each, Abd er-Rahman, Hakam or Hisham, left his mark upon it.

At first it possessed eleven aisles, and stretched from the south-west wall up to where the perspective is now interrupted by a large altar-piece of S. Christopher with the Christ-child on his shoulder. The middle aisle was opposite the minaret, across the Court of Orange Trees outside, while, within, it ended in the mihrab. The emir Abd er-Rahman II (822-852) kept the number of aisles the same, but



LINK WITH CHRISTIAN ART

This mihrab arch, built into an aisle of the cathedral of Tarragona, throws light on the adoption of the horse-shoe in Spanish Christian architecture. The Kufic inscription states that it was made in the reign of Abd er-Rahman III.

From Kuhncl, 'Maurische Kunst'

lengthened them on the south-east side towards the river. The mihrab was still in the middle aisle, but farther back, on a level with what is now the Villaviciosa chapel. Abd er-Rahman III (912-961), the first Spanish khalif and 'Commander of the Faithful,' raised a new minaret; el-Hakam II (961-976) built out farther in the direction of the river, placing the mihrab where it is now; el-Mansur ('Almanzor'), the militarist minister of the weak khalif Hisham II (976-1009?), added eight more aisles on the north-east side, and enlarged the Court of Orange Trees in proportion.

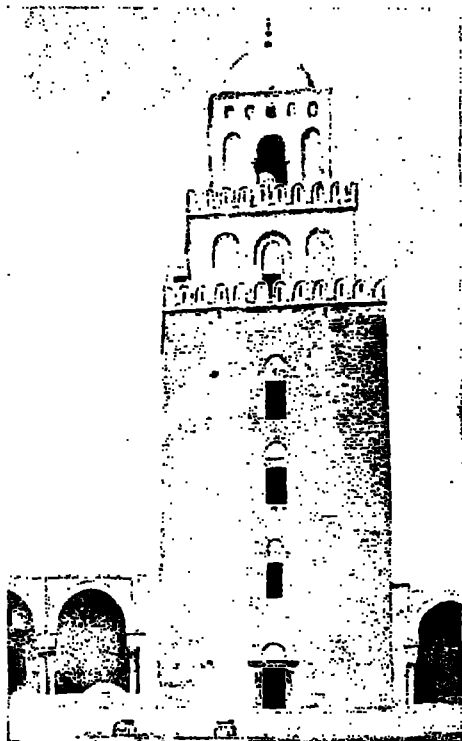
The history of the mosque since the capture of Córdoba by Ferdinand III in 1236 does not now concern us. The original building was not entirely destroyed by the large Christian church built in the middle of the mosque in the sixteenth century; indeed the presence of the church has probably saved the mosque from ruin.

Exactly what plain men believed in Spain under the emirs and khalifs is uncertain. Islam is remarkable 'for the

absence of all mysterious Tenets of doctrines to cast a shade of the Moslems sentimental ignorance round the primal truths implanted

in the human heart. . . . It joins a lofty idealism with the most rationalistic practicality.' Yet a modern Mahomedan writer has sadly to confess that 'a large part of what Mahomedans now believe is not found in the Koran at all'; and the Spaniards, though officially good Mahomedans, must have witnessed how superstition inevitably crept in. It has done so in modern Morocco, where numerous saints have their cult; and the shrine of one of them (Mulai Idris, at Fez) reminds the traveller, from the number of its votive offerings and wax models of different parts of the body, of nothing so much as Guadalupe or Montserrat, Loreto or Lourdes.

• Pilgrimage to the tombs of saints forms an important and visible part of present-day religious life, in Morocco no less than in the south of Europe. An interesting example of a Moorish pilgrimage in Spain, many years after the capture of Granada, is given by Father Longas in his study of the religious life of the Moriscos.



TOWER OF THE KAIRWAN MOSQUE

The minaret at Córdoba no longer exists in its Moorish form; but, as it was an early structure (although restored by Abd er-Rahman III, khalif 929-961), it probably resembled the squat, square brick tower still standing at Kairwan.

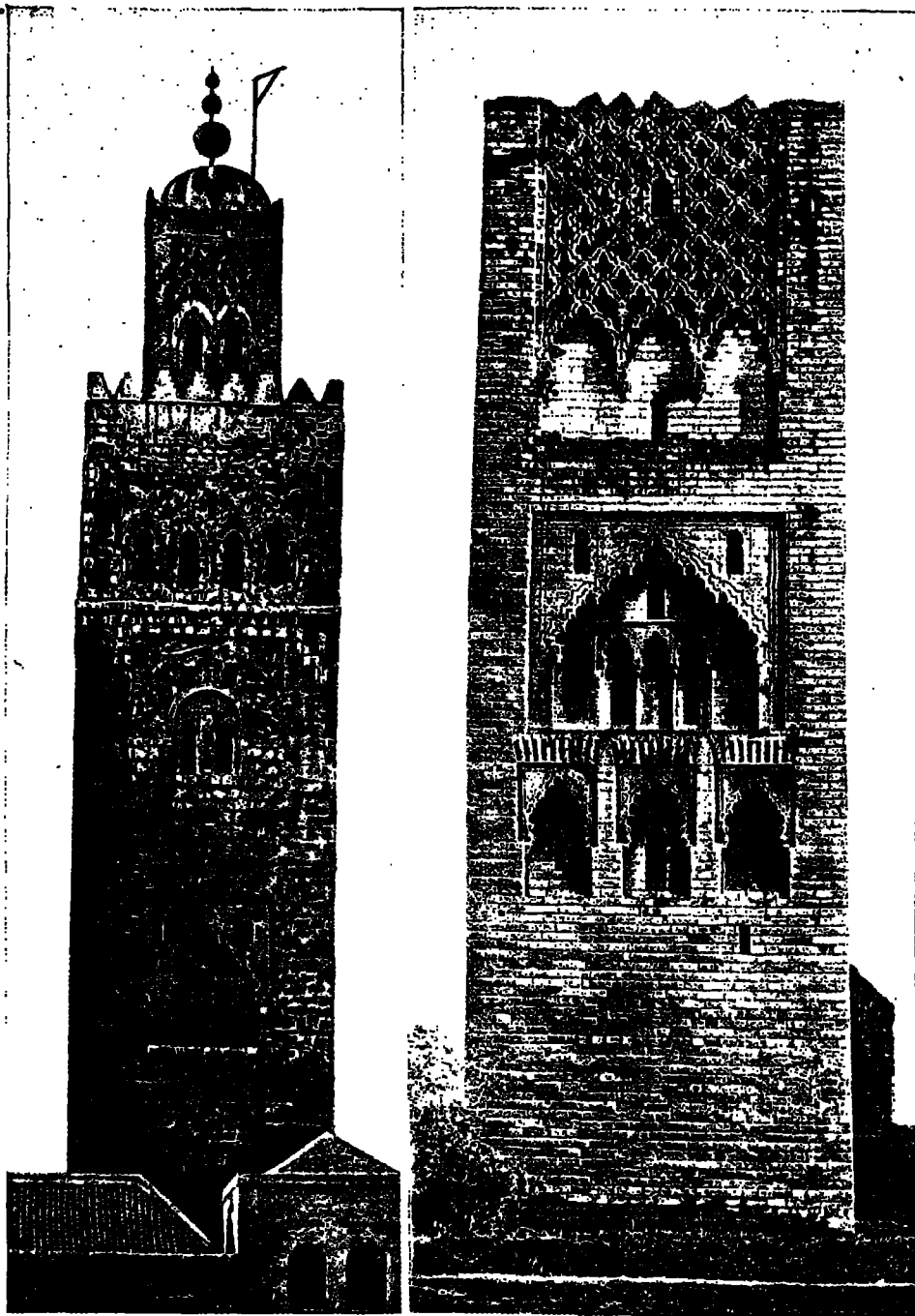
Photo, E.N.A.

Don Sancho de Cardona, 'Admiral of Aragon,' and evidently a good landlord, was tried by the Inquisition in 1569 for having rebuilt a small mosque or saint-house on his land. The evidence states:

The Moriscos pretended that in the said place of Azaneta existed the grave of a holy Moor, to which from ancient times they had been accustomed to come together with full liberty to do so. And, as if it were at Fez, many Moriscos from villages in the district, and even from Granada, Aragon and Catalonia, in number sometimes exceeding six hundred, had made the journey barefoot, both men and women, as if they were on pilgrimage.

The onus of the charge is on the last word; it could not be admitted by the Inquisition that pilgrimage existed also among the Mahomedans.

The Great Mosque of Córdoba became the model for mosques in North Africa,



TWO SPLENDID AFRICAN MOSQUE TOWERS BUILT BY A SPANISH MOOR

A great improvement in minarets is apparent after the tenth century. Of the three finest that survive, two—the tower of the Kutubiya (left) in Marrakesh city and the incomplete 'Tower of Hasan' (right)—are in Africa; while the third, the Giralda at Seville (opposite page), is in Spain. But it is probable that Spain should have the credit, for Yakub el-Mansur who built all three (and they are much alike) employed a Spanish Moor, Jabir, for the Giralda at least, and therefore probably for the others.

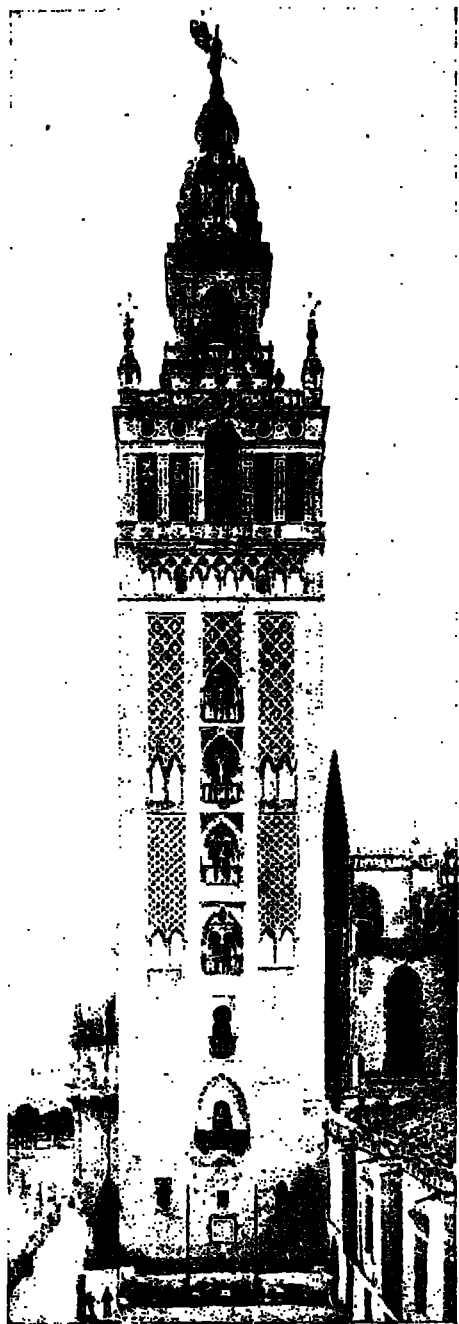
From Kuhn's, 'Maurische Kunst'

and in a curious and roundabout way exercised a certain influence on the Christian architecture of northern Spain, as is shown by the primitive churches termed 'Mozarabic.' These often have the horse-shoe 'Moorish' arch; but its presence is accounted for by the arrival of Christian emigrants from Córdoba, especially monks who brought with them books, and ideas of a higher culture than that known in the north, including new theories of building. The unpretentious churches which date from this period betray the influence of Córdoba in the structure of the arch and vaulting as well as its horse-shoe shape. The influence of Córdoba is also seen in the marbles, bronzes and especially the illuminated manuscripts of the period, which, though written in Latin and Christian in sentiment, sometimes have notes in the margin in Arabic.

The lobed or multifoil arch, which is seen first in some of the later additions to the mosque at Córdoba,

Influence from the East reached Spain from India, by way of Mesopotamia and Kairwan. And the fact that the khalif Abd er-Rahman III concluded an alliance with the Greek emperor at Byzantium seems to explain the development given to various forms of ornamentation at Córdoba, above all to the mosaics so triumphantly carried out in the prayer niche of the Great Mosque—indeed we know, on the authority of an Arab writer of the time, that the emperor himself sent the khalif a mosaic worker and a quantity of tesserae to enable him to carry on his work. Yet the greatest contribution of Córdoba to Mahomedan architecture is undoubtedly the system of vaulting, based upon intersecting arches and visible intersecting ribs, a system which in the end comes to be much the same as that of Gothic vaulting (see Chap. 112), though it developed two centuries earlier.

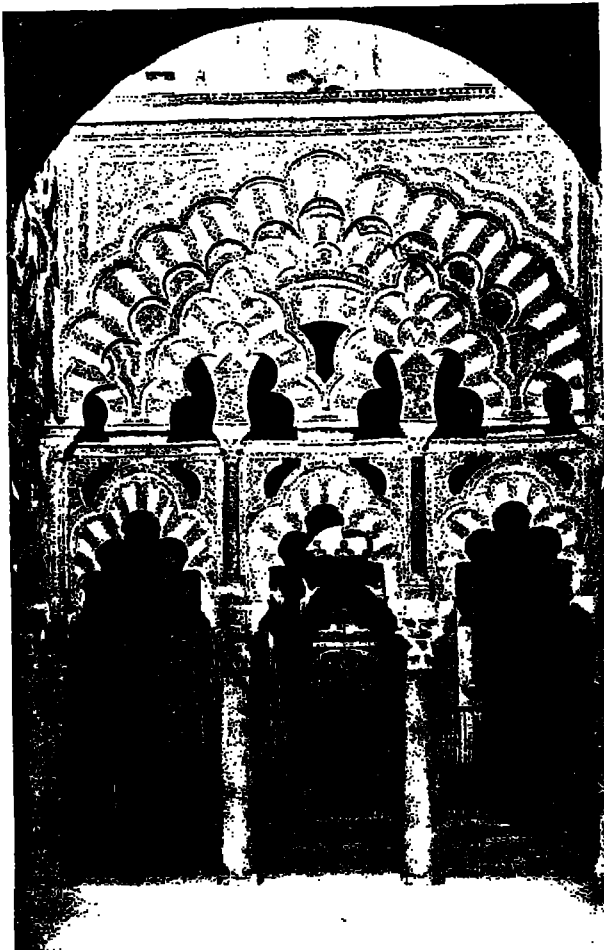
The architectural forms evolved at Córdoba were transplanted to Toledo and Saragossa, where they developed in an individual direction owing to the fact that in these places one of the chief materials for building was brick. Though Toledo fell comparatively early into the hands of the



THE GIRALDA AT SEVILLE

The mosque at Seville, now replaced by a Gothic cathedral, was built 1171-72, and the surviving Giralda added a few years later. The baroque superstructure that transforms it into a belfry is inappropriate, but the tower remains very beautiful.

Photo, E.N.A.



MULTILOBED ARCHES AT CORDOVA

A variation on the horse-shoe arch is the multilobed arch, which was not a western development but seems to have been imported into Spain from the East—from Mesopotamia immediately and, ultimately perhaps, from India. Several types interlace to form this piece of arcading in the mosque at Córdoba.

Photo, Anderson

Christians (1085), its workmen and indeed a great part of its population were for generations Mahomedan, and the peculiar style of 'Mudéjar' work in brick is beautifully exhibited there. A fine example, though earlier than the Mudéjar period, is the church known as El Cristo de la Luz. This probably dates from the Visigothic age; it was turned into a mosque after the invasion and restored by a Mahomedan architect (whose name is given in an inscription on the front) in 980. The outside was covered with a

brick facing; inside, the walls were lined with arches.

This 'blank arcading,' used as architectural decoration for a wall, is the earliest that Rivoira could find of ascertainable date. It is of great interest, since it was applied, under a different form, at Durham in 1093 and at Norwich before 1119. Its origin is to be sought in the triple vestibule of the mihrab of el-Hakam II at Córdoba; and it is possible that the Normans not only imported it into England but carried it with them to their new kingdom of Sicily, where it assumed fresh and attractive forms (see page 2703). Intersecting arcading used decoratively in this way became a great feature of Mudéjar work after the Christian conquest of Toledo (1085). There is a fine example on the west side of the 'Gate of the Sun' (Puerta del Sol) at Toledo, rebuilt in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Fine Mudéjar work is also to be seen in the towers of many Toledo churches. Each storey in the tower has windows of different form—variations on the round or the horse-shoe arch, and combinations of both forms, so that no two towers are alike; and a walk through the town to-day is a convincing proof of the imagination of the Mudéjar builders when dealing with even the simplest materials. Teruel in Aragon possesses a number of church towers of the same kind, though ornamented with bright coloured tiles (usually green) let into the brickwork high above the ground, while one of the outside walls of the old cathedral at Saragossa is a splendid example of what Mudéjar decoration could accomplish in this manner. The Aljaferia palace at Saragossa has been so much altered by generations of military commandants



MOORISH APPROACH TO GOTHIC VAULTING

If attention be concentrated, not on these arches at Córdoba, but on the roof which they support and partly hide, it will be seen that the scheme of intersecting, pointed-arched vaults approximates to the Gothic system described in Chapter 112. Yet it is two centuries earlier than the earliest Gothic.

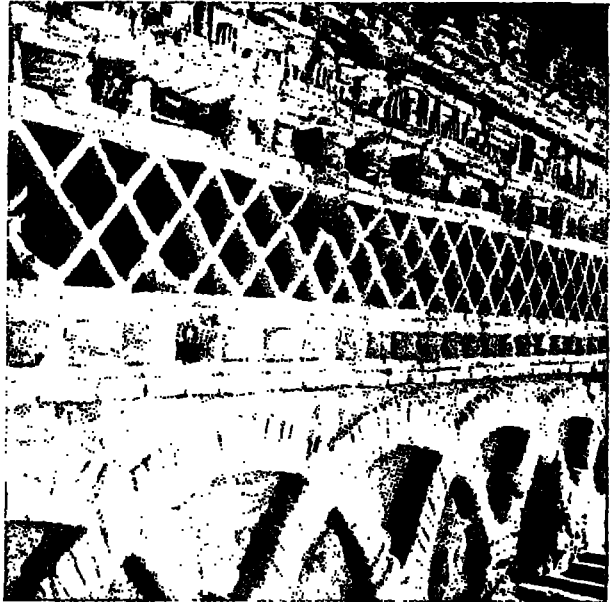
From Gluck and Dies, 'Die Kunst der Islam'

that its best Mahomedan work is now in fragments in the archaeological museums of Saragossa and Madrid.

The Berber dynasties, the Almoravids and Almohades, though they came as fanatics and iconoclasts, remained to build and to adopt the culture which they began by destroying. A certain amount of Almohade architecture still exists at Seville; but except for the famous Giralda (once the minaret and now crowned by a statue of faith in the form of a gigantic weathercock), it is not easy to see. The Alcázar (the royal palace) as it exists to-day was built for Pedro the Cruel by Mudéjar workmen, but it is a second-rate performance. Only the gardens save it, and the Patio del Yeso, which seems to date from about 1200, and is probably the remains of the palace of the Almohades.

The typical form of the Seville house, that of an enclosed courtyard ('patio') with a fountain in the middle and galleries round it, has become the pattern for a house throughout southern Spain. It is built upon a plan very different from that of the north European house, opening only in front; for here the whole life of the household is centred in the patio. It is a world within four walls; utterly strange to the collective existence of a street of modern houses, opening only in front.

The architecture of Granada is the architecture of a decline; and though mainly poor in form and extravagant in decoration, it proves on closer acquaintance to be not so despicable as some travellers pretend. It suffers



STARTING POINT OF MUDEJAR ARCHITECTURE

In more northerly towns the style evolved at Córdoba underwent a change owing to the use of brick. The earliest dated example of blank arcading occurs in S. Cristo de la Luz in Toledo, a Visigothic church that was turned into a mosque and finally reconstructed, as an inscription tells, in 980.

From Rivoira, 'Moslem Architecture'

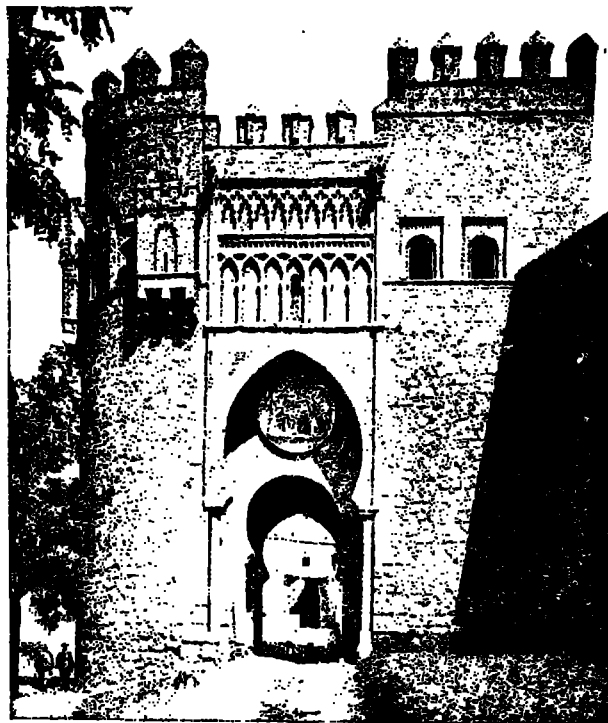
from having been so often copied, and vulgarised; it has become the style for tea-shops and music-halls in grey northern countries, whereas it is a style which cannot be separated from its surroundings. As a building the Alhambra may be as weak as its detractors say it is; yet the most important part of it is the view seen from its windows. In the blazing heat of a summer's day we find that the plan of the building is admirably adapted for its purpose, and that the stucco decoration, coloured tiles and fountains are planned for a light far brighter than ever falls on a building in the north; while at night, when the decoration is invisible, we realize that after all the palace has a form which is in its way logical and even convincing.

It is a canon of good architecture that the building should have some relation to its surroundings, and this the Mahome-

dans in Spain realized very clearly. The mosque at Córdoba cannot be separated from the lines of orange trees in the court outside; the Alhambra would lose more than half its beauty were it not for the marvellous lights and shadows which, whether by sunlight or moonlight, fall on the towers and gardens of that part of the town known as the Albaicín.

The aim of the Moorish decorators (as Roger Fry has pointed out) was to produce a surface which would bear looking at in hard, brilliant sunshine as well as in the cool darkness within. The plaster arabesques, the little 'stalactites,' the endless interlacing inscriptions and the gorgeous tiles in geometrical patterns were not meant to be examined separately, but were to contribute their effect as part of the whole. That effect can be appreciated better in those parts of the Alhambra which have been uncovered under the modern architect, Torres Balbas, than in those which were so drastically restored with fresh tiles and new plaster under his predecessors in the nineteenth century and the earlier years of the twentieth.

Though the age of greatest splendour for Mahomedan Spain is that of the emirs and khalifs of Córdoba; the Grand Mosque is the only building which remains from that time. Abd er-Rahman I had founded the Ommiad dynasty in Spain in 756, and laboured unceasingly to make his country great; and though the political history of his own reign and the reign of his successors is filled with civil strife and revolt, it inevitably exaggerates their importance. History, it has been said, is the history of crime and punishment; and in this case the Mahomedan dominions of the Ommiads were not really united until the time of the first khalif, Abd er-Rahman III (912-961). He made Mahomedan Spain into a state which quickly



GATEWAY BUILT BY MOORS FOR THE CHRISTIANS

Toledo fell early to the advancing arms of the Christians (1085), and the Moorish craftsmen who continued to live and build in these northerly regions under Christian domination were known as Mudéjares. A fine specimen of Mudéjar work is the Puerta del Sol in Toledo, built c. 1100 with later additions.



CHURCH THAT WAS ONCE A SYNAGOGUE

Built as a synagogue in about 1200, changed to a convent for penitents in 1405, consecrated as the church of the convent of Santa Maria la Blanca in 1550, and, after 1791, long used as a wood-yard, this building in Toledo, with its 28 horse-shoe arches, is fine Mudéjar work.

Photo, E.N.A.

became great and respected. It was, at that time, the only civilized country in Europe, for it would be difficult to find another part of the Continent in which the tenth century does not spell degradation and savagery. Córdoba, Seville and the other cities of Mahomedan Spain and Portugal were the only lights in the universal darkness.

The beauty of the capital, Córdoba, and the prosperity of the people were the wonders of the world. Travellers from the north heard with awe and wonder of the city of 113,000 houses, 3,000 mosques, 70 libraries and 900 public baths. One of these travellers was the German ambas-

sador, representing Otto I at the court of Córdoba. The khalif's ambassador at Frankfort was a Christian, the bishop of Granada. He knew the khalif's weakness for washing; and later, returning from an embassy to Jerusalem, he brought back a great golden bath, painted inside, and a smaller one of green jasper, carved (contrary to the law of Islam) with human figures. This the khalif placed in his summer capital of Medinat ez-Zahra, the ruins of which lie about three miles to the north-west of modern Córdoba—an enchanted palace, which from the sober descriptions of Arab historians sounds as if it had come out of the Arabian Nights. It was destroyed at the beginning of the eleventh century by an army of Berber (or, as some say, Catalan) mercenaries, and the most obvious part of the ruins that are visible to-day are the drains.



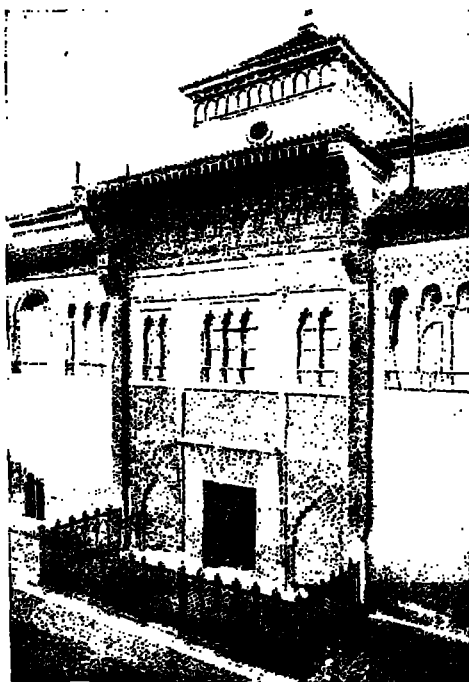
CAPITAL IN S. MARIA LA BLANCA

The brilliantly chiselled detail on a capital in S. Maria la Blanca shows ultimate Christian influence on Moorish work; for the style is derived from debased Corinthian or Byzantine capitals that were used in Visigothic churches.

Photo, E.N.A.

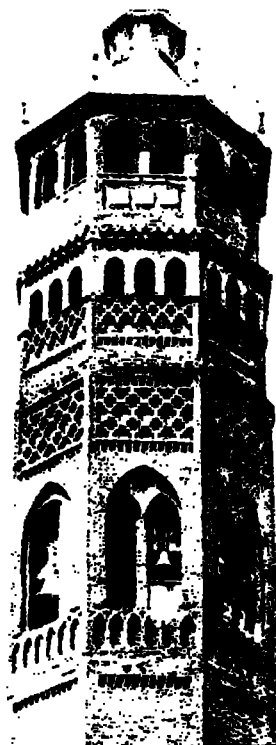
Improvements in ship-building followed a raid by Norse Vikings. In 844 they appeared off Lisbon (which then formed part of Mahomedan Spain), and in the next year they even attacked Seville, broke down the walls, and attempted to set fire to the principal mosque. They were allowed under an armistice to enter the town and occupy it for one night and one night only; but they did not at once leave Spanish waters. Friendly relations, however, were established, and the emir (Abd er-Rahman II) sent to the Norsemen an ambassador famous for his good looks, whose confidential report has been preserved. He greatly admired the Viking ships, and through his Arab gallantry was able to gain his point with 'the Queen.' Like a true diplomat, however, he did not reveal in writing the precise object of his mission.

By the next century, in the reign of el-Hakam II (961-976) Norse ship-building was regularly imitated in southern Spain.



FACADE OF THE ALCAZAR

The Alcázar at Seville was built in 1364 for Pedro the Cruel (for whom the Black Prince of England fought); the Mudéjar work in its facade is obvious but rather incongruous, and not an example of the style at its best.



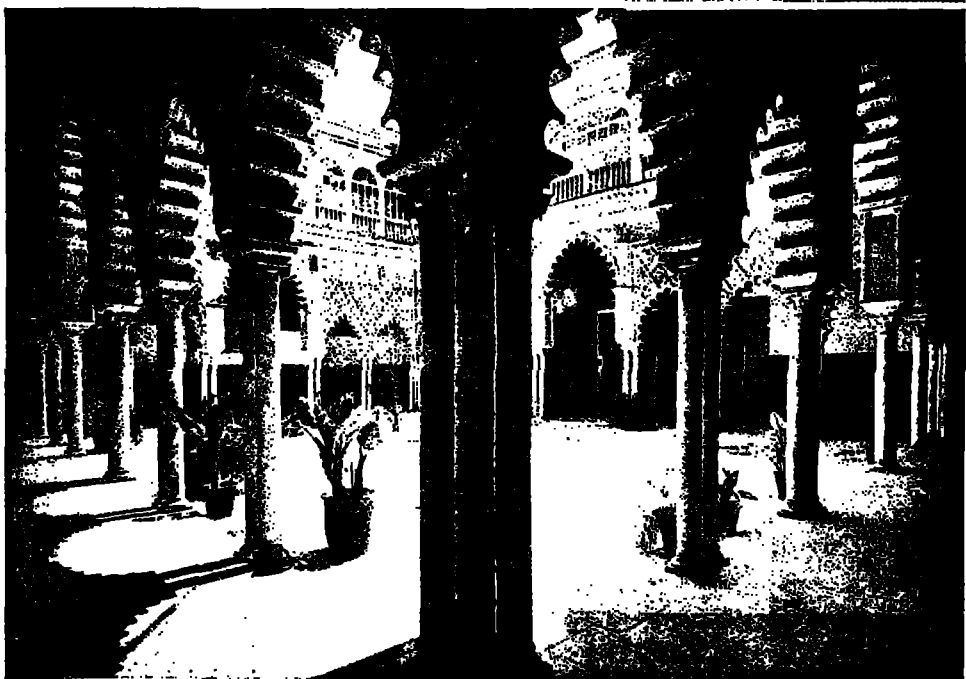
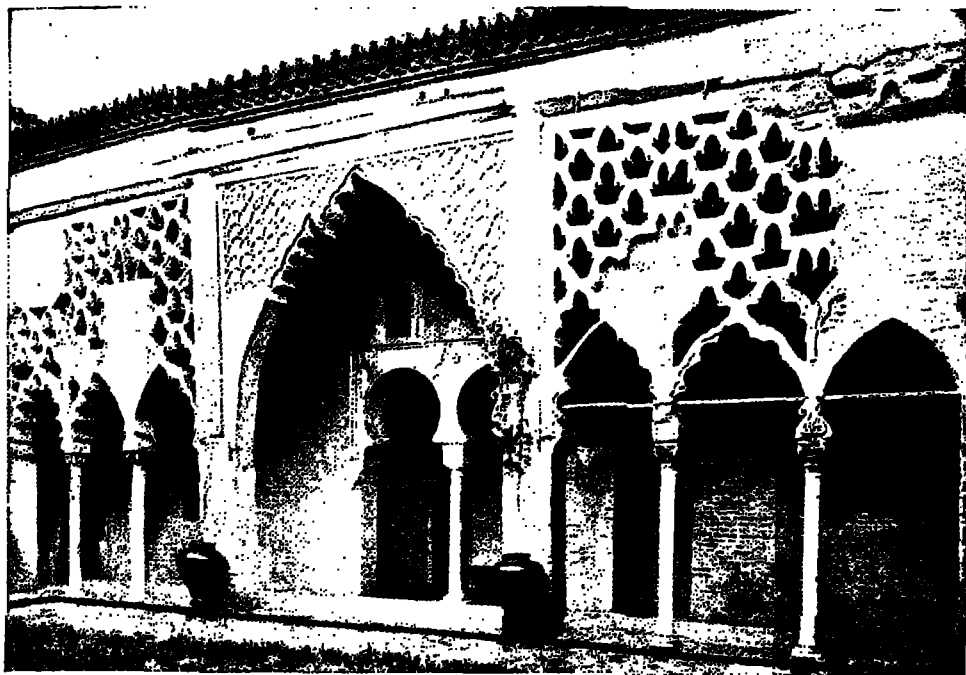
MOORISH TOWER ON A CHURCH

Christians did not disdain to employ Mudéjar workmen even for their churches. This brick tower adorns the church of S. Pablo in Saragossa (taken in 1118), and several other churches in the town have similar towers.

Photo, Laurent, Madrid

The names of a ship's officers are not without interest. The captain was a 'kaid,' while the navigating officer was called 'cr-raiyis,' the modern Spanish 'arraez.' The commander of a fleet was of course an admiral, 'amir el-bahr' (emir of the sea) or 'amir el-ma' (emir of the water). This was the title adopted by the Norman kings of Sicily, and then by the Genoese, the French and the English, who under Edward III appointed an 'Amyrel of the Se.' It is curious that the pronunciation common to-day in the navy ('amrel') is more like the original words than the more cultivated form 'admiral.' The chief Spanish dockyard of those days was Almería, on the Mediterranean coast, south-east of Granada.

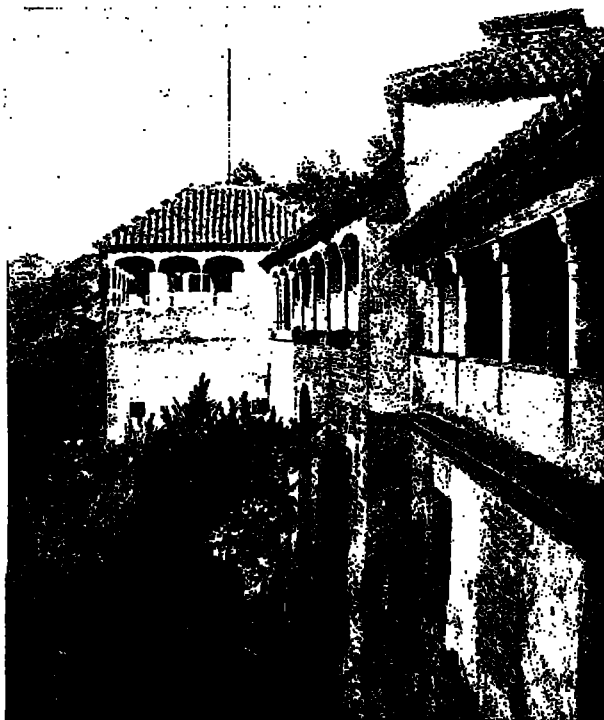
The Mahomedan Spaniards became great gardeners and agriculturists. In southern Spain, as in North Africa, the chief



MOORISH AND MUDEJAR WORK CONTRASTED IN THE ALCAZAR

Pedro's architects built the Alcázar on the site of an older Moorish palace of the Almohade kings dating from the neighbourhood of 1200, and one courtyard of the earlier building (top) still remains attached to the later one; it is known as the Patio del Yeso. Compare the beauty and restraint of the fretted stone in its arcading with the 'tea-shop' fussiness of the Patio de las Doncellas in the Alcázar (below), a court largely remodelled in 1526 by Charles V.

Top, from Kuhnelt, 'Maurische Kunst'



WHERE THE KINGS OF GRANADA REIGNED

Royal palace of the kings of Granada, the Alhambra, which means 'the red,' or 'the brilliant,' was begun by Mohammed I (1232-72) and virtually finished a century later under Yussuf I. This view down the outside of its rather featureless walls is looking towards the so-called 'Tower of the Queen's Toilet Chamber.'

Photo, Anderson

problem is the problem of water, and this was solved in a way that has hardly been improved upon since. They may have begun by imitating a system of irrigation introduced by the Romans; but some of their number had come from Egypt, where the principles of irrigation were very well understood, and they improved the existing system out of all knowledge. The greater part of the Spanish technical terms concerned with agriculture and ways of watering the garden are Arabic words, taken over into Spanish as they stood with the Arabic definite article prefixed to them; they are an eloquent testimony to what Spain owes to Mahomedan culture.

Thus a conduit or canal is in Spanish 'acéquia' (Arabic 'es-sâqiya'); a tank or cistern is called an 'aljibe' ('el-jubb'), a reservoir 'alberca' ('el-birca'), and the familiar water-wheel, raising water by pithers tied to the circumference and

turned by an ass, is known in Spain and in Sicily as a 'noria' (Arab. 'nâ'ûra'). The Arabs also named a number of wild flowers in Spain, which have kept their names ever since: for example, lily (Sp. 'azucena,' Ar. 'es-susena'); rhododendron (Sp. 'adelfa,' Ar. 'ed-difla'); mint (Sp. 'albahaca,' Ar. 'el-habac'); and they introduced others which had not been known in the Peninsula before, such as jessamine (Sp. 'jazmín,' Ar. 'el-yasimín'). They brought over the prickly pear, pomegranate, medlar, orange (Sp. 'naranja,' Ar. 'naranj'), quince, mulberry, melon, apricot, citron, cinnamon, saffron, asparagus, rice (Sp., 'arroz,' Ar. 'er-ruzz'), egg-plant, sugar-cane (Sp. 'azúcar,' Ar. 'es-sucar'), and cotton (Sp. 'algodon,' Ar. 'el-kutn').

The gardens, however, were not merely utilitarian. The Spanish Mahomedans took particular delight in their gardens, though they were intended for the private contemplation of the owner rather than for public exhibition. The garden was not merely an enclosed piece of cultivated ground; it was something designed and made by man, in which nature was permitted to play a subordinate if essential part. Once the water supply was assured, man's chief contribution lay in glazed, coloured tiles, which were used on the paths and as borders to flower beds, to circular openings round trees and to garden seats. Hill-side gardens (of which the Generalife at Granada—the garden of the architect—is a supreme example) gave great opportunities, by their flights of steps with rich coloured tiles, for the use and distribution of water.

'Water seen and heard' was an indispensable part of the design. It ran in little tiled conduits from tree to tree and from shrub to shrub, and in the Generalife it was made to run down the tiled banisters of a staircase, while small fountains played

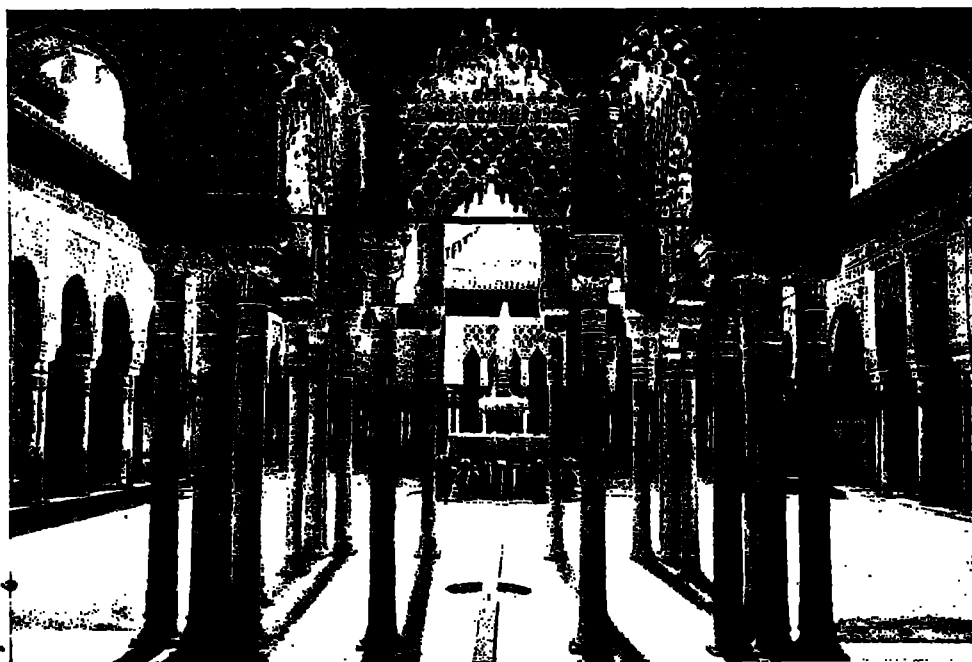
on every landing. Fountains and basins had a special form. The water did not run out of the basin, but glided over the rim, sparkling in the sun and increasing the lustre of the tiles as it did so, while the tiled paths were sprayed from little jets, not only to freshen and cool them, but also to make them reflect and sparkle like a flowing stream.

In spite of the Koranic prohibition the Mahomedans seem not to have been unaware of the excellent dry wines of Córdoba, such as the modern 'montilla'; they had one called 'zebib' (raisin) and they also distilled alcoholic beverages from rice, figs and dates. Like the modern Turks, they made jam from the petals of roses and prepared various kinds of sweet syrups; the word 'jarabe,' which the modern traveller in Córdoba sees advertised so frequently, is nothing but the Arabic 'sharab,' whence come 'rum shrub,' 'sherbet' and 'syrup.'

In Seville and certain other towns the population was no less industrious than

it was in the country. There was great mineral wealth, and the copper mines at Muriano about twelve miles from Córdoba were known in the time of the Romans and have been productive throughout the centuries. Silks had been produced since the eighth century, and there seems to be no evidence for the silkworm being known in Spain before the arrival of the Mahomedans. The places most famous for silk goods were Almería, Granada, Jaén, Málaga, Murcia and Seville. Textiles were originally imported from Egypt, but there is no doubt that the Spanish weavers were soon able to hold their own. Admirable examples of their work may be seen among the exhibits of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; 'the intricacy and fineness of their productions tend almost to give them the appearance, at first sight, of miniature paintings rather than of weavings.'

The best surviving examples apparently date from the later years of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth

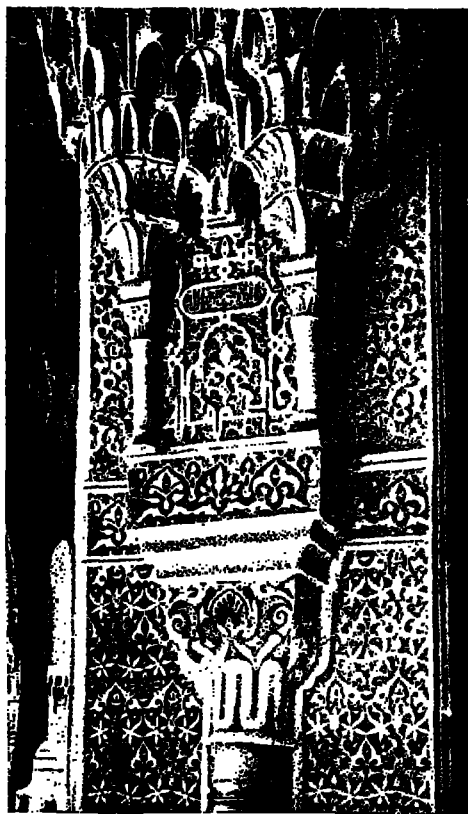


LATEST COMPLETED PART OF THE ALHAMBRA: THE COURT OF THE LIONS

Though its name has come to stand for all that is delicately magnificent in oriental work, most of the Alhambra was built at a time when Moorish architecture had passed its meridian, and there is here much to criticise as well as to admire. Note, for instance, the exaggerated thinness of the columns in the Court of the Lions, which takes its name from the twelve marble lions round its fountain; it was completed under Mohammed V, who succeeded Yussuf I in 1354.

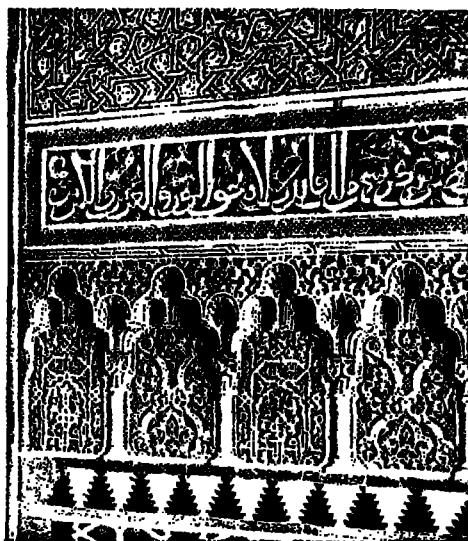
century. New characteristic designs appeared later with elaborate interlacings, and modifications of these outlasted the dominion of the Mahomedan in Spain and were characteristic of the 'Mudéjar' style of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These stuffs generally have inscriptions in Arabic (or Kufic) lettering: 'Blessing,' 'Perfect Blessing and Victory,' or 'There is no conqueror but Allah,' the motto of the kings of Granada, so profusely repeated in the decoration of the Alhambra.

The product for which Córdoba especially became famous was leather, which became known throughout Europe as 'Cordovan' or 'cordwain.' Gold and silver work is represented by caskets in the cathedrals of Gerona and Oviedo and the Archaeo-



DETAIL OF THE ALHAMBRA

The decoration of the Alhambra is carried out largely in stucco. Though it can be accused of decadence and over-floridity, in its own chosen style it is unexcelled and presents unnumbered charming fantasies of detail.



ARABIC SCRIPT AS ORNAMENT

As in all Moslem work from India to Spain, the delicate Arabic script plays a predominant part in the decoration of the Alhambra. These stucco panels in the 'Hall of the Ambassadors' are really formed of interlacing inscriptions.

From 'Architektur in Alt-Spanien'

logical Museum at Madrid. The Mahomedan Spanish metal workers took no less pains over such humble things as iron keys than they did with silver caskets; and the wards of their keys often take the form of interlacing letters and words in the Kufic alphabet. In the treasury of the cathedral of Seville there is a key which may be the identical one given to Ferdinand III, when he took possession of the city in 1248.

Beautifully worked swords exist which belonged to the Spanish Arabs and Moors. The hilt of one of them is inscribed: 'May you attain your object,' and then, on the other side, 'by saving his life.' Others have sentences from the Koran and confessions of faith, the Arabic writing lending itself, as always, to marvellous effects of decorative treatment (see also page 3177).

In every kind of industrial art the Mahomedan Spaniards left their mark on the work of their Christian successors. Ivory, glass and pottery all show their influence, especially pottery, which is the greatest contribution of the Spanish Mahomedans to the history of art. The

splendid metallic-lusted ware known as 'Hispano - Mauresque' (see page 3264) ranks in the eyes of collectors only next to Greek vases and Chinese porcelain. It

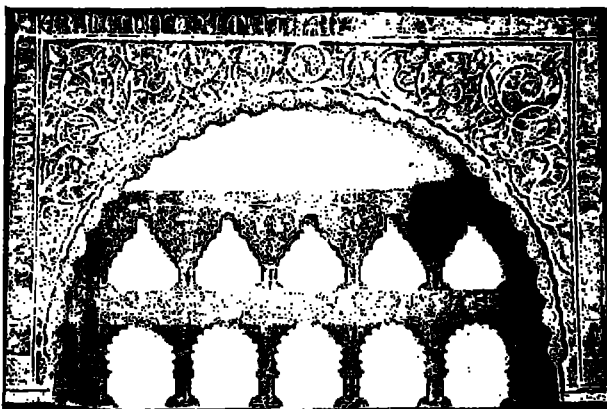
is first mentioned in the twelfth century as being made at Calatayud, in Aragon. Málaga was also famous for it, and above all Manises in the kingdom of Valencia, which was added to the kingdom of Aragon by James the Conqueror in 1238.

The earliest existing pieces date from the fourteenth century. The glaze is chiefly composed of tin, and the lusted parts have a lovely golden shimmer which is one of the distinguishing features of the best Hispano-Mauresque ware. The earliest form of decoration (like the decoration in architecture and textile fabrics) made use of the old Arabic (Kufic) writing. Yet there was a tendency to avoid the name of Allah on a fragile object like a piece of pottery, since if it were broken the sacred name might be broken too and the potter (it was believed) would lose his soul. As a compromise, the potters evolved a design, 'Allafia,' which was near enough to the sacred name without actually being the name itself. It is found especially on 'drug jars.' The Valencian potters invented another scheme of decoration derived from the wild bryony, a familiar plant in the province; vine leaves were also employed and other large leaves.

The plates and dishes of Hispano-Mauresque ware were admired throughout Europe: 'the pope and the cardinals, and the princes of the world obtain it by special favour, and are astonished that such excellent and noble works can be made of earth.' Plates frequently bear heraldic devices showing that they were made for noble families in Spain, Italy and France; and the potters of the sixteenth century, seeing that the whole of Spain was now in the hands of Christian rulers, had no scruples in adorning their works with Christian emblems.

Whether they ever neutralised the effect of these by entwining some subtle and insulting Arabic monogram with the general design has never been definitely proved; but Hispano-Mauresque pottery is so beautiful in itself and so individual in its treatment that the artists who made it had no further need of proclaiming that, when all seemed lost in western Europe, in one respect at least they could make fairer things than any craftsmen among the 'unbelievers' and those who 'attributed partners to Allah.'

Social life in Mahomedan Spain permitted more liberty than in the East, and that liberty was especially enjoyed by women. They were not shut in the women's quarters, but went out a great deal, paying visits. Legally, a man was entitled to four wives and an unlimited number of slaves of both sexes; but in practice only a rich man could afford such an establishment. It is interesting to remember that polygamy was the regular practice among the Christian, Merovingian kings of France; even Charlemagne had nine wives at one time. Marriage was a civil contract, and a woman so far maintained her independence that she could dispose of her property without her husband's permission. The husband, on the other hand, could divorce his wife without any legal formality; he pronounced certain words and 'put her away



WHITE-BRYONY MOTIVE IN ARCHITECTURE

The symbols of the cross in the lower corners and the gothic inscription round the border show that this stucco-covered wooden recess for a chemist's shop is Mudéjar work, probably of the fourteenth century; note its white-bryony ornament (Bryonia dioica), also used on pottery.

Victoria and Albert Museum

privily.' The wife, if she wished for a divorce, had to go into court and win her case, and then half the dowry was returned to her.

Christian women in the harem were not obliged to recant their religion, although the offspring of mixed unions were brought up as Mahomedans. Mixed marriages were not infrequent, even in the highest ranks of society. The emirs frequently married Christian women, and the grandmother of the great khalif Abd er-Rahman III had been a Christian; while one of the queens of Alfonso VI of Castile was a daughter of Mu'tamid, the last king of Seville.

Arabs, particularly Yemenites, preferred to live on their estates and farm their own land. The Berbers also preferred a country life. Christians and Jews were more numerous in the towns, the latter being especially interested in the slave-trade. Officers and officials, however, were largely Arabs. A 'wazir,' an executive officer and minister in a distant province, communicated with the sovereign through the 'hajib' or prime minister. The military governors were called 'walis'; decisions of the government were communicated to distant sub-

jects by the secretary of state ('kateb'). The magistrates were 'kadis,' whose duties included the registration of marriages and the care of orphans. They were hard-worked individuals, and escaped to the country Administration whenever they could manage of the Country it. One of them, when elected to the judicial bench, was found (like Cincinnatus) ploughing with a yoke of oxen in the 'Plain of Acorns.'

A well-dressed kadi was described as wearing a yellow scarf, slippers that squeaked, his hair parted and perfumed, his teeth clean, and his hands stained with henna. Spanish Mahomedans were not fond of the turban, though officers of the law usually wore them, at any rate in Córdoba and Seville. In Valencia and the eastern districts even the kadis had taken to caps, or conical bonnets. The green turban, then as now, was a sign of Shereefian descent (from the Prophet's family), but the big turbans affected by Orientals seemed rather ridiculous in Spain. The kadi was assisted by a clerk or notary ('adul'), and by a 'mufti' who explained in doubtful cases what the law was.

The police officers were called 'mustasaf.' They were on duty in the market, and inspected weights and measures; they examined the water supply and the condition of buildings, and they had orders to report cases of cruelty to children or animals, and the playing of prohibited games of chance. Further, they were to see that no music was performed on certain forbidden instruments. There were also mounted police, who acted swiftly and effectively in cases of disorder. Every Friday the emir sat at a gate of the palace and heard appeals, but eventually the office was performed by a specially elected 'judge of injustice.'

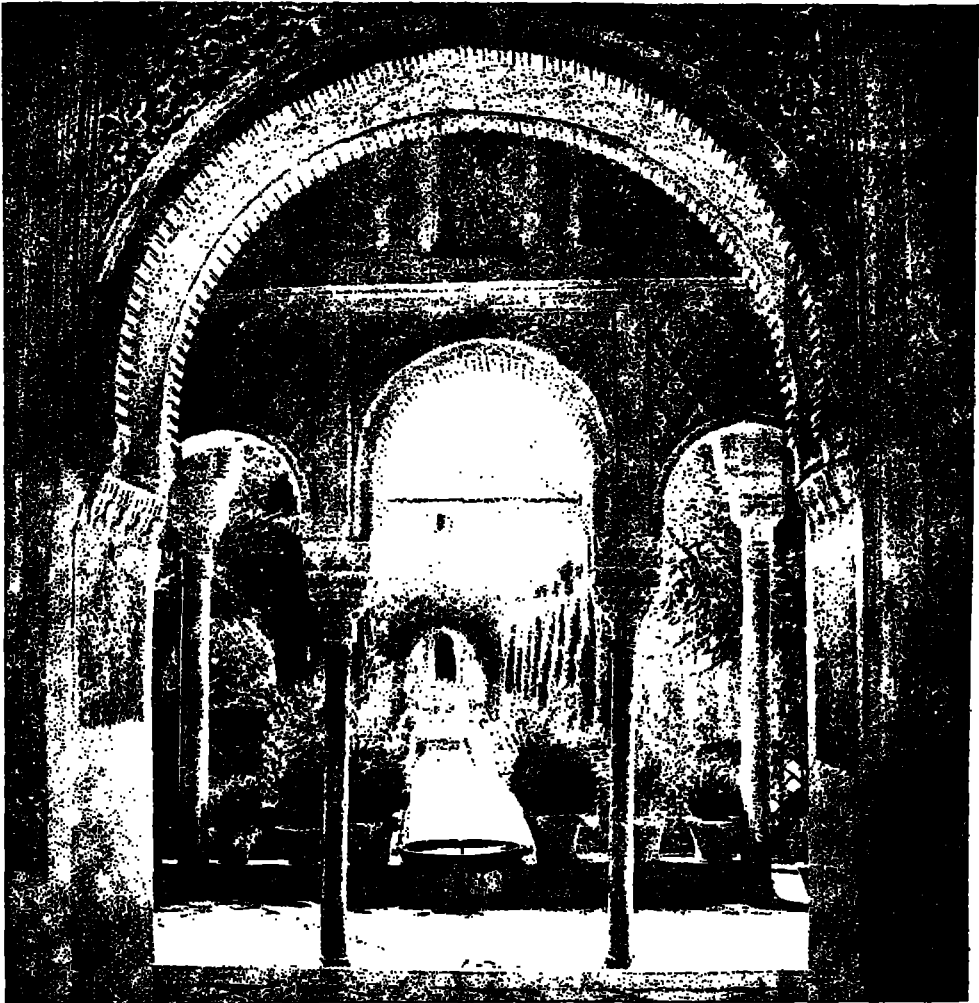
An account of the social conditions of Mahomedan Spain would not be complete without some mention of the



SPANISH DEBT TO MOORISH INVADERS

Irrigation on a scientific scale was a Moorish introduction to Spain, as to Sicily, and the derivation of many words attests it. Thus the Spanish word 'noria' for a wheel raising water by means of pitchers round its periphery, of which this is an example near Mérida, is derived from the Arabic 'nâ'ûra.'

Photo, Rev. C. F. Pléon



LOVELY WATER GARDEN IN THE GENERALIFE PALACE

The Generalife, a country pleasure of the kings of Granada, is only second to the Alhambra in architectural splendour, and surpasses it by reason of the lovely water gardens that the Moors knew so well how to make. Its name, Jennatu el-Arife before its Spanish corruption, means in Arabic 'the garden of the architect,' and perhaps refers to the owner of the land before Ismail Ibn Faraj bought it for his palace in 1320. This is the Acéquia Court.

unfortunate Moriscos, the treatment of whom by the Christians offers a melancholy contrast to the treatment of the Christians by the Mahomedans at an earlier period of Spanish history. From beginning to end it was the churchmen who were to blame. The armistice signed on the capitulation of Granada guaranteed religious liberty to the inhabitants; the ecclesiastical authorities caused that armistice to be broken in every particular, and, once they had obtained the forced conversion of the Mahomedans, these came

under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and could be tried and burned for heresy.

Reports of trials before the Inquisition show clearly that many Moriscos remained (as was only natural) Mahomedans at heart, and performed Mahomedan ceremonies in private. Bermudez de Pedraza states:

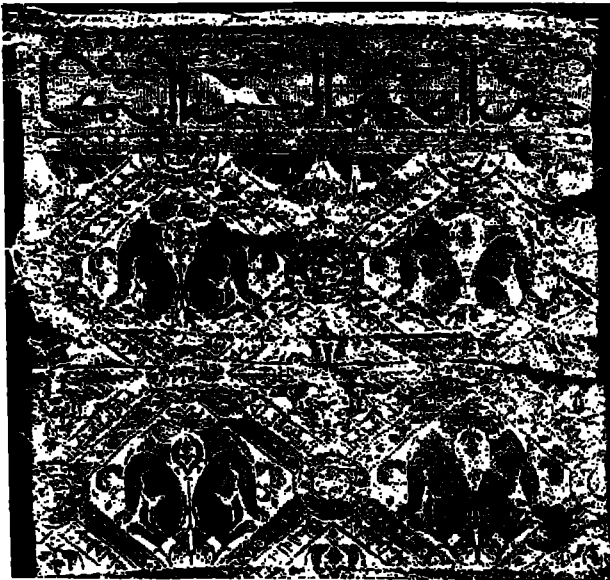
They were not outwardly Moors, but inwardly they were heretics, in whom faith was lacking though baptism abounded. They had many good moral qualities, they were men of their word in all their dealings.

and they had great charity towards their own people. Few were lazy; all were hard workers; but they showed little observance of Sundays and festivals of the Church. . . . They washed themselves, even in December. They christened their children to comply with the law, and then at home they washed off the chrism and the holy oil with hot water. . . .

The secular authorities were never very anxious for the expulsion of the Moriscos. The great landlords were naturally opposed to it, for the Moriscos composed the bulk of the agricultural labourers of Spain, and when they were gone large tracts of country became a desert.

Under the emirs and khalifs of Córdoba, and in later times, education seems to have been as far as possible compulsory, and up to a point gratuitous, though in some cases the father arranged special terms with the schoolmaster. A great deal of attention was paid to giving children a proper pronunciation of the Arabic language; they learnt passages from the Koran by heart, and also had lessons in grammar and composition, and above all in handwriting. Christian

children seem also to have gone to these schools, and afterwards to have read Arabic authors with delight. A certain bishop lamented that his flock preferred Arabic poetry to the Latin of the Fathers of the Church. Higher education was generally in the hands of men who had travelled, and who took up teaching for a time as a road to high office. They were



MOSLEM TEXTILES FROM SPAIN

It was in all probability the Moors who introduced the silk-weaving industry to Spain, where it rapidly attained to equality with that of Sicily (see page 2701) and Egypt. Top, a piece of twelfth-century silk; below, thirteenth-century gold and silk brocade; both with Kufic legends.

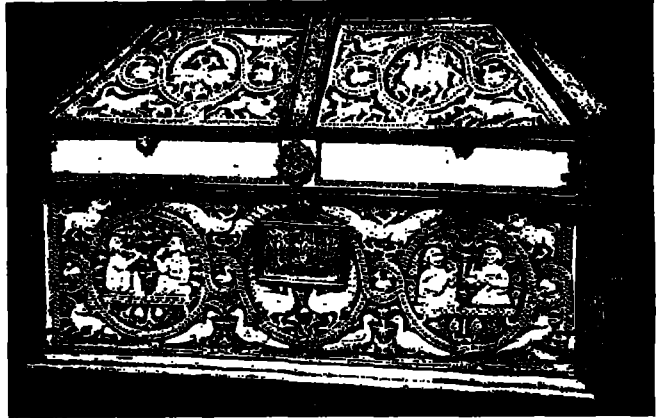
Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, (above) and Victoria and Albert Museum

not paid for it, and some of them were obliged to make their living by market gardening, or other occupations, out of school hours.

Classes were held in mosques, or sometimes in gardens; the students sat on the ground with the master in the middle. The subjects taught included the 'Traditions' of the Prophet, with an explanation of the use of critical methods by which the truth of a Tradition might be tested; lessons were also given in history, medicine and mathematics. Certificates were given to pupils who had been diligent in attendance. State inspection of schools was limited to watching over the liberty of instruction, always likely to be abused by the narrow and selfish aims of 'fakihs' ('holy men') of the Malikite rite, who tried to monopolise it.

The khalif el-Hakam II (961-976) founded no fewer than twenty-seven free schools in Córdoba. He invited learned teachers from the East and left legacies to pay masters who taught poor children.

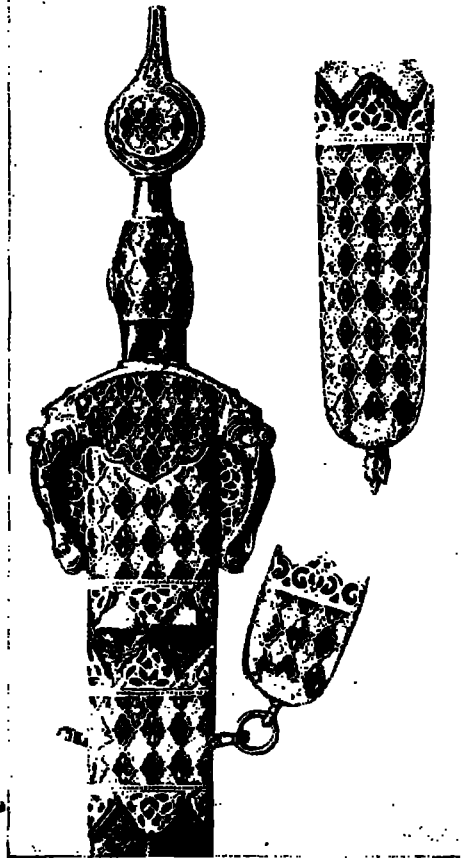
The result of this care for education was that in Mahomedan Spain the majority of the population could both read and write; while to-day, when so much of the primary education is directly or



CARVED IVORY CASKET

This eleventh-century ivory casket shows that in Spain the Koranic ban on the representation of animate objects was not strictly observed. Note the musicians with their instruments.

Victoria and Albert Museum



THE 'SWORD OF BOABDIL'

Whether or not this sword ever belonged to Boabdil (Abu Abdallah), the last king of Granada—and several others of similar type claim a like distinction—its hilt and scabbard are certainly magnificent pieces of decorative metal work.

Collection of the Marqués de Villaseca

indirectly under teachers who are Roman Catholic priests, something like fifty per cent. of the population are quite illiterate. Even the practice of learning considerable portions of a sacred book by heart has much to recommend it. Mahomedan peoples are brought up on the Koran as seventeenth-century Englishmen were nourished on the Authorised Version; and the Koran, however puzzling parts of the text may be to non-Mahomedans, lays it down as a maxim that 'God created man and taught him to express himself clearly.'

Handwriting, again, was a subject to which much care was devoted in the education of Mahomedan children, and it is one of those things in which the Mahomedan world still has something to teach western civilization. In Mahomedan Spain special pride was taken in handwriting, for the western script differed from that of the east, and was taught on a different principle. Ibn Khaldun, a famous Arab historian, whose family came from Seville, says:

In Spain and Morocco they do not learn to form each letter separately after certain principles which the master teaches the pupil; it is only by imitating entire words (which serve as models) that writing is learnt. The pupil endeavours to copy the shape of these words under the eye of the master, and he works until he reaches the

- stage of being able to make them well and his fingers have acquired the knack of doing so.

One of the clearest impressions that we have of music in Mahomedan Spain comes from a description of the method of a famous Persian teacher of singing, Ziryab, who became the idol of Córdoba under Abd er-Rahman II in the ninth century. He divided his instruction into three courses, rhythm, melody and ornamentation. The pupil had first to pass certain tests, one of which was to sing a prolonged 'ah' on all degrees of the scale. Then he began by learning the words and the metre; he spoke the words while he beat time with a tambourine, marking the strong and weak accents and the pace of different movements. Then he was taught the melody in its simplest form with no ornaments, and only when he could sing it perfectly was he allowed to study the shakes, vocalises and trills with which the master embellished the song, and the nuances he introduced to give it expression and charm.

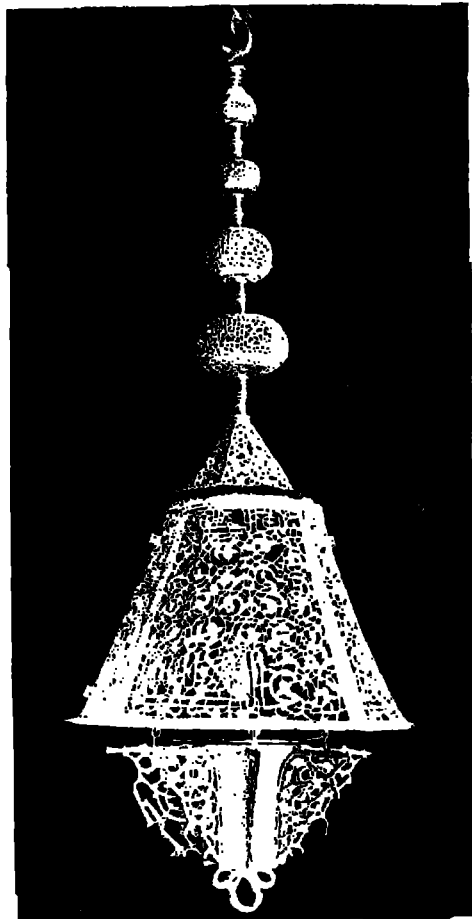
The oldest form of melody in Mahomedan countries is to be found in the half-sung, half-recited call to prayer, intoned by the muezzin. The word Koran



QUAINT HORSE IN BRONZE

This bronze horse, a quaint rather than beautiful specimen of tenth-century Moorish metal work, comes from Medinat ez-Zahra near Córdoba. Its body is chased with foliate ornament.

Museo Provincial, Córdoba



BRONZE LAMP FOR A MOSQUE

According to an inscription this bronze lamp was presented to the Alhambra mosque by Mohammed III in 1305. The filigree work forms the motto of the Granada kings: 'Wa la ghalib ila Ala' — 'There is no conqueror but Allah.'

Museo Arqueológico, Madrid; photo, Laurent, Madrid

means 'reading aloud,' or 'chanting,' and the verses (which are rhymed) are intoned upon two or three notes. There were two schools of reading, one of which permitted shakes on certain notes, and 'agreeable intonations resembling the sounds of wind instruments.'

Music as an art was reprehended by pious Mahomedans. In the fourteenth century Ibn Khaldun wrote:

The kind of melody referred to is not that which music teaches and which is learned as an art; for the art of music has nothing to do with the Koran. . . . In fact, the

object of reading the Koran is to inspire terror, because it directs our thoughts to death and what follows; and it ought not to be used to procure pleasure to persons who aim merely at the perception of agreeable sounds.

Yet music in Mahomedan Spain was certainly regarded as an art; and although harmony was unknown, its place was taken by the conflicting rhythms of an accompaniment played on drums, tambourines and castanets.

There was a great variety of scales, and (as in Indian music) there were certain 'modes' which were suitable to different times of the day or night. Music, of course, was used as an accompaniment to dancing; for the women of Spain, from pre-Roman times to our own day, have 'come forth dancing from their mother's womb,' and we know that they danced no less in Mahomedan times than they do now. In its lowest capacity, music was an accompaniment to orgies which the Prophet had tolerated but hardly approved. It was described as a distraction for the frivolity of women and the dissipation of men.

The Mahomedan Spaniards introduced a number of instruments which were new to Europe, including the lute, which is the Arabic word 'ud' with the definite article 'el' prefixed to it. The influence of their music on the music of modern Spain is a somewhat obscure subject, the tendency among modern Spaniards (and also among non-Spanish inquirers into Spanish things) being to dismiss as 'Moorish' any feature in Spanish art that is not immediately intelligible.

The intellectual life of Mahomedan Spain before the Almoravid period was conservative. The literary men were in some ways nearer to the old traditional Arab type than was the case in the Eastern khalifate, where poetry was modified by the influences of Persian culture. In Spain, however, the gradual fusion of races, and the fact that some of the best

writers were men of Christian descent, left its mark on literature; and poetry came to be distinguished by a tender, romantic feeling, and a sensibility to nature which it had not possessed in other parts of the Mahomedan world. The poetry of the time has for the most part reached us only in the fragments quoted by later writers: Arab historians and biographers had the pleasing custom of relieving their narratives by poetry whenever possible. Yet these fragments are often of great beauty, and not a few have been translated into English.

Most famous among the poets, and most unfortunate among men, was el-Mu'tamid, the last of the independent rulers of Seville (1088-1091), between the fall of the Khalifate of Córdoba and the invasion of the Almoravids, and not the least part of the tragedy is that he himself had invited the Berber fanatics to save Spain from the fanaticism of the Christians. El-Mu'tamid's own story is to the last degree romantic. His friendship for his companion and wazir, Ibn 'Ammar, and his passion for the girl Rumaykiyya (who one day, as the king and his wazir were walking by the banks of the 'Great River,' finished a rhyming couplet which the king had begun), and finally his death, a prisoner in Morocco, were themes for Spanish story tellers like Don Juan Manuel in the fourteenth century no less than for Mahomedan poets themselves.



MOORISH MAGISTRATES IN SESSION

One of the paintings on leather in the Hall of Justice of the Alhambra (see page 3266) consists of a patriarchal group usually called 'The Tribunal.' Perhaps the figures are indeed 'kadis,' or magistrates; or perhaps they represent the 'tribes' of Granada. They bear swords remarkably like that of Boabdil.

One of the best was Ibn Zaidun, of Córdoba, who wrote in the tenth century, and whose poems have in modern times been published in French. Others were undoubtedly the inventors of those forms of rhymed stanza and refrain which were adopted by the troubadours, and became naturalised in European poetry. The troubadours are usually credited with the invention of this 'modern' poetry; yet Spanish Arabic writers did the same thing before them, drawing their inspiration from the folk-songs sung by Spanish Mahomedans.

The Spanish Mahomedans were great tellers of stories, and many of the oldest Indian and Oriental fables

Cultivation of Literature reached Spain long before they were known in the rest of Europe. They had considerable influence on Spanish and European literature. Form and style were the chief interest to the Spanish Arabs, and to other Arab peoples—the manner of saying a thing was of more importance than the thing itself. It was stated by Ibn Khaldun (as translated by E. G. Browne) that :

the art of discourse whether in verse or prose lies only in words, not in ideas; for the latter are merely accessories, while the former are the principal concern [of the writer]. So the artist who would practise the faculty of discourse in verse and prose exercises it in words only, by storing his memory with models from the speech of the Arabs. . . . Language is a faculty [manifested] in speech and acquired by repetition with the tongue until it be fully acquired. Now the tongue and speech deal only with words, while ideas belong to the mind.

This is perhaps an extreme view, yet it is one that is refreshing and salutary to an age like ours, in which style counts for so little in comparison with matter. It is (to quote the title of one of the greatest Arabic histories of Mahomedan Spain) a 'Breath of fragrance from the fresh branch of al-Andalus.'

Córdoba was renowned for its medical men. There was Avenzoar, or, rather, the family of Ibn Zoar, four of whom became famous physicians, Abulcasis (Abu 'l-Kasim), a famous surgeon, Maimonides the Jew (died 1204), and Hasdai, another Jew,

a diplomat as well as a doctor. He persuaded Tota, the grandmother of King Sancho the Fat, of León, to bring her grandson to Córdoba to be cured of his corpulence, and at the same time to obtain armed assistance in winning back the kingdom from which he had been expelled. The fact that the real names of four of the physicians mentioned above are generally known in Latinised forms (as Abulcasis for Abu 'l-Kasim) shows that their writings were translated into Latin and that they were well known in Christian Europe.

The Arabs were the inventors of algebra, the method of performing mathematical operations by means of symbols; and Spain also produced several distinguished mathematicians. Unlike the Greeks, who aspired rather to the demonstration of general principles, the Arabs generally had (at first, at any rate) some definite and practical object in view: the measurement of a piece of land, the delimitation of a grove of olives, or the proper orientation of a mosque towards Mecca. Latterly, however, their mathematicians became more purely speculative, and they evolved a highly abstract conception of number.

Among the Spanish geographers (whose works have been translated into modern western languages) may be mentioned el-Bekri, a Sevil- Progress in the Sciences lian, who for a time held the office of wazir of Almería, and whose principal work is entitled *Of Roads and Kingdoms*. Idrisi, or Edrisi, (born at Ceuta, 1061, educated at Córdoba) compiled a geographical work of great importance to Spanish and Oriental students called *Nuzhat* (see page 2703); and Ibn Jubair (born 1145 at Valencia; see also Chap. 104) studied at Ceuta and Granada, was secretary to an Almohade prince of Granada, and made three important journeys to the East. His works have been translated into English. Travellers from other parts of the Mahomedan world visited Spain and wrote accounts of what they saw, including the famous traveller Ibn Batuta.

Two famous astronomers were born at Córdoba. Arzachel (*ez-Zarkali*) invented a special form of astrolabe, and was himself a beautiful instrument maker, as may be

seen from the astrolabes preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Madrid. Alpetragius (el-Bitruji) began to doubt the truth of the Ptolemaic theory (that the earth was the centre of the universe) long before Copernicus; while Ibn Firnas of Córdoba is said to have made optic glass and to have constructed a flying machine in which he flew up and down the khalif's garden. Again, Alhazen (or Hassan ibn Haithan), who, though born in Spain, lived and worked in Egypt, discovered atmospheric refraction as early as the eleventh century; and he also demonstrated that rays of light come from external objects to the eye, and did not (as some had imagined) issue from the eye and impinge on external things. He even defined the retina as the seat of vision, and proved that the impressions made upon it are conveyed along the optic nerve to the brain.

Mahomedan science, especially medicine and astronomy, was greatly admired, and eagerly imitated (as far as their comparatively backward culture would allow) by the

**Moorish Science
Spreads to Europe**

learned men in Christian Europe. The man who did most to spread a knowledge of Mahomedan astronomy in Christian countries was Alfonso the Sage, king of Castile and León (1252-1284), whose 'Alfonsine Tables,' in which the movements of the stars were calculated to the meridian of Toledo, were based almost entirely upon Arabic observations.

Toledo, after the fall of Córdoba, became the centre of Mahomedan learning in Spain, and it maintained its position even after the Christian conquest in 1085; indeed, the court of Alfonso VI, though nominally Christian, was as much imbued with Arabic civilization as the court of the emperor Frederick II, the Norman king of Sicily (see Chap. 110). Science in those days was inevitably associated (in the eyes of churchmen, at any rate) with the black arts, and even the Arabs could draw no very clear distinction between astronomy and astrology, while all that was known of chemical science was included under the term alchemy—a word which shows its Arabic origin, as does 'alembic,' a vessel used by every

alchemist, and 'aludel,' a piece of apparatus still found in chemical laboratories to-day.

The schools of Toledo attracted scholars from all parts of Europe, who, either by learning the Arabic language or with the help of clever and intelligent Jews, prepared translations of Arabic books into Latin and furthered the intellectual movement of the world. 'Islam,' says the emir Ali, with truth, 'led the vanguard of progress. The benignant influences of Islamic culture in time made themselves felt in every part of Christendom. From the schools of Salerno, of Bagdad, of Damascus, of Córdoba, of Granada, of Málaga, the **Superiority of Muslims taught the world.** **Moslem culture** Among the first of these men who studied and translated at Toledo in the twelfth century were Englishmen and Scotsmen: Robert de Ketene (or de Retines), Daniel Morley, Adelard of Bath and Michael Scot. Robert 'the Englishman' was the first translator of the Koran (1143).

The greatest contribution of the Mahomedans in Spain to European thought was the work of the philosophers. Though they had adopted the narrowest and most orthodox forms of Mahomedan theology, they gave free reign to philosophic speculation; and though the Berber rulers were fanatics, they not only tolerated but encouraged the speculations of philosophers. The great thinkers of Mahomedan Spain do not belong to the brilliant age of the Khalifate of Córdoba, but to the ages of political confusion which followed.

Their great discovery was the works of the Greek philosophers and, above all, Aristotle; and these works they restored to Europe centuries before the revival of Greek scholarship, which preceded the Renaissance and was largely the cause of the Reformation. They do not seem to have known the Greek works directly, or to have translated them directly from the Greek; their translations had usually been made from intermediate versions in Syriac, so that an English or Scots student, if he wished to make fuller acquaintance with the works of Aristotle than was possible from the meagre Latin versions at his disposal, found it most convenient to go to Toledo and read them in Arabic.

The two best-known philosophers of Mahomedan Spain are Avempace (Ibn Bajja, born at Saragossa; d. 1138); and Averroes (Ibn Roshd, 1120-1198). To these may be added Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185), whose most famous and original work concerns a figure, half Prospero and half Robinson Crusoe, who had grown up on a desert island and sets out to teach the philosophy he has acquired to the inhabitants of a neighbouring

Three great philosophers island. In the end he concludes that it is better to let established religion alone, even among ignorant islanders. The book was known in England (in a Latin form) in the seventeenth century, and was translated into English as long ago as 1708.

The attitude of Ibn Tufayl to orthodox religion is very interesting. It was also the attitude of Avempace and Averroes. 'Pure philosophy,' said Avempace, 'cannot be reconciled with the teachings of revelation, for that is an imperfect presentation of truths more completely and correctly learned from Aristotle. It only admits the Koran and its religion as a discipline for the multitude, whose intelligence neither desires nor is capable of philosophic reasoning.'

Averroes maintained 'that the task of philosophy was one approved and commended by religion, for the Koran shows that God commands men to search for the truth. It is only the prejudice of the unenlightened which fears freedom of thought.' Averroes did not accept popular religious beliefs, although he also regarded them as wisely designed to reach morality and to develop piety among the people at large. 'In religion there is a literal meaning, which is all the uneducated are able to attain, and there is an interpretation, which is the disclosing of deeper truths beneath the surface, [truths] which it is not expedient to communicate

to the multitude.' The supreme revelation of God to man was to be found in the works of Aristotle.

Averroes was eagerly studied by the scholastic philosophers in Christian Europe, though it took them some time to decide that his views were really heretical. Mahomedans seem never to have considered him of much importance. 'When Averroes died in 1198,' said Renan, in his great study, Averroës et l'Averroïsme, 'Arabic philosophy lost its last representative, and the triumph of the Koran over free speculation was assured for at least six hundred years. . . The finest seeds of intellectual development were smothered by religious fanaticism.'

It is important to give the Mahomedan Spaniards their due, neither to underestimate their achievement nor yet to overestimate it. Their achievement seems to amount to this: that in the darkest ages Europe has ever known, one people realized that there was something in what the Greeks had taught. Civilization meant to the Arabs, and still largely means to us, the civilization of ancient Greece; though the Arabs knew it mainly in Persian, Syriac and Byzantine forms, while the rest of Europe was afterwards to approach Greece through Rome. The revival of learning, the Renaissance and the Reformation were consummated when men began to know Greek directly, without the mediation of Latin. The Inquisition and the Counter-Reformation were attempts—only too successful in southern Europe—to re-establish the authority of Rome over the liberty of Greece. The tragedy of the Mahomedan peoples is that they have never had direct contact with the mind of ancient Greece—have never had a Renaissance, or, in any real sense, a Reformation.

END OF FIFTH VOLUME

